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APPEAL TO WORLD LEADERS

LEADERS of all nations: Do all in your power to seal your work of peace with justice. We appreciate the noble work of the statesmen, but who can say that from all the work of the past year a clear solution has been reached? In view of the gravity of the present hour remove dangerous international frictions and speed up the advent of definite peace among all States in spite of all the difficulties.....Apply all the powers of your will and ability to seal your work of peace with real justice and real service to the interests of the entire human family. The profound dejection into which this horrible war has thrown humanity can only be overcome by a peace which is morally elevated and beyond censure.....The leaders must reflect the wishes of the multitude of peoples. *You must remain faithful to the words spoken in memorable circumstances by the authorised interpreters of public opinion and you will give to the entire human family a shining example and point to the high road to peace.* (Italics are ours.)

—THE POPE.

Indian Opinion

FRIDAY, 3RD JANUARY, 1947

Christmas Gift For Indians

THE Indian community of the Union has received from the Union Government, through Senator C. F. Clarkson, Minister of the Interior, a Christmas gift. It is that there is going to be no change in the policy of the Government in regard to the Indian question in South Africa, in spite of UNO decision; that the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act is in operation and will remain in operation; that in so far as Indian representation is concerned preliminary steps have already been taken in that direction. This is followed with a sop to enable us to swallow the bitter pill. The sop is, that the Government feels that the promises made to provide Indians with the amenities to which they are entitled must be implemented. The Minister of the Interior is gracious enough to admit that, "it can with some justice be alleged against us that in this connection we have been neglectful. All the parties who have to deal with the provision of amenities for the Indian community should realise that the matter is one of urgency and that the procrastination which has been prevalent in recent years must not be continued."

It has been our contention all

along and still is, that if only the Government would have realised this a little earlier and would have taken the necessary steps to provide housing facilities and other civic amenities for Indians, there would, perhaps, have been no Indian question and no necessity to introduce a piece of legislation which has caused the Indian community a great deal of material loss and an immense amount of both physical and mental torture and the white rulers of this country no less anxiety and annoyance for being exposed to ridicule before the civilised world. But the Government was obstinate. It would not listen to reason or justice. It allowed itself to be led by those whose votes it relied upon for its existence. What were the votes to do in the circumstances? They had either to submit to the unjust laws of the country and reduce themselves to impotent creatures and be a burden on the face of the earth or assert their rights as self-respecting human beings.

We are thankful to the All-Merciful God that He has granted us the good sense and the strength to be men. We have nothing to be ashamed of our achievement in the six months of fiery ordeal we have passed

through. It has brought out the qualities of true manhood and true womanhood which were lying dormant within us.

Senator Clarkson's statement smacks of the threat of the tyrant. But we neither blame Senator Clarkson nor General Smuts, the Prime Minister, because, after all said and done, they have to submit to the will of the little tyrants. This rule of the tyrants they call democracy! What a mockery of democracy!

The Passive Resistance Council has given a reply to Senator Clarkson's statement, as to what attitude the Indian community will adopt. It has stated in clear terms that as long as the Ghetto Act remains on the Statute Book our struggle will continue and that we are not prepared to consider the form of franchise offered to us by the Government. It has, therefore, asked the Government to refrain from wasting public money in making provisions for Indians to exercise such franchise rights. Indians will either have full franchise rights as are enjoyed by the Europeans or none at all.

If it is destined that our men and women should still continue to suffer to awaken the conscience of the white rulers of South Africa, if they are still to be put to the test to prove their worth as self-respecting human beings, we have no doubt, with the grace of God, they will give a good account of themselves even as they have done during the last six months.

But might we most respectfully ask our rulers to ponder over the words of the Pope which we have reproduced on this page and the following words of General Smuts:

"In one world we are not ourselves alone. Searchings of heart are good for a man; they are no less necessary for a nation. Let us show all self-conceit and search our hearts now at this solemn moment."

On this continent of ours we have indeed a high call, a high calling. No people in the world has a finer opportunity than we have of making our contribution to the great human problem now before a 'quivering' world. That is our new task. Let us grapple with it in a spirit of sober realism but also of justice and fairness. Thus we may help to discover the way to man's better, more harmonious future. South Africa has a job to do, both for herself and for the world."

What a beautiful New Year message! But how it harmonises with White South Africa's Indian policy in particular and non-European policy in general, is beyond our comprehension.

Swami Ghananand Visits South Africa

We heartily welcome among us Swami Ghananand, who has arrived in Durban on Wednesday morning from Mauritius. Swami Ghananand is one of the enlightened Swamis of the well-known Ramakrishna Mission in India. Several years back we had among us from the same Mission Swami Adyanand whose lectures on Hindu culture and philosophy had fascinated both Indians and Europeans in South Africa. Swami Adyanand was a Bengali while Swami Ghananand belongs to the Malwa Province. Mr. Ramswamy Padayatchi of Stanger, who is the chairman of the Lower Tugela Veda Dharma Sabha, has been instrumental in getting Swami Ghananand to this country. The Swami will have the opportunity of studying the various aspects of Indian life in South Africa and we have no doubt his presence among us will be a source of great inspiration to every section of the people of South Africa. May his stay in this land be a happy and a fruitful one.

Pandit Nehru, moving the resolution on declaration of objectives, said: "This resolution is not a part of the constitution that we are going to draw up, and it must not be looked upon as such. This House has perfect freedom to draw up a constitution, and when others join this House, they will have perfect freedom, too, to fashion out that constitution. This resolution sits in between two extremes (of saying too much and too little) and lays down only certain fundamentals which I believe no group, no party and hardly any individual in India can dispute."

NOT CONTROVERSIAL

I wish to make it clear, so far as this resolution or declaration is concerned, it does not interfere in any way with any future work that this Constituent Assembly may do, or with any future negotiations which it may undertake. Only in one sense, if you like, does it limit our work if you call that a limitation. That is, we adhere to certain fundamental propositions which are laid down in this declaration and those fundamental propositions, I do submit, are not controversial in any real sense of the word. Nobody challenges them in India; nobody ought to challenge them. If anybody does challenge them, we accept that challenge and we hold to our position.

Speaking with some bitterness about his recent visit to England and its outcome, Pandit Nehru said: "I was reluctant to go, for reasons that the House knows well, but I went because of a personal request from the Prime Minister of Great Britain. I went and I met with courtesy everywhere, and yet at this psychological moment in India's history, when we wanted, when we hungered for messages of good cheer, friendship and co-operation from all over the world, and more especially from England, because of the past contact and conflict between us, unfortunately I come back without any message of cheer, and with a large measure of disappointment."

NEW DIFFICULTIES

"I hope that the new difficulties that have arisen, as everyone knows, because of recent statements made by the British Cabinet and others in authority there—I hope these will not come our way, and we shall yet succeed in going ahead with the constitution of all of us here, and those who have not come."

Nevertheless, it has been a blow to me, it has hurt me that just when we were going to strike ahead, obstructions were placed in our way. Difficulties were mentioned which had not been mentioned previously, new methods of procedure were suggested.

"Now I do not wish to challenge the bona fides of any person, but I do wish to say this, that whatever the legal aspect of a thing might be, there are moments when law is a feeble reed to rely upon, more especially when you have to deal with a nation which is full of the passion for freedom."

WILL GO THROUGH IT

"Most of us here during these past many years, for a generation or more, have taken part in the struggle for India's freedom. We have gone through the valley of the shadow of death and if necessary arise we shall go through it again. (Cheers.)"

PANDIT NEHRU'S SPEECH IN CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

"Nevertheless, through all this element of imposition, the slightest trace of patronage is resented and will be objected to. (Cheers.)"

"We have tried honestly enough in the last few months in spite of difficulties that have faced us to create an atmosphere of co-operation. We shall continue that endeavour, but I do very much fear that that atmosphere will be impaired if there is no sufficient response from others. Nevertheless, because we are bent on high tasks, I do trust that we shall continue that endeavour, and I do hope that if we continue that, we shall succeed, too."

"... company great offices."

PANDIT NEHRU'S INDIAN REPUBLIC RESOLUTION

THE following is the text of the resolution on the declaration of Indian Republic, recently moved by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, at the Indian Constituent Assembly: "Wherein this Constituent Assembly declares its firm and solemn resolve to proclaim India as an Independent Sovereign Republic and to draw up for her future governance a Constitution the territories that now comprise British India, the territories that now form the Indian States, and such other parts of India as are outside British India and the States as well as such other territories as are willing to be constituted into the Independent Sovereign India shall be a Union of them all and

Wherein the said territories, whether with their present boundaries or with such others as may be determined by the Constituent Assembly, and thereafter according to the law of the Constitution, shall possess and retain the status of autonomous units, together with residuary powers, and exercise all powers and functions of Government and administration, save and except such powers and functions as are vested in or assigned to the Union, or as are inherent or implied in the union or resulting therefrom; and

Wherein all power and authority of the Sovereign Independent India, its constituent parts and organs of Government, are derived from the people; and

Wherein shall be guaranteed and secured to all the people of India (justice, so far as economic and political; equality of status, of opportunity, and before the law; freedom of thought, expression, belief, faith, worship, vocation, association and action, subject to law and public morality, and

Wherein adequate safeguards shall be provided for minorities, backward and tribal areas, and depressed and other backward classes; and

Wherein shall be maintained the integrity of the territory of the Republic and its Sovereign rights on land, sea and air according to justice and the law of civilized nations, and this ancient land retain its rightful and honoured place in the world and make its full and willing contribution to the promotion of world peace and the welfare of mankind."

UNFORTUNATE LEGACIES

"For, if you have to deal with any people, you have to understand them imaginatively, emotionally and of course intellectually. And one of the unfortunate legacies of this past has been that there has been no imagination in the understanding of the Indian problem."

NO ADVICE NEEDED

"People have often indulged in, and continued to give us advice, not realising that India as she is constituted to-day wants no one's advice and no one's imposition. (Hear, hear.) And that the only way to influence India is through friendship, co-operation and goodness. Any

IDEALS NOT TO BE FORGOTTEN

And we must continue that endeavour even though in our opinion some countrymen of ours take a wrong path, for after all, we have to live together in this country, we have to work together and we have inevitably to co-operate if not today, then tomorrow or the day after."

Therefore, we have to avoid in the present anything which may create a new difficulty for the

fashioning of that future which we are working for.

So far as our own countrymen are concerned, we must inevitably try our utmost to gain their co-operation in the largest measure. Co-operation, yes. But co-operation cannot, does not and will not mean giving up of the fundamental ideals on which we have stood and on which the nation should stand. (Hear, hear.) Because that is not co-operation to achieve something, but a surrender of everything that has given meaning to our lives."

CO-OPERATION OF ENGLAND

Apart from that, as I said, we seek the co-operation of England, even at this stage, which is full of suspicion of each other. We feel that if that co-operation is denied, maybe, that will be injurious to India, certainly to some extent, but probably more so to England, and to some extent to the world as large. We live to-day in a period when having just come out of a mighty war, people talk vaguely and wildly of new wars to come. At such a moment this new India is taking birth, resurgent, vital, fearless. Perhaps it was a suitable moment for this new birth to take place out of the turmoil of the world."

But we have to be clear-eyed at this moment, we who have the heavy task of constitution-building. We have to think of the tremendous prospect of the present, and the greater prospect of the future and not get lost in seeking small gain for this group or that."

In this Constituent Assembly we are functioning on a world stage, and the eyes of the world are upon us, the eyes of our entire past are upon us, and though the future is still unborn, the future too looks at us. And so, I would beg of this House to consider the resolution in this mighty prospect of our past, of the turmoil of the present and of this great unborn future that awaits us. (Loud cheers.)

INDIAN STATES

Referring to Indian States, Pandit Nehru said: "Some people have pointed out to me that the mention of Republic in the resolution may somewhat displease the Rulers of Indian States. It is possible that this word may displease them. But I want to make it clear that I do not believe in the monarchical system anywhere and that in the world to-day monarchy is a fast disappearing institution. Nevertheless, it is not a question of my personal belief in this matter."

In regard to the States, our views have been for many years, first of all, that the people of these States must share completely in the freedom to come. It is quite honourable to me that there must be different standards of or degrees of freedom as between the people in the States and the people outside the States. The States will be parts of the Union. That is a matter for this House to consider with representatives of the States and I hope in all matters relating to the States this House will deal with real representatives of the States."

We are perfectly willing, I take it, to deal in such matters as appear to them, with the rulers or their representatives also, but finally when we make a constitution for India, it must be through the representatives of the people of the States as

of the rest of India who are present here. (Cheers.)

THE WILL OF THE PEOPLE

While we may lay down or agree that the measure of freedom must be the same in the State as elsewhere, personally, I should like a measure of uniformity in regard to the apparatus and machinery of government; nevertheless, that is a point to be considered in co-operation and consultation with the States. I do not wish, I imagine this Constituent Assembly will not like to impose anything upon the States against their will. If the people of a particular State desire to have a certain form of administration, even though it might be monarchical, it is open to them to have it.

The House will remember that even in the British Commonwealth of Nations, to-day, there is a Republic and yet in many ways it is a member of the British Commonwealth. So it is a conceivable thing. What will happen I do not know. But there is no inconsistency or impossibility about a certain different form of administration in the States, provided there is complete freedom and responsible Government there and the people really are in charge. If monarchical figureheads are approved of by the people of a particular State, whether I like it or not, I certainly would not like to interfere.

A PLEDGE AND A DEDICATION

Let Us Give Shape To A Nation's Dream

Pandit Nehru began by saying that the Assembly had to pass its rules of procedure, to elect Committees and the like before it could proceed to its real work—unfolding upon "high adventure of giving shape to the printed and written word to a nation's dream and aspiration." But even at this stage it was surely desirable that we should give some indication to ourselves, to those millions in this country who were looking up to us and the world at large, of what we aimed at, what we sought to achieve, whether we were going. "It is with this purpose that I have placed this resolution before the House. It is something much more than a resolution; it is a declaration; it is a firm resolve; it is a pledge and an undertaking and it is for all of us, I hope, a dedication. I wish this House, if I may say so respectfully, to consider this resolution not in a spirit of narrow legal wording, but to look at the spirit behind the resolution."

"Words are magic things often enough, but even the magic of words sometimes cannot convey the magic of the human spirit and of a nation's spirit. And so I cannot say that this resolution at all conveys the passion that lies in the hearts and the minds of the Indian people today."

"It seems very foolish to tell the world that we have sought and dreamed of for so long and what we now hope to achieve in the near future. It is in that spirit that I venture to place this resolution before this House, and it is in that spirit that I trust the House will receive it and ultimately pass it. May I also, with all respect, suggest to you and to the House that when the time comes for the passing of this resolution, that it may not be

done in the formal way of raising of hands but much more solemnly by all of us standing up and thus taking this pledge anew."

ABSENTEES

"The House knows that there are many absentees here; many members who have a right to come here have not come. We regret that because we should have liked to associate with ourselves as many representatives of so many different parts of India and as many different groups as possible. We have undertaken a tremendous task and we seek the co-operation of all peoples in that task because the future of India that we have envisaged is not a future confined to any group, religious, provincial or other, but it comprises all the 400 million people of India and it is with deep regret that we find some benches empty, some colleagues who might have been here absent."

"I do hope that they will come and this House in its future stages will have the benefit of the co-operation of all."

"Meanwhile, there is a duty can upon us and that is to bear the absence in mind, to ourselves always that we are here not as function for one party or one group but always to think of India as a whole, always to think of the welfare of the four hundred millions that comprise India. We are all in our respective spheres party men belonging to this group or that and presumably we shall continue to act in our respective parties."

"Nevertheless, times come when we have to rise above party and think of the nation, think sometimes of even the world at large of which our nation is a great part. And I think in the work of this Constituent Assembly the time has come when we should in so far as we are capable of it, rise above all our little selves and party disputes and think of the great problems before us in the widest, most tolerant and the most effective manner so that whatever we may produce will be worthy of India as a whole and the world shall recognise that we have functioned as we should have functioned in this high adventure."

THE FATHER OF OUR NATION

"There is another person who is absent here and who must be in the minds of many of us, as he is in my mind as I stand here today, the great leader of our people, the Father of our Nation (cheers), who has been the architect of this Assembly and all that has gone before it and possibly of much that will follow. He is not here because in pursuit of his ideals he is ceaselessly working in a far corner of India, but I have no doubt that his spirit hovers over us and blesses our undertaking (more cheers)."

"As I stand here, I feel the weight of all manner of things crowding around me. We are at the end of an era, and possibly very soon we shall embark on a new age. My mind goes back to the great past of India, to the 5,000 years of India's history, to the very dawn of that history, which might be considered almost the dawn of human history. All this past exhilarates me and at the same time somewhat oppresses me."

THE MAGIC MOMENT

"Am I worthy of that past? And does I think also of the future, the golden future I hope, and standing on that sword's edge of the present between that mighty past and the mighty future, I stumble a little and feel overwhelmed by this mighty task."

"We have come here at a strange moment in India's history. I do feel that there is some magic in this moment of transition from the old to the new, something of that magic that one sees when the night turns into day and even though the day may be a cloudy one, it is a day after all, and the clouds roll away and we can see the sun later on."

"And because of all this I find a little difficulty in addressing this House and putting all my ideals before it, and I feel also that in this long succession of thousands of years, I see the mighty forces that have come and gone and I see also that long succession of our colleagues and comrades who have laboured for the freedom of India and are no more."

OTHER NATIONS

Referring to the large number of amendments which had been tabled Pandit Nehru urged that the House should not lose itself in wordy quarrels and squabbles. Pandit Nehru went on, "Because this is a Constituent Assembly, I think also of the various Constituent Assemblies that have gone before, of what took place at the making of the great American nation, when the fathers of that nation met and laid down a constitution which has stood the test of those many years—more than a century and a half—and of the great nation which has been built up on the basis of that constitution."

"And you would go back to the mighty revolution which took place also over 100 years ago, and to that Constituent Assembly that met in that glorious and lovely city of Paris which has fought so many battles for freedom and the difficulties that that Constituent Assembly had, how the King and other authorities came in its way and still continued. The House will remember that when these difficulties came and even lodging and a place to meet were denied to that Constituent Assembly, they broke themselves to an open tennis court and met there and took the oath which is called the Oath of the Tennis Court."

"They continued to meet in spite of kings and in spite of others and did not disperse till they had finished the great task they had undertaken. I trust that it is in that solemn spirit that we who are met here and that we too, whether we meet in this Chamber or other Chambers or in the fields or the market place we shall go on meeting and continuing this work till we complete it. (Loud cheers.)"

RUSSIA

"And then the more recent revolution which gave rise to a new type of state, the revolution that took place in Russia and out of which has arisen the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics—another mighty country which is playing a tremendous part in the world, and not only a mighty country, but far as in India a neighbour country,

And so our mind goes back to all these great examples and we seek to learn from their successes and to avoid their failures. Perhaps we may not be able to avoid all failures because some measure of failure is inherent in human effort. Nevertheless, we shall advance. I am certain and in spite of obstruction and difficulty achieve and realise the dream that we have dreamt so long."

NO MONARCHY

Referring to the expression "Independent Sovereign Republic" in the resolution, Pandit Nehru said, "I will not go into the argument about monarchy and the rest, but obviously we cannot produce a monarchy for India out of nothing. It is not there. If it is to be an independent and sovereign state, we are not going to have a hereditary monarchy. It must inevitably be a Republic."

Some friends had asked him why he had not put in the word "democracy." His reply was, "It is conceivable, of course, that a Republic may not be democratic, but all our past is witness to the fact that we stand for democratic government. Obviously we are aiming at democracy and nothing less than democracy. What form of democracy, what shape it might take, is another matter. Democracies of the present day, many of them in Western Europe and elsewhere, have played a great part in the world's progress. Yet it may be doubtful if those democracies may not have to undergo their contrivance, change their shape somewhat before long, if they have to remain completely democratic."

"We are not going just to copy I hope, a certain democratic procedure or institution of so-called democratic countries. We may improve upon it. In any event, whatever system of Government we may establish here must fit in with the temper of our people and be acceptable to them. We stand for democracy. It will be for this House to determine what shape we shall give to that democracy—the fullest democracy I hope."

The House will notice that in this resolution, although we have not used the word democracy—because we thought that it was obvious that a Republic contains that word and we did not want to use unnecessary and redundant words—we have done something much more than use the word. We have given the content of democracy in this resolution, and not only the content of democracy but the content, if I may say so, of economic democracy."

SOCIALIST REPUBLIC

"Others may take objection to this resolution on the ground that we have not said that it should be a Socialist Republic. I stand for socialism and I hope India will go towards the constitution of a Socialist State, and I do believe that the whole world will have to go that way."

"The form of socialism again is another matter for your consideration, but the main thing is that in such a resolution, if it is acceptable with my own desire I do put in that we want a Socialist State we go in something which may be acceptable to many and may not be agreeable to some and we passed this

resolution not to be controversial in regard to such matters. Therefore we have laid down not theoretical words and formulae but rather the content of the thing we desire.

"We are going to make a constitution for India and it is obvious that what we are going to do in India will have a powerful effect in the rest of the world. Even today, on the verge of freedom as we are, India has begun to play an important part in world affairs. That part will grow and therefore it is right that the framers of our constitution should always bear this larger international aspect too in mind.

"We approach the world in a friendly way. We want to make friends with all countries. We want to make friends, in spite of the long history of conflict in the past, with England also."

THE GOVERNMENT WILL NOT CHANGE ITS POLICY

SENATOR C. F. CLARKSON, Minister of the Interior, on December 25 made the following important statement on the question of the Indian in South Africa says the Political correspondent of the *Natal Mercury*:

"The South African Government's policy in regard to the Indian in South Africa remains as it was formulated by General Smuts during the debates on the Indian Bill last session. There can be no retracing the steps that have been taken.

"The Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act is in operation and it will remain in operation.

"So far as the Indian representation in Parliament is concerned, preliminary steps have already been taken in connection with the compilation of the Roll and the delimitation of voting areas. It is hoped that elections to give the Indians representation in Parliament will be held towards the end of next year.

"One thing that must be done is to implement the promises that have been made to provide the Indians with the amenities to which they are entitled. It can with some justice be alleged against us that in this connection we have been neglectful. All the parties who have to deal with the provision of amenities for the Indian community should realise that the matter is one of urgency and that the procrastination which has been prevalent in recent years must not be continued.

NATAL PASSIVE RESISTANCE COUNCIL

ON PROPOSED COMMUNAL FRANCHISE

THE Natal Passive Resistance Council, in an official statement said the Government's attempt to compile a communal voters' roll for Indians would meet with an even greater rebuff than the establishment of the Land Tenure Board on which Indians refused to serve.

"Communal franchise and indirect representation have been wholly rejected by the Indian people and it will not be long before the Africans of South Africa, who have had 20 years' experience of this false franchise, will also call a halt to the bogus democracy practised in South Africa," says the Council's statement.

"We will have nothing less than full franchise on the common roll on the same basis as the Europeans, and if this is not granted before the next session of the United Nations, White South Africa must prepare itself not only for a condemnation by the international tribunal but for action by the democratic nations in a more violent form than that taken against Spain.

"Senator Clarkson's statement on the Union Government's policy in regard to Indians in South Africa comes as no surprise to us who know the Smuts Government too well. But one would have expected that the United Nations' decision and the clear condemnation of the Union's policy towards the Indian people and the non-Europeans generally by the nations of the world would have had some effect on White South Africa and its spokesman. The non-European people of South Africa have complete confidence and faith in the United Nations and they will spare no energy to make the U.N. decision, both in regard to the incorporation of South West Africa and the treatment of Indians, a reality.

"Mr. Clarkson's statement that the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian representation Act is in operation merits no denial. It is sufficient to say that up to date only a handful of Indians have applied to the Land Tenure Board. Despite all attempts by the authorities to get the co-operation of the Indian people to operate the Act, they have met with no success but have rather strengthened the will of resistance. The struggle against the Ghetto Act continues unabated.

"Mr. Clarkson's challenge that the Act 'will remain in operation' has already been accepted by our people. The Joint Passive Resistance Council has decided that the Indian people will not rest until the decision of United Nations has been implemented. In this they have the backing and support of the majority of the United Nations and the vast masses of the people of the world."

THE FREEDOM-FAIR

THE opening of Freedom Fair at Curries Fountain, on New Year Eve, was a great occasion in the history of Indians in South Africa. It was organised by the Women's Action Committee of the Passive Resistance Council, whose members have been working strenuously for the last two weeks, and were to be seen hard at work at the Fair on Tuesday night. The object of this Fair was to help towards the £30,000 fund, which the Passive Resistance Council proposes to collect for the Indian community's struggle against the Union Government's Colour Bar legislation. At 8.30 p.m. after preliminary speeches by Dr. G. M. Naicker and Mr. George Singh, the opening of the Fair was performed by Mr. Parmasar proprietor of the Durban Electric Mineral Water Works, who has been taking an active interest in the Passive Resistance struggle. In doing so Mr. Parmasar declared the magnificent sum of £500 as a donation from him in aid of the Fund, which was received with a loud applause by the gathering at the Fair.

The place was brilliantly lit up for the occasion and there were about twenty stalls selling flowers, foodstuffs, home made pickles, pots and pans, crockery etc. Motor cars, sewing machines and various other articles were being raffled. What seemed to have attracted the crowds most was the Passive Resistance Council's commentary on the U.N.O. proceedings on the Indian question and the dancing, in which all sections of the community participated.

There was ample provision for light refreshments and the weather being exceptionally hot these places were well patronised.

The Control Office, where were to be seen Messrs. George Singh, M. D. Naicker, M. P. Naicker, P. B. Singh, A. J. Meer and other leaders of the Passive Resistance Council, seemed to be the busiest place.

It is to be hoped all members of our community, young and old, will, make it their business to visit the Fair and thus aid the great cause for which we are fighting.

DR. DADOO ON SENATOR CLARKSON'S STATEMENT

COMMENTING on the statement of the Minister of the Interior, Senator C. F. Clarkson, in regard to the Union Government's policy on the Indian question Dr. Y. M. Dadoo, president of the Transvaal Indian Congress, said:

"Barely it was realised that the Union could not flout the decision of the U. N. O. and yet hope to maintain U. N. O. as an effective instrument for the establishment of 'world democratic peace'."

"It is not likely that even those nations which supported—how ever mistakenly—the South African case will be willing to countenance the open violation by a member State like South Africa, of her solemn pledge to abide by the United Nations Charter and thus allow a weakening of stature of this all important body.

"If South Africa does not mend her ways then the suns sets will overtake this country which is overtaking Spain at the present moment. We shall be isolated from the outside world. Not only will South Africa be hard put to it to save off the serious effect of the trade embargo by India, but will have to face the full blast of similar action by other countries.

"We, the people of South Africa, of all races and colour, must go all out to compel the Union Government to implement U.N. O.'s decision and save our country from disastrous economic and political consequences."

The struggle of the Indian people against all aspects of the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act and for the carrying out of the U.N.O. decision would go on relentlessly.

Dr. Dadoo advised the Government "to refrain from wasting public money" on such a venture as compiling a voters roll and delimiting the voting areas for Indian communal representation.

H.M. The King's New Year's Promise

"We cannot all think alike amid the dilemma of a changing world. Nor is it right that we should. Opinion striking against opinion ignites the spark that can kindle the lamp of truth.

"But if our feet are on the road of common charity that leads to ultimate truth, our differences will never destroy our underlying unity, and our disputes will not leave us either embittered or unkind. If the coming year has its uncertainties, it has also its promises. By God's help and by our endeavours let us make those brighter promises come true."

[These words were uttered by H.M. the King in his Christmas Day broadcast. If these sweet words were only put into practice the miseries of the world would disappear into oblivion. The trouble is that they are not practised.—E.L.O.]

OUR INDIA LETTER

(FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT)

Baroda, December 16.

"PIECE OF TRICKERY"

THE British Government's statement of December 6, while harping upon Section 19 of the statement of May 16, very cleverly omitted all reference to a previous section, 15 (5) which reads: "Provinces should be free to form groups with executives and legislatures and each group could determine the provincial subjects to be taken in common." It is this very clearly worded section on which Congress has taken its stand. In an article in *Harizon* of May 28, Gandhiji, analysing the statement, said: "In my opinion, the voluntary character of the statement demands that the liberty of the individual unit should be unimpaired. Any member of the Sections is free to join it. The freedom to opt out is an additional safeguard. It can never be a substitute for the freedom retained to paragraph 15 (5). It is clear that this freedom was taken away by the authors by section 19 which 'proposes' (does not order) what should be done." Again, what one fails to understand is: If the British Government were rulers of their own interpretation, why did they not have things clarified when they invited Congress in August to form the Interim Government, in spite of their knowledge that Congress placed a different interpretation from their own? What they have done, therefore, savours of an after-thought and raises doubts about their intentions. The *Free Press*, Premier De Valera's party organ, recalls a similar betrayal of the Irish at the hands of the British in 1924-25. The national territorial unity provisions of the Irish Treaty were given two meanings in the British Government—Irish negotiations, the two Irish leaders, Mr. Griffith and Mr. Collins, being told one thing, whilst later Mr. Lloyd George announced another interpretation of the partition clause and the Treaty was used to destroy the unity of Ireland, and the people were left powerless to prevent the most odious betrayal of liberty." After mentioning this "piece of trickery" the paper expresses sympathy with those Indians "who now find at the eleventh hour that what they accepted also had two meanings, and that the meaning favouring the minority is that which the British Cabinet Ministers now announce to be the only valid one."

Compulsion Will Be Resisted

Addressing Indian press correspondents in London on the 7th, Pandit Nehru said: "What is most necessary is the absence of any interference from outside because any kind of interference will only be resented and create

complications. Any Indian problem can only ultimately be solved by the people themselves. If others try to solve them, it will result in the worsening of the situation. Compulsion will be resisted and will nullify the chief virtue of the Cabinet Mission's plan to give a very large measure of self-determination." At Karachi on the 8th he said: "The statement raises important issues and is somewhat in the nature of an addition to or an amendment of the statement of May 16, although it does so by what it says in elucidation. 'Some changes and alterations had been made in the draft read to him, and the last paragraph was altogether a new addition. 'The main point about the Constituent Assembly has been,' he said, 'that it is a self-governing and self-determining body, and any kind of imposition will not be welcomed.'

Essence Of Pakistan

"If the Congress accepts the view now propounded and if Mr. Jinnah and the Muslim League base themselves upon the latest document issued by the British Government, the net result will be the creation of two partial Pakistans," said Sir Q. P. Ramaswami Iyer. "I regard the statement of His Majesty's Government as embodying the essence, if not the form, of Pakistan." He suggested the analogy of the French constitution framed in the historic Tennis Court: "The task of framing the Indian constitution is rendered much more difficult than before," said Sir Chimanlal Setalvali. "It is calculated to afford encouragement to the League to persist in its policy of boycotting the Constituent Assembly." "The British Government's stipulation," writes 'Gandhian' in the *Times of India*, "appears to be a veto in the hands of the League. In this sense, it is argued, there is ground for the Congress complaint that His Majesty's Government have gone back on Mr. Attlee's March statement in which he refused to allow a minority to block the progress of the majority of the country." "In reply to my plea that Congress itself never contemplated coercion of unwilling people, they argued that that understanding applied to a strong and comprehensive centre, that it could not apply to a scheme in which the Centre was attenuated

In order to please certain elements, and that in all events the latest statement gave Mr. Jinnah freedom to hold up progress by simply staying out, whatever Congress might do. Congressmen further contended that the freedom to have all disputed points of interpretation referred to the Federal Court would mean that a court of law, not the Constituent Assembly, would frame the future constitution. In the eye of Congress, a fatal factor has been introduced by what is construed as the revival of the 'communal veto.' The formulation of the Congress attitude to group, it was reported, would follow, not precede, the League's entry into the Constituent Assembly.

Historical Survey

Dr. Sachidanand Sinha, temporary chairman, gave before the 205 representatives present in the Constituent Assembly on the opening day a historical survey of the constitutions of Switzerland, France and America, and commended for the Constituent Assembly's careful consideration and acceptance the fundamental principles of the American system. In our country, he said, the first reference to an equivalent of the C.A. was made by Gandhiji in 1922, who said: "Swaraj will not be a free gift of the British Parliament. It will be a declaration of India's full self-expression, expressed through an Act of Parliament. The British Parliament, when the settlement comes, will ratify the wishes of the people of India as expressed through the freely chosen representatives." The demand for a Constituent Assembly as such has been made since 1931. The Muslim League adopted the idea in 1940, though it wanted two Constituent Assemblies instead of one.

Radhakrishnan's Speech

In offering congratulations to Dr. Rajendra Prasad on his election as the Permanent Chairman, Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan said the Constituent Assembly had to frame the constitution to effect the withdrawal of British control—political, economic and military—and establish a free and independent India. If successful, this transfer would be the biggest and least bloody of all transfers in human history. The British, he said, were surprised from beginning to end. It was

Lord Palmerston who said: 'We have no eternal principles; we have only eternal interests. When they take any particular line of activity, you may take it that it is not willing surrender of power or authority but is a response to the historic necessities of the case.' The latest statement of His Majesty's Government on the Cabinet plan indicated how it was not in human nature to surrender power easily. The playing of one faction against another was unworthy of a great people and would embitter the relations between this country and great Britain. It was essential for them to understand, if an act was done, it must be with the utmost grace. Referring to the evils from which we all suffer, he said: "These are common to all—Hindus or Muslims, Princes or peasants. The chains may be of gold, but they are still chains that fetter. Even the Princes will have to realise that they are slaves in this country. Again, whether they are Hindus or Muslims, Princes or peasants, they belong to one country, Earth and heaven combined to make them belong to one country. It is essential, therefore, for any constitution which is drawn up to make to make all the citizens realise that their basic privileges—educational, social and economic—are afforded to them, that there will be cultural autonomy, that no one is going to be suppressed. It is going to be a constitution which will be democratic in the true sense of the term, where political freedom will merge into economic freedom and equity and which will make every individual feel that he should be proud to belong to this great land."

Sovereign Body

Sir N. Gopalaswamy Ayyangar said one of the tasks of the chairman would be "the defeating of all attempts at weakening or whittling down the sovereign powers of the Assembly." The law of the constitution of this Assembly does not vest in any outside authority, judicial or otherwise, the interpretation of any provision.

"I am aware," said Dr. Rajendra Prasad, "that this Assembly has been born with certain limitations placed on it from its birth. But in spite of these limitations the Assembly is a self-governing, self-determining, independent body in whose proceedings no outside authority can interfere and whose decisions no one outside can upset or alter or modify. Indeed it is in the power of this Constituent Assembly to get rid of and demolish the very limitations which have been attached to it at its birth."

British Govt Clarifies (?)

The speeches of the British Ministers before and during the Parliamentary debate served to reveal their intentions. Lord Patrick Lawrence on the 11th said the essence of the proposals was that while there would be a Union of India limited to Foreign Affairs, Defence and Communications, there would be an opportunity by the adoption of a particular procedure in the Constituent Assembly for the Provinces to form groups for the administration of such subjects as it was decided should be dealt with in common. In the next breath he said the opportunity would be for the Sections, not the Provinces, who would settle provincial constitutions and decide whether a group constitution should be framed for the Provinces within the Section and if so for what subjects. If the agreement of all the Provinces, he said, within a Section is required to the framing of a group constitution, it is probable that the opposition of some of the smaller Provinces will prevent group constitutions being framed. While an individual Province might be outvoted in a Section, its freedom would be safeguarded by the right to opt out of the group after the constitution had been framed. There is the possibility, however, which the British Government could not have overlooked that this freedom to opt out later might be nullified by the Section framing provincial constitutions on the strength of what Mr. Jinnah chooses to call a "brute majority."

Communal Veto

Sir Stafford Cripps gave an explanation about the last paragraph in the statement of December 3. If the Muslim League could not be persuaded to come into the Constituent Assembly, then parts of the country where they were in a majority could not be held to be bound by the results. About the Status he said: "When the transfer of power takes place in British India, His Majesty's Government will cease to exercise powers of paramountcy. This means that the rights of the States, which flow from their relationship to the Crown will no longer exist, and that the rights surrendered by the States to the Paramount Power will return back to the States." Sikhs and other minorities would have no veto similar to the veto the Muslim League had in the O.A.

Some of the Labour members were quite outspoken. Mr. Gore said front-bench speeches of the Opposition were stirring up all minorities in India. "Throughout the years we have encouraged communal differences in India. With the coming of the Labour

Government that spirit had gone. He said it was time the Muslim League made a compromise to achieve unity and independence. "The fact of the matter is that we in Britain cannot hold India by power." He wanted the Labour Government to be strong and determined in this spirit of goodwill, to prevent any minority spoiling the great spirit of liberation in India.

Mr. Alexander, explaining the significance of the last paragraph, said: "We would not contemplate forcing upon an unwilling community anything they did not want." This language was somewhat different from that used by Sir Stafford Cripps the previous day. "Surely we can beg and plead with them now, to come together in the Constituent Assembly, and to make a constitution which is free, but which allows no damage and harm to be done in the liberty of the minorities. If they can come to us with a constitution like this, this Government will carry out every word of its pledges to them and recommend the cessation of its sovereignty to a body set up, which provides complete freedom for all communities and all minorities within its ranks."

The resolution on the objective of the Constituent Assembly and parts of Pandit Nehru's speech on it are reproduced elsewhere in this issue. "Pandit Nehru's speech, to those who heard it," says the special representative of the *Statesman*, was the voice of a great man, with breadth of vision and a mind not obscured by small domestic worries. There was no bitterness in his tone, even when he referred to the British Government. There was genuine regret in his references to the absence of the Muslim League members from the Assembly."

Pakistan Or Civil War?

"The sooner Britain declared its intention of giving effect to Pakistan, the greater the chance of avoiding a terrible disaster," said Mr. Jinnah in a broadcast to the U.S.A. from London on the 13th. It is remarkable how similar is the language used by Mr. Churchill and Mr. Jinnah. It is to be noted that during the India Debate in the House of Commons even Sir John Anderson, a former Governor of Bengal and a Minister in the Conservative Cabinet, declared his total opposition to the division of India. Mr. H. N. Brailsford wrote last month that after events in Noakhali a Muslim League administration could not be treated with the protection of the Bves and property of Hindus in Pakistan. Mr. Jinnah, however, said: "One India means slavery for the Muslims under the Caste Hindus permanent majority domination. Muslim India will never

submit to that." In a Press interview he said that if Congress unequivocally accepted the British Government's interpretation of the Grouping clauses in the Cabinet Mission's constitutional proposals for India, he would certainly have to call his Council. He could not of course say whether his Council would decide to enter the Constituent Assembly. "Suppress the Federal Court decides against the interpretation of H.M.G. what will H.M.G. do with regard to the Constituent Assembly. Is it to proceed on the basis of the interpretation given by the Federal Court, contrary to the interpretation of H.M.G.? In that case the Muslim League could never accept it." "It is not a matter for a court. I tell you I will trust no court to decide on a point like this."

Gandhiji's Great Experiment

On the 12th Dr. Amiya Chakravarty of Shantidhiketan and Secretary to the late Bibhadrnath Tagore, had discussions with Gandhiji on the latter's great experiment and the work of his followers in different villages of Noakhali.

Dr. Chakravarty suggested that reports from Gandhiji's associates who were now working separately in different villages of Noakhali should be collected so that fellow workers in other places could gain new light on the technique of social service.

Gandhiji replied: "The time is not yet ripe for that. They have gone with my best wishes, but to an atmosphere which is still unhelpful. They are not following a beaten path but a trackless route. Their work lies in the midst of the Muslim population. They do not know the language and are not familiar with local problems."

"I myself do not know what the next step is and cannot guide them. They are unable to send reports now. If I had made out a chart for them they would be able to keep a log book. Even the great Thakur Bapa, as old as myself, a seasoned worker and utterly sincere, is doing a thing which he had never done. But I am hopeful that order will come out of what is for us a necessary chaos. Then what you wish, and I also, will be forthcoming, and will be a most valuable record for future workers."

Dr. Chakravarty said: "That is what all our people feel, and also workers abroad. Noakhali has somehow become a laboratory where a crucial test is being made; the remedy will apply to similar situation all the world over where disputes arise between communities and nationalities and a new technique is needed for peaceful adjustment."

Gandhiji: "From London also, I have heard in the same effect. People are interested in what happens to us in Noakhali. I feel that my responsibility is great, that our work has to be true."

Dr. Chakravarty expressing gratification that Bengal should have been chosen for this great task, said: "You should have made this your centre is to be a supreme privilege, though people have suffered and are suffering beyond description. The whole of Bengal is conscious of your arrival and of the fact that you have come to live and work with the suffering men and women who need you so much at this hour."

Gandhiji replied: "For me, if this thing is pulled through, it will be the crowning act of my life. I had to come to the soil and to the people of East Bengal. The first person to whom I mentioned this was Jawaharlal. Without a moment's hesitation, he replied, 'Yes, your place is there. Although we need you so much here, we need you more in Noakhali.'

I asked him 'When?' 'As soon as you feel like it,' he replied. In two days I started."

Mrs. Pandit's Impressions

"Our faith in the U.N.O. has been justified," said Mrs. Pandit, while leaving New York. "Not only has India's honour been vindicated but the U.N.O. has shown itself as a guardian of human rights. This augurs well for the future of the organisation and civilisation. India is happy that she has been permitted to play her rightful part in the Assembly and hopes that she may be able to contribute to the welfare of the United Nations family. The U.N.O. is as important to India's future as to that of the entire world." On the 11th in London she said: "The South African Indian case was not entirely an Indian issue. It concerned the coloured population of the world. Field-Marshal Smuts tried to argue about our nationality and communalism. He was simply avoiding the issue. India had the sympathy of a vast number of delegates, especially those from Asian countries. The Russian delegates surprised us. They knew more about the question of Indians in South Africa than even some members of our own delegation. Our voice, the voice of the Indian delegation, was the voice of India. And if we had failed, it would have meant that the very first time the voice of India was raised, it was defeated."

The English-owned daily the *Statesman*, has made the following comments on Dr. Malaviya's recent utterances: "Dr. Malaviya's reaction to U.N.O. decision on the

Indo-South African dispute is typical of the man. There is no question, he says, of UNO's directive being carried out. South Africa should seriously consider withdrawal from UNO, should end the Capetown Agreement and expel the Indian population. Dr. Mahatma would, in fact, adopt the same attitude in UNO, as did Japan, Italy and Germany in the League of Nations. The Doctor is not representative of South Africa, though his Nationalists represent a dangerously compact minority, kept from power only

by the established dislike of divergent interests ranging from the Smuts imperialists to the "Cape coloured" vote. His outburst represents the crude reply of the semi-educated Boer farmer, brought up to regard Kaffirs as something less than human. But when world opinion can be thus flouted, not by an obscure careerist, but by the leader of the Opposition in the Union Parliament, the world may be pardoned for feeling that there is something very wrong in South African society."

most within the next six months. Such a breakdown, he added, might precipitate a revolutionary struggle against the British on the basis of the Constitution to be framed by the Constituent Assembly. "Whether the present situation in the country requires an active struggle or not, I definitely think it requires that we do prepare for an active struggle," he said. "We do not want to be caught napping."

Miss Nagdi's Success

Miss Mariam Mahomed Nagdi, daughter of Mr. M. E. Nagdi of Johannesburg, has completed her nursing course in midwifery at the Bridgeman Memorial Hospital.

greater hopes and determination to stand for the good of all South Africa. Our steadfastness has proved to the world that we are no longer prepared to live under submission as in the past. Let us therefore redouble our efforts in the march to progress by giving our all to the passive resistance movement. I will soon be leaving for Durban to offer resistance in duty bound to our people. Are you prepared to accompany me? If you do then contact me at Tessaui Street or 112 Oxford Street, Capetown.

Native Leader On S. Africa's Colour Bar

By evolving the Indian Act, the South African Government

Things In General

Indian Delegation At UNO

Sapa Reuter's message from Bombay dated Dec. 26 states.—Mr. Justice M. C. Chagla, a member of the Indian delegation to the United Nations Assembly, today denied that there was any alignment between the Slav group and the Indian delegation during the United Nations sessions. Mr. Chagla, saying that he wished to clear up a misunderstanding, told reporters that the Indian Government had instructed the Indian delegation to "consider every question on its merits and decide accordingly." "We were asked not to toe the line either with the Slav group or with any other groups and I believe that, as far as possible, the Indian delegation loyally carried out these instructions. At no time did we blindly vote with the Russian group or pledge our support to that group irrespective of the merits of the question."

[Note.—The Natal Mercury publishes the above piece of news under the caption "Slav Support for Indians Unmasked," which signifies that the paper views with some doubt the explanation made by Mr. Justice Chagla. It is one thing to ask for one's support in a thing and to give that support after due consideration of the merits or demerits of the thing for which support is asked. It is altogether a different thing to align oneself with somebody and to give one's support whether right or wrong. We would not wonder if our contemporary finds it difficult to discern the distinction based on morality.—Ed. L.O.]

Gandhiji's Warning To India

"I have no doubt that the British will leave India, but if civil war then breaks out the country will probably be pinned under the United Nations," said Mahatma Gandhi at Brinampur (Eastern Bengal) on December 27. "This will mean not one but

many masters to serve them, and goodbye to independence." Mahatma Gandhi went on to say that he was regarded as "enemy No. one" in Muslim Bengal, but he hoped to prove he was a friend. He was not yet certain how to prove his sincerity, but he hoped God would give him an opportunity to cement brotherhood between the Muslims and Hindus. Dr. Ambedkar, a former president of the Congress Party, has been appointed a member of the Interim Government, a communication issued from the Viceroy's house in New Delhi stated, says Reuter. The communication said that the King had been pleased to appoint Dr. Ambedkar a member of the Cabinet in the vacancy created by the appointment of Mr. A. Ali as India's Ambassador in Washington.

Gandhiji And Pandit Nehru Confer

In a tin shed in the village of Brinampur in Eastern Bengal, Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Nehru discussed the communal question on December 29. On December 30 Pandit Nehru returned to New Delhi where the All India Congress Committee is due to meet on January 5.

Village-To-Village Walking Tour

Mahatma Gandhi has decided to start a village-to-village walking tour in the Noakhali district, in Eastern Bengal, where some of the worst Hindu-Muslim rioting occurred in October. His aim is to restore amity between the Hindus and Muslims and to persuade the people who left the villages during the riots to reoccupy them.

Socialist Leader's Warning

The Congress Socialist leader, Mr. Jalprakash Narain, declared at a Press conference that he foresees the possibility—if not the probability—of a breakdown of the Indian Interim Govern-

Labour M.P. On UNO Decision

Commenting on South-West Africa and the Indian question, when he opened the 36th conference of the South African Labour Party in Durban last Saturday December 28, Mr. J. B. Sullivan, M.P., said that at the moment U.N.O. decisions appeared as an infringement of South African sovereignty over internal affairs. South Africa had been assessed by world political opinion as a nation repressive of non-Europeans.

"The Asiatic Act," said Mr. Sullivan, is to remain, and while it remains both Europeans and Asiatics must settle down to the limited separatism it imposes. It was designed as an instrument to regulate harmonious interracial living but it will certainly fail unless it is accompanied by a positive policy of uplift. "The attitude taken by General Smuts at U.N.O. in regard to the domestic matter of regulating our race relations in South Africa was as a Party we are prepared to support," said Mr. Sullivan. "and, I think I speak for the whole Party, I pay unqualified tribute to the Prime Minister's handling of this difficult question."

Cape Passive Resistance Council

In the course of a statement Mr. Sandra Pillay, chairman of the Cape Passive Resistance Council, says:

"We wish to make it clear that the non-European has no intention to engender hatred towards his rulers and neighbours. All we wish is a fair and just treatment, with all opportunities in life to make ourselves worthy citizens of this country. We want to live in peace and with goodwill to all. We want equal opportunities to be extended to all irrespective of one's colour, class or creed. Therefore let us try and forget the hard past and let us look forward to a brighter South Africa for all and let us march into the New Year with

CONGRESS PRESIDENT CRITICISES GEN. SMUTS

PROFESSOR KRIPALANI, president of the Indian National Congress, commenting on General Smuts's recent speech in Pretoria, is reported by Sapa Reuter (Bombay) to have said, "it was a pathetic confession of his dread of equality."

"It was not the fate of 150,000,000 Coloured people that concerned Smuts, but the small band of the privileged White minority," said Prof. Kripalani.

He said that the problem was not confined to Africa, but was spread over the whole of Asia.

"If the Whites cannot reconcile themselves to the idea of equality with the Coloured races of the world, they have no place in Asia and Africa. Racial imperialism is even more odious than economic imperialism. So long as either of them prevails, and so long as there are Smutses and Churchills to turn the four freedoms into a mockery, there can be no peace in this world," he said.

had begun to dig the grave of its international reputation, said Professor D. D. T. Jeyaraj in his presidential address to the All-African Convention held in Bloemfontein recently. "The South African Government seems to have lost all sense of legislative perspective in enacting this colour bar law because it is but one more colour-discriminating law in a chain of countless others," said Prof. Jeyaraj. He said there was a Hindu proverb that said, "Habit Overcomes Reason," and the habit of enacting colour bar laws had begun in the constitution of the Free State and Transvaal. When the Union was

formed the northern provinces insisted on their discriminatory law being incorporated into the Act of Union." After tracing the history of the colour bar legislation in the Union, Prof. Jabavu said the Indian legislation was a blunder, because it touched the citizens of a non-South African country, that had the means of advertising and outgating South African colour prejudice at the bay of the entire world of civilisation. He said what had happened at UNO had placed the South African Government in a dilemma. Either South Africa had to change her colour bar habit or withdraw from UNO. If the latter, she would become the laughing stock of the world.

Arrived From India

Among the passengers who have arrived in Durban from India by the Boykila White Star Line last Wednesday were Kwanji Ghasanand from Mauritius, Mr. M. P. Desai, son of Mr. P. G. Desai of Messrs. Gandhi and Co., and Mrs. M. P. Desai. Monvi L. A. Cachalia and Mr. M. E. Nagdi, both prominent leaders of the Transvaal Indian Congress, and Dr. Joona, son of Mr. V. M. Joona of Durban, who has attained the degree of M.B. Mrs. Cachalia, wife of Monvi Ismail Cachalia, is in prison and is due to be released with the batch led by Mrs. B. Hontomjue, from Maritzburg prison on Monday.

News Of The Struggle

Six women passive resisters appeared before Mr. O. L. Bili in the Durban Magistrate's Court on Saturday charged with trespassing on Corporation property at the corner of Umbilo Road and Gale Street on the evening of December 27. All came from Johannesburg. Three were Indian and three Europeans. The three Europeans were Freda Haas (26) and Joyce Duffy (24), machinists, and Nora Carr (21), a shop assistant. All were sentenced to a fine of £3, or 30 days' hard labour. Fines were not paid.

Five Durban passive resisters were arrested on December 30, and were notified to appear in Court the following day. They were sentenced to £3 or thirty days' imprisonment. No fines were paid.

Dr. G. M. Nalaker, president of the Natal Indian Congress, who, accompanied by other leaders of the Passive Resistance

Council, went on a tour of the Northern districts of Natal, returned to Durban on Monday. They were given a very good response by the people.

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Davidson and Nienaber, Chartered Accountants (S.A.) Tyne Buildings, Ambles Street, Pretoria.

BANKERS

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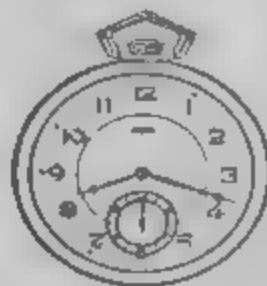
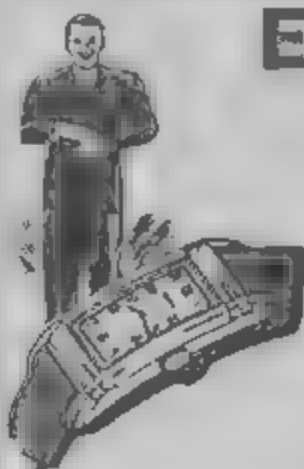
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INDIAN OPINION

MAHATMA GANDHI

No. 2 - Vol. XLV

FRIDAY, 10TH JANUARY, 1947

Indian Opinion

FRIDAY, 10TH JANUARY, 1947

Mischievous Propaganda

At a meeting of the Durban Joint Warda Committee in the City Hall, Durban, last week, Councillor A. L. Barnes, Adviser to General Smuts at the time of the 1946 election, addressed the audience. He had been going on for some time and was backed by the Negro element and their supporters."

...propaganda and had done its work. ...and pamphlets had been distributed in America giving a true picture of the state of affairs in this country.

Does Mr. Barnes wish to convey, we wonder, that Indians were successful at U.N.O. because they were able to perorate lies? Surely there must have been some strength in the Indian case when all the labours of the South African delegation as described by Mr. Barnes and with the strong backing of Britain proved abortive. We should have thought it would have dawned upon Mr. Barnes after his experience at U.N.O. that truth cannot be kept hidden however much one tried to hide it. If anybody is really guilty of mischievous propaganda, we regret to have to say, it is a section of white South Africa, and that propaganda is not only to misrepresent the Indian case in the outside world but to poison the minds of the unthinking people of South Africa, thus sowing the seeds of another war.

We reproduce elsewhere in this issue Mahatma Gandhi's words appearing in his weekly *Harizon* on "What Will South Africa Do?" We commend this article to all our readers particularly the Europeans. One important point to be remembered from it is that it will not help Europeans in South Africa to make comparisons, as they are prone

to do, with India. India has been under the foreign yoke for the last three quarters of a century. She is just beginning to see the dawn of freedom. She has made no secret of her sense of shame at her evil social customs, which are progressively being eliminated. But those customs have no sanction of the law behind them as discrimination based on race and colour has in South Africa. Indians in South Africa have never asked for social equality with the Europeans. What they have asked for is equality in the eye of the law. And no one can deny that that is enjoyed by all in India including foreigners visiting that country. If South Africa wants to copy India, why does it not copy her good points?

To come back to the question of mischievous propaganda, Mr. Barnes said to his audience last week that "many schemes which had been brought forward by the Municipalities had been rejected by the Natal Indian Congress. They have given us many occasions to extend the hand of friendship to the Indian but he has not accepted it; that there are some Indian leaders in this country who had done everything in their power to bring discredit on South Africa."

If any scheme were rejected by the Natal Indian Congress they had good reasons for doing so. That the Municipalities have extended a hand of friendship to Indians is questionable. Proof to the contrary are not wanting. If South Africa has been discredited it has been discredited by its own acts. Nobody can discredit any individual or any people if that individual or those people were themselves guilty. When Mr. Barnes says, "If Indians were dissatisfied with conditions in this country, India would now in terms of the Cape Town Agreement see that adequate numbers of Indians were repatriated," we are amazed that Mr. Barnes, who acted as an adviser to General Smuts at U.N.O., should be so ignorant about the terms of that Agreement. The Amended Emigration

Scheme was purely a voluntary scheme for those who desired to forego their domiciliary rights and to leave the country. For those who wished to remain as part of the permanent population of the Union and were prepared to adopt the Western standard of life a definite promise was given by the Union Government that they would be given every opportunity to enable them to do so. Now how could it be said that Indians were guilty of mischievous propaganda?

Elementary Justice

THE *Natal Mercury* in its issue of January 9 writes: "The Indian and the Franchise," which merits a reply. While on the one hand our contemporary admits that 'the Indian, as such as he is accepted as a Union national and is called upon to pay taxes, should have adequate representation,' and describes it as "elementary justice," on the other it indulges in a cynical play of effusion. Our contemporary appears to think that to provoke and to be provoked is the prerogative of Europeans. It writes: "While European opinion, following the emotional exhibition at U.N.O. has been commendably quiescent, it would not take much to stir it to real anger and the Indian attitude is anything but helpful. Yet this question of the municipal franchise is one that Europeans, despite grave provocation, should try to view dispassionately."

If anyone has cause for real anger it is the Indian and not the Europeans. The time has come when the Europeans should shed their sense of superiority based on colour and the false sense of prestige and should view things from the point of justice and fairplay. "It does not matter," says our contemporary, "that the Indian Congress, which claims to speak for and in opinion but which does not say that it will accept nothing else but the common roll." The paper wishes to convey that there is no opposition abroad to Indians being granted municipal franchise, that the opposition is to representation of Indians by Europeans. It goes on further to say: "Do Europeans themselves waste any

admiration on the Europeans who sit today in Parliament and put forward with considerable verbosity what they consider to be views of the coloured races? Did Senator H. M. Basson, the Native representative for the Transvaal and the Orange Free State, show at Lake Success that he was a fitting exponent of Native thought? And are the Europeans who will speak for the Indians in Parliament likely to do so any better?"

What better exhibition could there be, might we ask in all earnestness, of a perverse mentality? Because Senator Basson's attitude did not mean that he did not do his duty faithfully as a representative of the Natives.

The paper advocates giving representation on Municipal Councils and similar bodies but on a communal roll. "A common roll," it maintains, "is outside practical politics. It will, of course, be said, as it has so often been said in the past, 'It says, that it is useless to offer the Indians anything, because they are avaricious.' That is a very assumption which gets nobody anywhere. If, under the guidance of a handful of extremists, they are the ones to do it. But it will be surprising if they do not do it."

Communal franchise we cannot understand any more. The point is not who sits on the Councils. The point is how voters are influenced. Whether, for instance, a Mr. Barnes represents the Indians on the Council or a Mr. Rajee, makes no difference, if his voice is in the wilderness and his vote is a pennyworth, as is the case of the Indian Council. If the Indian Council cannot be given representation on a common roll they will be better advised to wait until such time as they can do so.

To grant them such representation, in the meantime we do not think it would be wise to withdraw or to suspend the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act and summon a round table conference of representatives of both the Governments to find an amicable solution to the whole Indian problem.

WHAT WILL SOUTH AFRICA DO?

(By MA JATMA GANDHI in 'Harijan' dated Dec. 29)

THE deputation headed by Shrimati Vijayalakshmi Pandit and sent to the U.N.O. Conference by the Interim Government has not only done very effectively with the matter but has also been successful. That is clear from the following cablegram sent by Shrimati Vijayalakshmi Pandit from New York:

"Today we have been again before the S. A. A. and an Indian cause was vindicated. Committee voting twenty-four to nineteen in our favour. Went to General Smuts after meeting and shook hands. He expressed appreciation at manner in which I had conducted case."

It remains now to be seen how the Parliament of the Union of South Africa and its European public respond. Field Marshal Smuts was able to hurl at the Indian deputation the taunt that India treated her so-called "Untouchables," legally described as the scheduled classes, the same as the British treated the Asiatics or for that matter the Africans. There would be much to be said in reply to this charge if it was true. But it is not true.

At a time when the Government of India has now become well-nigh irresistible, a charge of this kind is bound to be broken. In India, on the other hand, there never has been any law carrying the bar against the Scheduled Classes. It can be proved up to the hilt that the law has always sought to protect the Scheduled Classes. There is no legal bar, so far as I am aware, against any of the Scheduled Classes being regarded as equal in status to the tallest Indian. What is however true to the shame of orthodox Hinduism and the *Sahakar* Hindu is that religious custom has denied to these Untouchables the rights which the law has allowed, and it is unfortunately also true that sometimes custom overrides the law. But public opinion is progressively rising against this barbarous custom and it is merely a question of time when the custom will be swept out of existence. Let us, therefore, hope that instead of taking doubtful advantage of the things in India which no one

can deny, the Government of South Africa will take the opportunity to show that it is not averse to the principle of equality of all men.

COLOUR BAR IN RHODESIA

INDIAN ORGANISATIONS PROTEST

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WHAT IS IT ALL ABOUT

By MOSES M. KOTANE

SINCE the recent UNO decision on the treatment of South Africa and on the demand of the Union regarding South West Africa there has been a great deal of talk about the threat to white civilisation and about the need for all the Europeans in South Africa to stand together in defence of this civilisation. This appeal has

threat to civilisation. As the whole matter has come to the fore because of the decisions of UNO let us ask ourselves what was contained in those resolutions. UNO asked South Africa to treat all her people in accordance with the provisions of the Charter. What then are the relevant provisions of the UNO Charter?

In Chapter I, Article 1, we read among the "Purposes and Principles" that some of the aims of the United Nations Organisation are:

"To achieve international co-operation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural or humanitarian character, and in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion."

In South Africa, non-Europeans are denied the fundamental freedoms upon which in the economic, political, social and cultural spheres are denied to them they are oppressed and exploited, despised and discriminated against on grounds of colour, race, sex, language and religion.

International organisations of the different sections of the population stand for the removal of these disabilities. All the struggles are directed towards the end. They want full participation in the affairs of their country and equality of opportunities in all walks of life. It is this and it is only with the non-Europeans demand that they desire to see the present standards of living enjoyed by the fortunate Europeans. In the country they desire to attain for themselves and their fellow beings these standards.

Leaders of the United Party, Nationalist Party, Labour Party, the Trades and Labour Council, as well as the Chamber of Mines, industrialists and many other organisations are aware of these desires and aspirations of the non-Europeans. They know full well that there is no danger of barbarism engulfing civilisation. They know so we may therefore, assume that what is worrying the apostles and upholders of white supremacy is not the undermining of standards of living but fear that an attainment of equality of opportunities for non-Europeans threatens their position and, in fact, their life.

MR BARNES ON FRANCHISE

MR. A. I. BARNES, president of the Natal Municipal Association, who was one of General Smuts's advisers at the UNO conference, made a brief statement of the views of the Natal Municipal Association on the subject of the franchise in municipal elections.

He said that he was not going to say anything about the franchise in general. He was only going to say that there are people in this country who are totaly excluded from the franchise.

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THE INDIAN QUESTION IN SOUTH AFRICA

By BISHOP FERGUSON BAVIE

Continued from September—Part II

IN September's issue I described the past and the present history of our dealing with the Indians in Natal up to the passing of the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act which became law in June of this year. That Act has two parts:—

A. The Land Occupation Portion.

B. The Franchise Portion.

I will first describe the Second Part of the Act.

In the second part of the Act the Indian Franchise is partly restored though in a different way to that in which it was originally given.

Indians who have certain income or property, and who have passed the Sixth Standard (for twelve months the Fourth Standard is sufficient) are placed on the voters' roll. They are not, as at present in the Cape and in former times in Natal, on the common roll of voters.

They will elect two Indian members of the Provincial Council of Natal.

They will elect one European member of the Senate and the Government will nominate another to represent them. They will elect three European members of the House of Assembly. Under the Act of Union every Member of Parliament must be European. To alter this, an amendment of the Act of Union must be passed by a simple majority of both Houses of Parliament. One can only hope that the Indian Members of the Natal Provincial Council will so show their worth that in future years it may be possible to get such an amendment passed and that there may within a generation be a few Indian and a few native members of Parliament.

But those Indians who are vocal are strongly opposed to the idea of Communal Representation. They regard it as an insult to India. Communal Representation has apparently been abolished in Ceylon. It was a great success in Singapore. In India it has had the advantage that members of every community, including some who could not otherwise have got elected, have been able to voice the needs of their community. The late Sir H. Gidney (Burmese) and Dr. Ambedkar (Depressed Classes) are outstanding instances. In Java I never heard objections to the system. But in Malaya, India and Java each community was represented by members of that community. It is unfortunate that the Act of Union makes this at present impossible in South Africa in Parliament.

India is a far more important country than most South Africans understand. It had two and a half millions in its armed forces during the War, it had six million people employed in War Production Works, it has the second largest Iron and Steel works in the World (second only to Pittsburgh in America) and Great Britain owes India at present thirteen hundred million pounds. It already builds cargo ships, and is starting aeroplane production.

Yet though South Africans probably do not know this, they do not want to 'injure India' by providing Communal Representation here; and one can only hope that Indians in South Africa will not make this a cause of ill-feeling, as they are doing at present.

Representation of Indians on the leading Municipal Councils will probably follow very soon. I know more than one leading member of the Durban City Council who would prefer to have 100 members rather than European members representing Indians. Personally I hope this may be possible and I hope that it may come soon.

The first part of the Act deals with Land Tenure.

According to this part of the Act there are certain exempted areas in which anyone, European or non-European may buy land from anyone and may occupy land or houses whatever was their previous or present ownership or occupation. These at the passing of the Act were in or near Durban, Maritzburg, Pietermaritzburg, Port Shepstone and Dundee. These are sometimes called the Red Areas, because on the Government Maps issued in connection with the Act they are Coloured red. Provision is made in the Act by which other areas can be added—and presumably soon will be added—to this class of land.

There are other areas often called White Areas, because they are marked white on the Government Maps, in which no European can sell to an Asiatic or buy from him and in which no Asiatic can occupy a house now occupied by a non-Asiatic and vice versa. All Natal that is not 'red' is 'white'. Departures from the above rules necessitate a special permit.

For the greater part of Old Durban and almost all the houses in Maritzburg come within the White Areas, even in the latter case house-owners who

the houses are already predominantly owned or occupied by Indians.

Existing rights of ownership and occupation by Indians are strictly preserved by the Act, even in the White areas.

The cry that Indians are being driven into Ghettos such as

WELCOME RECEPTION TO SWAMI GHANANANDA

(From Our Swami Correspondent)

UNDER the auspices of the Lower Tugela District Hindu Veda Dharma Sabha, a welcome was extended to Swami Ghanananda, of the Sabha Hall, Swager, on Sunday January 5.

Before a very large and representative gathering the learned Swami was officially welcomed by the Sabha.

As to the work that the Shree Rama Krishna Mission (India), of which the Swami is a representative, has been doing in the spreading of the Hindu religion.

brochures in various parts of the world.

The Swami, after thanking the Officials of the Sabha, spoke on the origin of the Shree Rama Krishna Mission, and briefly explained that the Mission aims at the preservation of the Hindu religion as a means of preserving one's culture.

Appreciative songs and glances were rendered by the Vernacular School Children. Swami delivered lectures on various subjects during the week in Ramer.

On Sunday January 12 at 10 a.m. the Swami will be welcomed by the South African Hindu Maha Sabha at the Esplanade Hindu Maha Sabha Hall, 52 Lorne Street, Durban.

existed in Europe in the Middle Ages is therefore not true in any sense. It is a pity that the adoption of the phrase has led to misunderstanding of the object and scope of the Act, by many people outside South Africa and by many persons in South Africa.

The Red areas are very large near Durban and of fair size in

The Indians have, however, the following causes of complaint:—

(1) The areas in old Durban are mainly White areas. The Indians as they expand, as of course every race is bound to expand, will have to live far from their work, as in the White areas Indians can only buy fresh land by permit.

(2) The Red Areas in outer Durban are already very largely owned by Indians. The Indians in Durban, and to a smaller extent the Indians in Maritzburg, are so badly overcrowded so this Act does not give them the chance that they need of purchasing land and of building and so of getting less overcrowded. To India something like 90 per cent of the people own their own houses even though they be very poor. South African Indians have inherited there fore the desire of buying land on which they can build a house however simple it is. They are afraid that the Act will prevent them doing this in any part near their work.

(3) They are afraid that local authorities will not provide proper amenities—good roads, sufficient lighting, transport etc.—and will not build houses for the poorer Indians.

The past history of municipalisation has not been good in this matter: in fact it was in 1931 Parliament in 1931 by the Minister of the Interior that the Durban Corporation was on its trial, it is this which has been one reason though not the only one for the purchase by Indians of houses in predominantly European areas.

(4) It is laid down in the Act that if any Indian buys a property in the White areas he is not allowed to borrow more than fifty per cent of its value, whereas any European (under the existing Law) can borrow up to seventy five per cent of its value. This the Indian feels to be unfair discrimination. It practically limits their powers of purchase even if permits are given.

(5) The restricting of the Indians to purchase, except under permit, in a White area interferes with a Common Law right. They have already a right to purchase a new house, and the practice of restriction and they don't know what it will lead to.

(6) Similarly they dread the idea of Segregation by Law, largely through fear that it

OUR INDIA LETTER

Baroda, December 23, 1946

SARDAR SPEAKS OUT

THE Constituent Assembly discussed for the greater part of the last week Dr. Jeyakar's resolution for postponement of Pandit Nehru's resolutions, on the ground of the absence of the Muslim League and the States. About fifty speakers yet wish to speak on the resolution. Further consideration of it has, therefore, been postponed to the next session of the C.A. which will meet on January 23. Sardar Patel gave the first public expression to the reaction of Congress when on the 10th, intervening in the debate, he declared: "All these concessions which Dr. Jeyakar is referring to, are in addition to or over and above the White Paper statement. We have not accepted them, and this House is not going to accept any addition."

Federal Court

The Congress Working Committee, after long discussions, has just come to the decision not to refer the matter for interpretation to the Federal Court. The decisive factor has been the unequivocal utterance of, Lord Simon and Mr. Jinnah in the case of Lord Simon.

For the Muslim League, the Constituent Assembly cannot frame a constitution which departs from the form recommended by the Commission unless agreed upon with the approval of the majority of representatives of each major party. It is provided that any resolution varying the provisions of paragraph 15 or raising any communal issue shall require a majority of representatives present and voting of each of the major communities. Our intentions stand. Our conviction stands that only on a real agreement can a stable constitution be created. Our intention remains to do all in our power to bring the parties together."

He shared the appeal made by Lord Simon both to the Muslims and Congress to find accommodation which would enable them to sit together in the Constituent Assembly and create a situation which would be the part of all sides. Dealing with the proposals for the setting up of sections, he said that the question at issue was as to vote between the Sections. It was to resolve this issue that the Indian leaders were invited to this conference which was held at the end of the last week. He said that the British Government do not consider that this issue is one which it is desirable should be referred to the Federal Court. The statement of December 3 caused this clear and also the interpretation which it is

hold. The view of the Government is that this interpretation should be accepted by all parties. They only mention the matter of the Federal Court because the Constituent Assembly is to refer the issue to the Federal Court. That was the view expressed by the Congress. It should be done without delay. I wish to make it quite clear that His Majesty's Government stand by their interpretation of the statement of May 16 sent out to that statement and they will by no means support any proposal for a Federal Court which would be referred to the Federal Court. I hope agreement may yet be reached in a way which will allay fears of both parties." He said that it must be obvious to all that no constitution could be successfully brought into being and survive unless it was based on mutual consent. There was anxiety in certain quarters, he said, whether the majority in a section might not impose a provincial constitution on a province contrary to the wishes of the inhabitants and of such a character as to prevent the wishes of the majority on the inhabitants prevailing in the decision whether or not to opt out of a group. He was sure that neither side had any wish that this should take place and he saw no reason why the two major communities should not come to agreement between themselves which would avoid any danger of that happening.

On the 14th Mr. Jinnah said at Calcutta: "I should flatly reject the idea of a Federal Court or a Federal Court which would be referred to the Federal Court."

Foreign Reactions

A statement from the Foreign Office in London, dated December 18, says: "The British Government are not in agreement with Mr. Jinnah's deposition of the British is not agreeable with Egypt's great national principles. Egypt has given a great example of unity. Religious affairs should be subordinated for the sake of unity."

The Soviet Journal *New Times* has made some candid observations. It says: "The British Government made a big stir over the London conference. Actually it led to nothing. As a matter of fact, all attempts of the British Government at mediation had not a pacifying effect on India, but on the contrary have led to internecine strife which provides an opening for British imperialism to continue to rule in India."

len to continue to rule in India.

"The situation in India," the article adds, "is fraught with a serious menace. Internecine strife in so vast a country cannot be a matter of indifference to the rest of the world. We are not the more the British Government is to be blamed for the more acute internecine strife in India becomes."

Only the great power of a superpower can bring about a settlement in India. The only way to bring about a settlement is to knock the ground from under the feet of those elements who on the instigation of reactionary circles from without are struggling for their own private interests plunging the country into a mess of fratricidal war."

Frontier's Protest

The NWFP has added its voice of protest to those of Assam and the Sikhs. Nawabzada Ali Khan Khan, Speaker of the NWFP Legislative Assembly, says, "The Pathans and the Punjabis are two major nations by any definition or test of a nation, and the idea and the very thought of grouping NWFP with the Punjab is revolting to the Pathan mind. We are a nation of three million and, what is more, we the Frontier Pathans are a body of people with our own distinctive culture, civilisation, language, art, literature and architecture, dress and nomenclature, sense of values and proportion, local and national codes, customs and calendar, history and traditions, aptitudes and ambitions—in short, we have our own distinctive outlook on life and of life and by all means of international law a Pathan is quite a separate entity from a Punjabi. Justice, democracy and fairplay demand that the NWFP should not be forced into Group 'B' in order to be linked with the Punjab where the Pathans of the Frontier have got nothing in common."

Dr. Khan Sahib, the Premier of NWFP, in an interview said: "The Frontier people are not in favour of independence and nobody can force them to join anyone. It is for the Frontier people to decide, and if they decide by a majority vote that they will not join any group, nobody can force them. Frontier used to be with the Punjab once. There have been efforts at different times to make the

Frontier rejoin the Punjab, but the Frontier have reacted that. I definitely tell you that nobody in the world can force us to join. The majority of the Punjab has nothing to do with us. It is only the majority in the Frontier that counts."

The great success of Pandit Nehru's tour was that the poor, ignorant common man in the Frontier who had been till now in the background was becoming aware of the fact that he too had a voice in affairs. The other day a big Malik with a number of men from Waziristan came to see me and asked for money. I told him, "I am not going to do anything for you. Personally I am going to help you and ask Government to help you collectively. The whole system of creating a hierarchy among the tribes must be abolished. I told him, 'You must not have a hierarchy among the tribes. You must be very much united. But the tribesmen who were with him heartily agreed:—'This is the thing we want.' His idea was to approach the Government to the effect of saying, 'We are a nation and we want to be a nation of our own.'"

Dr. Khan Sahib said Pandit Nehru's tour in the tribal area had an excellent effect on the morale of the people. The tribal people were beginning to understand the reality which had been kept from them by the officials. "They have realised that there is a Government now which is very anxious to come to a mutual understanding with them and to persuade them to forget the past." They knew there was a Government now which wanted to negotiate with them on equal terms. Up to now there had been no co-ordination between the Government and the tribal area, but now he thought, definite steps were about to bring about such co-ordination. He had always held that the only solution of the tribal problems would be to hand over the area entirely to the Provincial Government, but he would never force the tribes to join the province if they were unwilling to do so. He knew, however, that certain tribes were definitely of the opinion that it would be in their interest to join the Provincial Government.

Asked whether communal riots in other parts of the country had affected the situation in the Frontier, Dr. Khan Sahib said that propaganda parties from Bihar visited the Frontier and delivered speeches giving exaggerated versions of the happenings there, but they had failed to create any disturbance. Hazara, which was one of the two districts of the Frontier with a large Hindu population, had proved a little bit disappointing.

The Frontier, he said, never followed leaders. Action was what they wanted. He asked why the propagandists instead of going to Bihar and meeting the position there, came to the Frontier and talked about it. "If I have trouble in the Frontier," he said, "I am not going to come here to tell you about it. I will meet it myself."

Harifans With Congress

The following from a speech delivered at New Delhi at the Depressed Class League Conference by Shri Jagjivan Ram, the Member for Labour in the Interim Government, will be read with interest: "We are Hindus, and those of us who want to get out of the Hindu religion are overboard. It is need for us to trace the history of the Hindu religion and to point out how caste system developed in India which ultimately became a blot on the Hindu religion and society. We are among those who do not look back to the past, but think of the future. It is our strong conviction that we would rise by our own strength and power and remove all obstacles in our way."

"It is we who have to decide our future," he continued. "We have to decide in what religion we have to stay. We do not want to leave this decision on the Hindus or anybody else. I am one of those who believe that I am as good a Hindu as any other Hindu. We will ask for our rights from the Hindus with humility and love and, if need be, fight with them to get our rights."

At this stage, there was shouting and some people tried to heckle the depressed class leader.

Mr. Jagjivan Ram said: "I tell you that if you want to embrace Christianity or Islam you are at liberty to do so. It is better if you go away because I won't parry the Depressed Class. What have you been doing since 1918 and what have you been thinking all these ten years, he asked. Why did you not embrace Islam? It is better for you to have an experience of it and to find out where you are better off."

"Religion," he declared, "is a matter of faith and not an instrument for bargaining political rights. You should not bargain your religion for political ends."

At this stage about 50 persons from among the audience left the conference shouting slogans.

Mr. Jagjivan Ram stated: "There has been a difference of opinion between him and Dr. Ambedkar for a long time. Time will only tell as to who is on the right path. We are not among those who abuse and sling mud on others."

He then warned the Hindus to treat the Depressed Classes on an equal footing with other Hindus and to give them all Hindu rights, otherwise if things continued in the same way as they were proceeding today, there was a fear that in the next hundred years no Mohammedan Caste would be left in the Hindu religion. He asked the Hindus to make immediate efforts to raise the status of the Depressed Classes.

"In the Constituent Assembly," said Mr. Jagjivan Ram, "which is

meeting in New Delhi, we are framing the future constitution of the country. In the free India of tomorrow all people of this country, irrespective of religion, caste or creed will be treated as equals and there will be no domination of one class over another."

Gandhiji Speaks Out

Gandhiji, in an interview with a leader from Assam, has given in detail his views on the present political situation. It bears full reproduction.

Asked for guidance in regard to the question of Grouping as there was no clear lead from the Congress Working Committee to Assam, Mahatma Gandhi replied:

"I do not need a single minute to come to a decision, for on this I have a mind. I am a Congress man to the very marrow, as I am making the frame of the constitution of the Congress as it stands today. I told Bardoloi that if there is no clear guidance from the Congress Committee, Assam should not go into the sections. It should today be protest and retire from the Constituent Assembly. It will be a kind of Satyagraha against the Congress for the good of the Congress."

"Rightly or wrongly, the Congress has come to the decision that it will stand by the judgment of the people. The people are ready to accept the decision of the Congress and we must accept the Congress interpretation of Grouping as far as I can make out, for the simple reason that the Cabinet has got legal advice which upholds their decision."

"The Federal Court is the apportioner of the British. It is a pecked court. To be consistent, the Congress must abide by its decision whatever it may be. If Assam is against it is labelled as a law in force. Assam to do what it does not want to do. It is autonomous to a large extent today."

Same For Sikhs

"It must become fully independent and autonomous. Whether you have that courage, grit and the gumption, I do not know. You alone can say that. But if you can make that declaration, it will be a fine thing. As soon as the time comes for the Constituent Assembly to go into sections you will say, Gentlemen, Assam replies. For the independence of India it is the only condition. Each unit must be able to decide and act for itself. I am hoping that in this, Assam will lead the way."

"I have the same advice for the Sikhs. Set your position in much happier than that of the Sikhs. You are a whole province. They are a community within a province. But I fear every individual has the same attitude as I have."

Question: "But we are told that the framing of the constitution for the whole of India cannot be held up for the sake of Assam. Assam cannot be allowed to block the way."

Not A Road Block

Ans: "There is no need to do that. That is why I say I am in utter darkness. Why are not these simple truths availed to us after so many years? If Assam retires, it does not block but leads the way to India's freedom."

Ques: "The British Government has said that the constitution framed by the Constituent Assembly cannot be imposed on unwilling units. So if some parts do not accept it, the British Parliament won't accept it."

Ans: "Who is the British Government? If we think independence is going to be kept on our heads from England or somewhere, we are greatly mistaken. It won't be independence. We will be crushed to atoms. We are going to be between the independence and the British Government. It is a trap set for us."

If we are not rightly there will be the full blown flower of independence. If we are not rightly, the blossom will wither away. Now you, the League standpoint is quite correct. If they stand in the Constituent Assembly as a unwilling party, The British Government has no say in the matter. One way or the other,

19th BATCH OF PASSIVE RESISTERS FROM CLAIRWOOD



which was released together with the Transvaal batch of women prisoners led by Mrs. Sorabjee on Wednesday, January 8

Example Of Ireland

"The British cannot interfere with the working of the Constituent Assembly representing the vast majority, including the Muslims and others form a constitution, you can defy the British Parliament if it seeks to interfere. Power is in your hands. Some such thing happened in Ireland only recently. And De Valera is no non-violent fighter. The position of India is far better than that of Ireland. If we have not the constitution we will lose the advantage we have, as it is apparently being lost today.

"If Asama takes care of itself the rest of India will be able to look after itself. What have you got to do with the constitution of the Union Government? You should form your own constitution. That is enough. You have the basis of a constitution all right even now.

"I have never dreamed the 1935 constitution. It is based on provincial autonomy. It has the capacity for future growth, provided the people are worth it. The hill people are with you. Many Muslims are also with you. The remainder can be too. If you act on the square.

"You will have to forget petty jealousies and rivalries and overcome your weaknesses. Asama has many weaknesses as it has much strength, for I know my Asama.

"With your blessings we can even go outside the Congress and fight," the Asama Congressmen interrupted.

Gandhiji replied that in 1939 when there was the question of giving up the Ministry, Subhas Chandra Bose opposed it as he thought Asama was a special case. I told Sardar that there was much in what Subhas Bose had said and although I was the author of that scheme of boycott I said Asama should not come out if it did not feel like it. But Asama did come out. It was wrong.

The Asama Congressmen said that Maulana Sahab had then said that exception would not be made in the case of Asama.

Gandhiji replied: "Here there is no question of exception. Asama rebelled and that is why. But we have that slavish mentality. We look to the Congress and then feel that if we do not follow it slavishly, something will go wrong with it. I have said that not only a province but even an individual can rebel against the Congress and by doing so save it, as happened in the night. I have to add that the Congress has not violated the present status without much travail.

"I remember in 1918 I think there was the Provincial Conference of the Congress workers of Gujarat at Ahmedabad. The late Abanindranath Tagore was in the

hall. All the old guards were there. The Ali Brothers had not yet joined hands with me fully then, as they did later on. The late Shri Patel was there, and I moved the non-co-operation resolution. I was a non-entity then. A constitutional question arose. (Can I) a provincial conference anticipate the drafting of the Congress? I said "yes". A provincial conference and even a single individual could anticipate the Congress for its own benefit. In spite of opposition of old hands the resolution was carried. That paved the way for the Congress to pass a similar resolution at Calcutta. India was dumb-founded at the audacity of a provincial conference passing the resolution.

"We had formed a Balyagraha Sabha outside the Congress. It was joined by Hordalman, Sarojini

Dev, Bhankarilal, Umar Sobhani, Vallabhbhai. I was ill. The Sowdast Aot was passed. I shook with rage. I said to the Sardar I would do nothing unless he helped me. Sardar was willing. At the rest you know. It was called on by a assembly one. We celebrate the 5th of April to the 13th. You have all these historical instances before you.

"I have given you all the time I need, your hearts, to save you courage. If you do not act correctly and now Asama will be ruined. For Sardar I do not feel the least concern. My mind is made up. Asama must not lose its soul. It must uphold it against the whole world. Else I will say that Asama had only women and no men. It is an impertinent suggestion that Bengal should dominate Asama in any way?

he is. He has been specially invited to come to deliver a series of lectures throughout the Union of South Africa both in English and the vernacular. It is also the desire of the Lower Tugela District Hindu Veda Dharma Sabha to establish a branch of the Hindu Veda Dharma Sabha in the Lower Tugela District. The Lower Tugela District Hindu Veda Dharma Sabha is making all arrangements in connection with his literary and organization. These desires of obtaining the services of the Swamiji are requested to contact the joint hon. secretaries, L. P. D. Veda Dharma Sabha, P. O. Box 76, Phone No. 65, Stanger, Natal.

Congress Accepts British Government's Statement

The All India Congress Committee which met in New Delhi on January 9 passed the Working Committee's resolution advising acceptance of the British Government's statement of December 18 regarding the future of India. An amendment for the rejection of the statement was lost by 14 votes.

Sarat Bose Resigns

Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose, the former member of the Indian Interim Government, last Monday resigned from the All India Congress Working Committee. He said this was in protest against the Working Committee's advice to the All-India Congress to accept the British Government's statement of December 18.

Four-Year Plan To "Go Dry"

Shriyastri proposes to "go dry" in four years' time. This decision, affecting 21,000,000 persons, in 28,443 square miles of the province, was approved at a session of the Bombay Government. Starting in April 1947, the Government intends to complete its prohibition programme by two methods. These are firstly, by reducing the volume of production of all types of intoxicants by 25 per cent. and secondly by closing shops for progressive periods every year. This plan will give drinkers a chance to change their habits and enough time to consume the liquor they are now drinking. The Government will also take steps to reduce the demand for liquor.

Rt. Rev. Bishop Ferguson Davie's Article

Elsewhere in this issue we publish the second part of the Rt. Rev. Bishop Ferguson Davie's article on the Indian question which had been left out through oversight. While we respect the views expressed by the Rt. Reverend Bishop we regret to have to say that we do not necessarily endorse them.

Things In General

Passive Resistance News

A batch of seven resisters from Durban appeared before the Durban Magistrate on Jan 7 and were each sentenced to a term of 30 days hard labour or £3 fine. Among this batch was one Durban woman student Miss Padmaja Ramothar.

A batch of thirty-three resisters, 11 women, including Mrs. S. Kestonjoo and Mrs. L. A. Cachelam from the Transvaal were released on Wednesday from the Maitland Jail and 12 men were released from Stanger Jail. The ladies were in high spirits though they looked pulled down. They were all welcomed by the Natal Indian Congress.

On Sunday night a batch from Verulam will go into action.

Mr. C. I. Amra Gaoled

A sentence of one month's hard labour, which had been suspended on condition that Mr. C. I. Amra left the Cape Province by December 31, was brought into operation last Tuesday when Mr. Amra appeared in the Magistrate's Court, Capetown. Mr. Amra is a law student at the University of Capetown and is secretary of the Cape Passive Resistance Council. In the Magistrate's Court, Capetown on December 11 he was sentenced to one month's hard labour for being a prohibited immigrant in the Cape Province. The sentence was suspended for six months on condition that he was of good behaviour and left the Province by December 31.

Newcastle Indians

At the special general meeting of the Natal Indian Congress New

Castle Branch held on December 30, the resignation of the joint Secretary Mr. V. Y. Abboo was accepted and Mr. H. I. Singh was unanimously elected as the senior joint Secretary.

At a mass meeting of the Natal Indian Congress, New Castle Branch held on December 30, resolutions were passed urging the U.N.O. decision on the Indian question, asking the Government to implement the U.N.O. resolution concerning the Passive Resistance Council on its decision to continue the struggle with greater intensity and pledging its fullest support and co-operation and rejecting the offer of Communal franchise.

Arrival Of Swami Ghanananda In Stanger

Swami Ghanananda, who is a representative in South and East Africa of the Paparishus Mission of India, arrived at Durban on New Year's Day by the S.E. Scythia. A very large and representative gathering welcomed the Swami at the dockside, where he was garlanded by the S. A. Hindu Mahasabha, Lower Tugela District Hindu Veda Dharma Sabha, Sanatan Dharma Sabha, Natal, South Hindu Association, Young Men's Veda Society and the Vithaya Nathaswar Temple. The Swami's arrival in this country was on the invitation of the Lower Tugela District Hindu Veda Dharma Sabha, whose guest

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2770, 2771, 2772, 2773, 2774, 2775, 2776, 2777, 2778, 2779, 2780, 2781, 2782, 2783, 2784, 2785, 2786, 2787, 2788, 2789, 2790, 2791, 2792, 2793, 2794, 2795, 2796, 2797, 2798, 2799, 2800, 2801, 2802, 2803, 2804, 2805, 2806, 2807, 2808, 2809, 2810, 2811, 2812, 2813, 2814, 2815, 2816, 2817, 2818, 2819, 2820, 2821, 2822, 2823, 2824, 2825, 2826, 2827, 2828, 2829, 2830, 2831, 2832, 2833, 2834, 2835, 2836, 2837, 2838, 2839, 2840, 2841, 2842, 2843, 2844, 2845, 2846, 2847, 2848, 2849, 2850, 2851, 2852, 2853, 2854, 2855, 2856, 2857, 2858, 2859, 2860, 2861, 2862, 2863, 2864, 2865, 2866, 2867, 2868, 2869, 2870, 2871, 2872, 2873, 2874, 2875, 2876, 2877, 2878, 2879, 2880, 2881, 2882, 2883, 2884, 2885, 2886, 2887, 2888, 2889, 2890, 2891, 2892, 2893, 2894, 2895, 2896, 2897, 2898, 2899, 2900, 2901, 2902, 2903, 2904, 2905, 2906, 2907

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INDIAN OPINION

Devoted to
MAHATMA GANDHI
N 1905

No. —Vol. XLV

FRIDAY 7TH JAN. 1947

Page 100

Indian Opinion

PUBLISHED BY ANANT, 1947

Mr. Pather's Suggestion

MR. P. R. PATHER, one of the members of the South African Indian Congress Delegation to U.N.O., who has just returned to Durban, has thrown out a suggestion that "the passive resistance struggle which has done so much for the cause should be suspended as a gesture on our part to the United Nations resolution." "I throw out this suggestion," says Mr. Pather, "in the best interests of the community and I suggest that it be submitted to India for consideration." Mr. Pather's reasons for making this suggestion are that "on our part we must do nothing that would disturb the sound position in which India finds herself on this all-important question, nor should we do anything to irritate the Europeans of South Africa." "I am sincerely and honestly of the opinion," says Mr. Pather, "that we should pave the way for a speedy and honourable settlement. We are all agreed that the only settlement that can be conceived is the total repeal of the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act. That is the stand that the S.A.I.C took in February, 1946. The community has not and should not deviate from that stand. (Italics are ours.)

Mr. P. R. Pather has been a public worker for many long years and what he says or does must have its repercussions on the minds of the general public. It is unfortunate that Mr. Pather thought it advisable to rush in the Press on such a vital matter and has thus exposed himself to adverse criticism.

We regret to have to differ from Mr. Pather in his suggestion to suspend the struggle. His reasons are flimsy and merit no consideration. Mr. Pather is concerned about our irritating the Europeans of South Africa. Far from irritating the Europeans of South Africa, we are of the firm opinion that in the estimation of the thinking European

of South Africa the Indian community has risen as it has never done in the past thirty years. Besides, a passive resister irritates nobody. If irritation means irritation caused to a person for being ridiculed in the eyes of the civilized world by his misdeeds it is not the fault of the passive resister who is mockly suffering the blows of the tyrant. If a child wants the moon and gets irritated because it cannot be got for him, the child is to blame.

If, as Mr. Pather says, we have not to deviate from the stand that the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act should be totally repealed, that can't be done by suspending the struggle at the present stage. If we abide by Mr. Pather's suggestion we will do considerable damage to our cause. We should do nothing to hinder India in her efforts to solve the Indian question and India will surely tell us when the time or time has come to suspend our struggle. For us to ask India if we may suspend the struggle as Mr. Pather would have it would signify weakness on our part. The present happy stage to which we have reached on the Indian question is due very largely, if not wholly, to the sacrifices made by our brave passive resisters, both men and women. The greater the sacrifice on our part the earlier we shall be able to reach our aspired goal. Let it not be forgotten that by our sacrifices we are strengthening the hands of the Union Government to face the Opposition. The Government can do nothing for us unless they are able to convince the Opposition of the necessity to act. And what can convince the Opposition of that fact? Not inertia on our part but the fiercest resistance against him.

No mother will feed the child unless the child cries. The time to suspend our struggle will come when there is an inclination on the part of the Government to do something to settle the question. There has been no evidence of such inclination so far. On the contrary the Minister of the Interior has declared in no uncertain terms that the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act is in force and will remain in force despite the resistance on the part of the Indian community. The Government is not prepared to believe that the community as a whole is averse to the Ghetto Act. They maintain it is only a handful of extremists who are making all the noise. If that were so it is no compliment to the community. We can remove that false impression by action not inaction as suggested by Mr. Pather. Our struggle will be suspended the moment the Government shows an inclination to act favourably. The suspension of the Asiatic Act and the summoning of a round table conference

as suggested by us in a previous issue is not an extravagant demand. The suspension of the struggle and the action on the part of the Government can both be done simultaneously. But are they willing? In the meantime our struggle has to go on in full force. Mr. J. C. West, Mr. A. I. Meer, Mr. S. M. Nather, Mr. S. V. Reddi, officials of the Natal and the Transvaal Indian Congress and the Passive Resistance Council, have given a fitting reply to Mr. Pather by their action. We heartily congratulate them and all the other brave men and women who have suffered, who are suffering and who are about to suffer imprisonment. That is the way to freedom. Let our forward march go on unceasingly until there is light. We are yet groping in the dark. We regret to say Mr. Pather's suggestion however sincerely it may have been made does not suit us. We have no doubt it will suit nobody at the present stage. We fully endorse the reply given by Mr. J. N. Singh, secretary of the Passive Resistance Council.

A FREE INDIA WILL COUNT IN WORLD AFFAIRS

MEMBERS of the United Nations Indian delegation pleaded strongly for the withdrawal of India as a condition of the suspension given by the India League on December 21.

Justice M. G. Bhargava said, "If we have a free India, a free India is—our country will count very effectively in international affairs. The Government should realize and we ought to recognize the importance of this session of the United Nations just ended and send at all times the strongest delegation possible."

"Not only did we play an effective part in these questions affecting India but also in international affairs. In years to come we will certainly play a more important part in the affairs of the world."

"Our victory in connection with racial discrimination in South Africa was also a victory for the United Nations."

"Our success was due to the fact that we were all of one mind on important matters."

"This was the first time that a delegation was sent by a non-official Government to India to an important International Conference. So long as the United Nations exist it will be open for any member nation to take to it any problem."

"The unanimous resolution on Disarmament was one in which our delegation too played its part. I assure you it gives a gleam of hope to this tired world that there is unanimity among all nations—particularly among the Big Five—on the question of disarmament."

Mr. P. N. Harnu said, "At the United Nations, we saw the triumph of justice and righteousness; we were listened to sympathetically and we were able to persuade the Assembly to pass a momentous resolution. I was impressed with the friendliness

of the people on earth towards our country, particularly that of our Asiatic friends—Iraq, Iran, Egypt, Saudi Arabia and the like.

"In our struggle for independence, we have the sympathy of all righteous men. Let us work steadily, honestly and with determination to achieve that independence to which we are entitled. A free India will have a very great deal to contribute to human thought and human progress."

Mr. B. A. Lal, one of the advisers to the delegation, said: "If we are to deserve our place among the nations of the world, it is up to us to build up our strength for one thing respected in the world today. That is

force. In order to build up that strength, one thing is needed—unity. If we are strong, everybody will respect us; if not, they will merely pass over us."

Mr. Krishna Mohan, Pandit Nehru's Personal Representative in Europe and Secretary of the India League of Britain, said, "The United Nations Conference just ended takes India organically into the sphere of world politics."

"A good beginning has been made. But to my mind, the most significant feature of the conference just ended was the people who were not there. Right through, the conference remained a spoils of people who were not represented."

WHAT UNO STANDS FOR

By SAM FIELDING

FULL eight weeks now the Press has been publishing letters from the Indian people to the United Nations against South Africa.

It is a pity that the average South African has a shadowy idea of what international affairs, and in consequence is easily led by the catch phrases of politicians.

The decision of UNO against South Africa is a reflection of the

defence of the law of nations.

It is a pity that the average South African has a shadowy idea of what international affairs, and in consequence is easily led by the catch phrases of politicians.

UNO has shown that it has accepted the challenge of the "atomic" era. It has shown us that universal interests must come before self-interest if the world is to gain a universal defence against the threat of universal destruction.

Had South Africa won her case then she would have been allowed to legislate against other minorities in the future. And all countries would have been encouraged thereby to legislate against any section of humanity at any time it suited them. Sooner or later, South Africa would have been encouraged to legislate against the Jews, then the Greeks, the Russians, and even against the British when a change of Government was imminent. Would that have been the way to security of the individual?

Thanks to UNO, South Africa has been obliged to take stock of herself as a member State committed to the cause of peace, justice, freedom and progress.

The great aim of the world is

those who have been able to rise above politics, yes, and even above patriotism. Such men are rare, but, recognising that a new era, a revolutionary era has dawned upon us, revolutionised and enlightened thought is duty in increasing their numbers.

The leader of the Opposition has been quick to make political capital out of the UNO judgement and, almost as quickly, he has found followers, who are caught up by a wrong conception of patriotism, to form the nucleus of a mob psychology attitude towards the South African free-lance, which leads to war.

He is a greater South African who is capable of conceding self-interest for the benefit of suffering humanity. However, the world cannot expect, nor is it the intention, that any one country should sacrifice its rights and privileges at the expense of other interests. The judgement of UNO against South Africa will also be the judgement against any other country should the same or similar circumstances arise.

All those who wish to see the elimination of intolerance, injustice, prejudice and fear in the relationship between man and man and nation and nation should change their minds in order to allow of that depth of thought which comes from the common sense instead of from the minds of ambitious politicians seeking power.

Under the new world structure, the power of the General Assembly is in public opinion. Public opinion can at last become a force, not only to be heard, but to influence world affairs. The medium by which that force can ultimately be heard is through the United Nations' Assemblies which have been formed all over

the world. Even Johannesburg has a very active branch of UNO. Every peace-minded and thinking citizen has the privilege of becoming a member. Those who are cynical or apathetic about international affairs are helping to retard the forces working for peace. For peace is a power which has to be set in motion by a common effort, untried before.

TRANSVAAL CONGRESS SECRETARY GOES TO GAOL

TRANSVAAL'S 22nd batch of passive resisters led by Mr I. C. Meer, secretary of the Transvaal Indian Congress, courted arrest on Sunday, January 12. The batch included Mr. Solomon Mahomed Nethie, treasurer of the Passive Resistance Council, Mr. Ruthenamy Nudoo, Mr. Hansen Vawda (Verulam), Mr. M. Perumal Govender (Verulam), Mrs. Yacoub Ayesha Doodar, Mrs. Zohra Meer and Mrs. T. Narasimay Narloo. On Monday, January 13 they were all sentenced to 15 days or 30 days imprisonment. All went to gaol, in his statement before the Court Mr Meer said.



Mr. I. C. MEER

"This batch is just another batch to follow in the footsteps of those pioneers who have gone before us to uphold the principles of democracy in this colour-ridden country. Their sacrifices have not been in vain. Already the democratic nations of the world have declared in emphatic terms against racialism and have called upon the Union Government to treat its Indian population in conformity with the democratic principles of the United Nations principles which every human being holds dear.

The declaration on the part of the United Nations imposes a sacred duty on all South Africans who cherish fundamental human rights and who do not wish to see their country become an outcast from the family of democratic nations. It is their primary task to see that the Union Government implements the decision of the United Nations. Even the most biased observer must admit that the Indian people have made a gallant sacrifice for a cause in which they believe. What is it that has made men and women give up the comfort of their lives and go to prison? It is the spirit of freedom, it is the sign of the times.

The passive resistance struggle is merely a prelude to bigger things to come, a prelude to the united struggle of all oppressed non-European and progressive for a democratic South Africa, free from colour bar and racial discrimination.

Meeting At Verulam

A crowded meeting at Verulam on Sunday, January 12, bade farewell to Mr. Hansen Vawda, and Mr. Perumal Govender who went into action on Monday night. Passive Resistance Council officials—Dr. Naidoo, Mr. A. I. Meer and Dr. Goolam spoke at the meeting which was part of the Natal tour of the officials of the Passive Resistance Council to explain the Council's point of view of UNO's decision.

An appeal is also being made for contribution to the £30,000 National Fund for Resistance.

On Sunday, January 13, another batch of resisters will go into action. A farewell meeting will be held in Resistance Hall on Sunday night at 8 p.m. The batch will include Mr. A. I. Meer, secretary of the Natal Indian Congress, both of whom have been the backbone of the resistance movement since its inception.

The total number imprisoned by Monday, January 13 was 154, consisting of 158 women and 396 men.

PANDIT NEHRU ON BRITISH GOVERNMENT'S STATEMENT

SPEAKING at the All-India Congress Committee on the Congress Working Committee resolution recommending acceptance of the British Government's statement of December 6, on the grouping of provinces, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru said, the main point in his proposal was to keep the Indian Constituent Assembly alive and extract from it the greatest possible for the country.

By accepting the statement of December 6 we will leave the door open for the Muslim League to enter and put forward their point of view, he said. "If we do not accept that statement, it gives the British Government an opportunity to change or withdraw their earlier statement of May 16, with the result that the Constituent Assembly might be changed radically."

Statements have been put in the Constituent Assembly to the point we have overcome once and we should do everything in our power to prevent a move to sabotage this great weapon, which we can use to our advantage."

He recalled his statement to his speech at the Meerut session of Congress in November that "the attitude of the British Government is adversely affecting the work of the Interim Government," and declared:

The British Government's actions have created complications. A grave situation has been created and the resolution before the House, which has been prepared with great care and deliberation, is a simple, straightforward one to meet the situation."

Congress, he said, was sorely tempted to accept the challenge contained in the British statement of December 6 and to answer it "with all the force at our command, but we realise the danger of allowing our emotions to get the better of us."

Denying the suggestion that acceptance of the December 6 statement was a confession of weakness, Pandit Nehru declared: "Our fight has taken a new form with the meeting of the Constituent Assembly and our aim should be to see that the Assembly is not postponed or shelved. It has not yet begun to function in its fullest, but I hope when it meets after a fortnight it will begin to function as it should. The significant point about the Constituent Assembly is that it cannot be dissolved by the British Government except by force."

"When the British Government choose to use force in that way, then it will be time for us to decide how to face it."

The primary point to bear in mind is that the Constituent Assembly, as before, is a permanent body, although it is not the assembly of our day, yet it can be utilised as a weapon to save our independence."

Therefore it becomes absolutely essential and important to prevent attempts to postpone or shelve it."

The Muslim League, he said, was not a party to the Constituent Assembly to fasten upon it the order of things that had prevailed eight or nine months ago.

"If that desire materialises we shall meet that situation as we think best. By passing this resolution we will show the world we do not intend to work behind closed doors and to demonstrate our desire to keep the doors open we did many unpleasant things and postponed many decisions which we would like without delay. We do not want to give anyone the opportunity to say that we had broken the British plan."

Pandit Nehru added, "I do not know how long I and my colleagues will continue the Interim Government. People have been talking of the final fight for independence. I feel that fight is even now in progress. Possibly that fight will have to be intensified soon, but the present situation is such as to call for restraint in language and calm deliberation before action."

The resolution was moved by Mr. Shanker Rao Deo, general secretary of the Congress. He said the Constituent Assembly was not a gift from the British Government. It had had to be won out of Britain by India's struggle.

The resolution drafted by the Congress Working Committee advises Congress to act "in accordance with the British Government's interpretation" on the procedure to be followed in grouping provinces.

The resolution said "It must be clearly understood that this is not a voluntary compromise or a concession to any compulsion or a surrender to any that the Sikhs in the Punjab should not be jeopardised. In the event of any such compulsion, a province or part of a province has the right to take such action as may be deemed necessary to give effect to the wishes of the people concerned. Congress cannot be

party to any such compulsion or imposition against the will of the people concerned—a principle which the British Government themselves have recognised."

The resolution said that reference to the Federal Court of India of the dispute over the British Government's interpretation had become "purposeless and undesirable."

The British statement of December 6 expressed the hope that both Congress and the Muslim League would agree to the Federal Court being asked to decide matters of interpretation, but that if the Constituent Assembly wished to refer to the question of grouping to the Court this should be done very soon.

The acceptance of the British Government's interpretation was passed by 99 votes to 55 on a resolution by the Congress Party Working Committee. The resolution

followed consultations between Pandit Nehru and Mahatma Gandhi.

Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose, former Bengal Congress leader, resigned his membership of the Congress Working Committee as a protest against the resolution. In a telegram to the Congress president, Mr. Kripalani, Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose said that the decision made the Constituent Assembly a subservient body, compelled the provinces to accept grouping against their will and made them surrender provincial autonomy.

Mr. Jinnah Will Now Change?

Just before Christmas, Mr. Jinnah, the Muslim League president, told a press conference that he had not yet officially accepted the British plan, the Muslim League would not reverse its previous decision to boycott the Constituent Assembly.

MR. C. I. AMRA'S STATEMENT IN COURT

MRS. C. I. AMRA, wife of a well-known Cape Town lawyer, who was asked to testify in the case of Mr. C. I. Amra, a Cape Town lawyer, who was charged with the murder of a woman, said that she was not a party to the murder and that she was not a party to the murder.

"Although the case is a very serious one, I have no objection to my political views being put forward and I am not afraid to do so," Mr. Amra said. "As far as my personal views are concerned, I am a very strong supporter of the Union of South Africa and I would mean that I have no objection to my views being put forward before the court. The South African Union of South Africa was negotiating with the British Government about the Union of South Africa. As he has already stated, he is a very strong supporter of the Union of South Africa and he is a very strong supporter of the Union of South Africa."

"I am a very strong supporter of the Union of South Africa and I am a very strong supporter of the Union of South Africa," Mr. Amra said. "I deny that I am a prohibited immigrant. I think a point which you have not taken into consideration is that when I came to the Cape Province it was clearly understood by the Immigration Department that I would be here until my studies were completed."

"I think it is an obligation on the part of the Department of the Interior and Immigration that that understanding—in fact I would call it a legal term of contract—should be kept. The point at issue is that that contract be broken by a very unreasonable reason that I do not take part in politics."

He said that he was secretary of the Cape Passive Resistance Council. Objections to his presence in the Cape had only been made since he became secretary of the council.

"The only conclusion I can come to is that the nature of this trial is a political one and I am a very strong supporter of the Union of South Africa and I cannot bow to that injustice. We talk in South Africa about racial persecution. This is a very good example of that."

You have already been found guilty and you are bound by my verdict, said the judge. "I am a very strong supporter of the Union of South Africa and I cannot bow to that injustice. We talk in South Africa about racial persecution. This is a very good example of that."

THE Congress Working Committee has issued a statement on the 15th January, 1947, regarding the proposed grouping of the provinces.

The statement of May 16, (2) The Congress objection was to compulsory grouping. (3) Lord Wavell, in a letter to Mahatma Aard dated 15th June, said "The statement of May 16 does not make grouping compulsory. It leaves the decision to the elected representatives of the provinces concerned, sitting together in Sessions. (4) The Secretary of State in a letter to Master Tara Singh dated June 1, said, "I fear the Mission cannot issue any additions to, or interpretation of, the statement." (5) The Working Committee deeply regret that the British Government should have acted in a manner which has not been in keeping with their own assurances, and which has created suspicion in the minds of large numbers of people in India. (6) The Committee will continue their efforts to make the C.A. fully representative of all the people of India and trust that the Muslim League will give their co-operation in this great task. In order to achieve this the Committee have advised Congress representatives in the Assembly to postpone consideration of important business to a subsequent meeting. (7) The Committee are anxious to avoid anything that may come in the way of the successful working of the C.A., and are prepared to do everything in their power to seek and obtain the largest measure of co-operation provided that no fundamental principle is violated.

More About C.A.

Mr. Jinnah, in an interview given on the 21st at Karachi, said: "Unless and until Congress unreservedly accept the interpretation which has been categorically and definitely put upon the statement of May 16, there is no occasion for me to call the Council meeting." Shri Bardoloi, the Assam Premier, said on the 25th that in the event of the Congress accepting the British Government's statement of December 8, Assam still hoped to press its viewpoint for not going into any group. Late Mahar Chand Khanna, Finance Minister, N.W.F.P., said: "The Pathans have definitely given a verdict against Pakistan as is clearly evident from the results of the general elections. Out of the 36 Muslim seats in the Frontier Assembly, Congress has won 21 seats. This was a clear verdict against Pakistan." On the 21st Pandit Nehru, speaking in the C.A. on a motion to set up a

OUR INDIA LETTER

(FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT)

Baroda, December 30, 1946.

CONGRESS SPEAKS OUT

Negotiation Committee, said: "I regret, I say frankly, that we have to meet the Eilers' Negotiating Committee. I think that on the part of the states there should have been on the Negotiating Committee representatives of the people of the states. I think even now that the Negotiating Committee, if it wants to do the right thing, should in consultation with representatives of the people of the states."

"India's Saviour"

'India's saviour walks along the road in the Christ-like person of Mahatma Gandhi,' this was said in a speech at Tagore's Vivasvanti on the 24th. "My blessings to temple entry movement and to the movement. I am working here single-handed against odds," said Gandhi in reply to a letter from a respondent. He has planned

SMUTS UNWORTHY ADVOCATE OF FREEDOM

CHIEF MINISTER of Madras and a speaker at the annual meeting of the Acharya Kripalani, Congress President says:—"It is the statement of a man, who smarting under defeat, has thrown off the mask and blurred out the truth. All these years the aged Marshal has posed as the champion of democracy and the rights of man. When the British Empire was under the shadow of Hitler's threat he became an eloquent advocate of the Four Freedoms and thundered against the Nazi theory of racial superiority. In fact, Hitler's claim to rule over a portion of Europe was a modest one compared with the claim of a handful of white intruders perpetually to exploit the coloured millions of Africa. The whole stress of the Marshal's grouse is against the idea of human equality which, according to him, was unfortunately dominant at the United Nations Organisation."

It is indeed true that equality does not prevail anywhere in the world and every reformer has to advocate it and work for it. However, instead of deploring the fact of inequality, this champion of the Atlantic Charter quotes it as an argument against the ideal itself. His statement is a pathetic confession of his dread of equality. It is not the fate of the 250,000,000 coloured people that concerns him but of the small and privileged white minority. What will happen to it if the submerged majority of Africa rise up and claim their legitimate place in the land of their fathers? What happens to those who grab more than is legitimately theirs? History has repeated the answer often enough.

The problem is not confined to Africa but is spread over the whole of Asia. If the whites cannot reconcile themselves to the idea of equality with the coloured races of the world, they have no place in Asia and Africa. Racial imperialism is even more odious than economic imperialism. So long as either of them prevails, and so long as there are Smutses and Churchills to turn the Four Freedoms into a mockery, there can be no peace in that world."

upon this at this stage. We are after getting appropriate representation from the states in this Assembly elected representatives as far as possible. We should insist upon that when the time comes, but we cannot refuse to meet anybody. Therefore in this regard we have as I not only that we shall meet the Negotiating Committee set up by the Chamber of Princes, but also other representatives of the states. That gives us scope to meet other people."

to start on a walking tour, of which the following A.P.I. despatch from Birmampur gives a detailed description.

The New Year might mark the beginning of what is considered "historic march" of Mahatma Gandhi. A big march was being held, village to village, examined by Prof. Virajit Singh, Mahatma Gandhi's biographer. Everything is ready for the tour which, according to Congress circles, will surpass memorable events like the 'Gandhi

M... tour will be like a... it will be like that of Shri Bhankaracharya going on pilgrimage to Sarovar through the jungles of Chhota Nagpur. To Gandhi this tour is his greatest test and his success will fulfil his life mission. The winter is hard, but the equipment Gandhi will carry is small. If necessary Mahatma will go on his own food. Mr. Farmanam will accompany the Mahatma. "He is not only an efficient stenographer, but," as Gandhi once remarked, "also very doubtful." Prof. Nirmal Bose will act as Mahatma Gandhi's interpreter. Eighty per cent of the population of the

wants to conduct them primarily. He will, therefore, take with him one Musselman. A gentleman named Mr. Hunar has already volunteered to accompany Gandhi for the purpose. Altogether, therefore, four persons at present arranged will march with Gandhi. Hard winter, difficult pathways of countryside, dense groves of coconut and balmat,

bamboo bridges, and clinkings of muscows ways the ahead of Gandhi. "Gandhi will over come them just as Shaukani," says the... of power...

man and man of one community and another, and shattered by... which they blot India's fate. Gandhi will break these barriers. He will build up damaged hate and bring the two communities together. In this task Gandhi thinks he has to perform something that will not only affect India, but...

This will be the test. As Gandhi's march is... for the... people come here with someone looks—his devoted followers come and go weeping all the way. Gandhi is grim with his determination. He would not allow anybody, however devoted he or she may be to him, to follow him in his tour. And people coming here offering to accompany him are turned away. Even Mrs. Arun Gandhi, who since his lonely tour started on December 20, had not seen him, was asked to go to Kadir-khil to spend the night. She wanted to spend one night, but she had to go. The Mahatma will carry few books with him—Gita, Quran and a Bible. The march will be started every morning. An advance party will arrange halt at a village where Gandhi will halt for meals and rest. It is likely that the march will be resumed again till the evening prayer time and then

Things In General

H.H. The Aga Khan's Message

The following message was received by Dr. G. M. Naisker and Dr. Y. M. Dadoo from H.H. the Aga Khan:

I have read with much interest the most important debates in New York at UNO meeting brought to me by my old friend Mr. Borahjee Rustonjee. I was delighted and a little surprised to see a record of the work done by Mrs. Pandit and my countrymen there. It is a very good omen for the future of international relations that the Parliament of Nations has shown such disinterested devotion to the cause of justice and fairplay. I also admire the spirit of self-sacrifice shown by a young man like Mr. Pandit.



Mr. G. M. Patel of Pretoria who has received Civil Aviation "A" pilot licence. He is at present receiving a training for "B" licence. Mr. Patel is 28 years of age.

Conference On Non-European Adult Education
More than 60 representative delegates from various Government Departments, Municipalities and church bodies, will attend the Big Conference on Non-European Adult Education, which is being held today and tomorrow January 17 and 18. The conference is being convened by the South African Institute of Race Relations.

High School For Pretoria Indians

The Pretoria Indian School has been selected to be the nucleus of a High School in that class have been commenced both Standard IX and also the Matriculation children who had to travel to Johannesburg to attend the higher classes will not have to do so now. Pretoria Indians are asked to take free advantage of these

facilities. I was after a tremendous struggle that the education authorities were persuaded to take the step of running the school of the Pretoria Government Indian School, and it would be a great pity if this privilege is withdrawn, or that it should lapse, for want of necessary support.

Spitzkop Govt.-Aided Indian School Trust

The Spitzkop Govt.-Aided Indian School Trust held its first annual general meeting since their inaugural meeting in 1944, at the Spitzkop store on Friday December 22 before a large gathering. Through the efforts of the chairman Mr. O. R. Moosamy a grant of 3 acres of land was made to the School Trust by Messrs. Watson Bros. of Spitzkop Farm. The secretary Mr. R. D. Govender reviewed the last year's activities and submitted his report and the trustees then elected for the year 1946-47. His financial statement which showed a surplus of 2000 and donations from various districts amounted to 4412. The chairman and Mr. Amarnath Mahara stressed the need for further funds and asked the people to generously donate to this deserving fund.

The following officers-elect for the coming year were then elected: Chairman, K. Moosamy, vice-chairman, J. Govender, joint secretaries, R. D. Govender and K. Manickam. The meeting closed with a vote of thanks to the chair.

Lengue Organ Criticises Congress

Dawn, the official organ of the Moslem League says that, although the All-India Congress Committee had accepted the British Government's interpretation of the India plan in a resolution adopted on January 6, Congress was still talking with its tongue in its cheek. "While an insidious attempt has been made to create the impression that Congress is now willing to follow the path of reason and accept the Quajim Memon's plan as officially interpreted, opposition to the grouping classes, which forms a vital part of the scheme, has been zealously maintained and worked up."

Obituary

The death of Mrs. Ismail Amod Caje of Johannesburg Remo

took place at her residence at the age of 63. The funeral was attended by a large number of friends and relatives. The deceased is survived by 3 children, seven sons and one daughter. Her eldest son Mr. D. I. Caje, is well-known in business, sport and in political circles. Her fifth son is studying medicine in the various hospitals at Fort Hare and of her son a well-known as a psychologist. Her grandchild Miss Helen Caje is studying nursing in Kimberley High School.

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INDIAN OPINION

MAHATMA GANDHI

No. 4.—Vol. XLV

FRIDAY, 24TH JANUARY, 1947.

Indian Opinion

ESTABLISHED 1904

South Africa's Sin

WHILE these lines are being penned the debate on the Indian question is still proceeding in the Union House of Assembly. We have before us Dr. Malan's motion and the reply given by General Smuts. As for the former one can have very little to say. In brief it is destructive; there is nothing constructive about it. During the War Dr. Malan and his Party wooed Hitler and there is little to wonder at if they are today imbued with the spirit of Hitlerism.

Dr. Malan would have Indians taken away from South Africa and dumped no matter where. To the sea it need be. That, apparently, is the line he would pursue to solve the Indian question. General Smuts, on the other hand, does not take that extreme attitude. He would give the Indians all the amenities of life, but they must bear on their foreheads the brand of pariah. Our contention is that this attitude of General Smuts is wholly inconsistent with the noble principles of human brotherhood he has so eloquently expounded in his many utterances. If these utterances are meant only for platform oratory and no more value is to be attached to them, it does not speak well of a great statesman like General Smuts, the architect of the United Nations Charter. The United Nations Organisation is virtually the world's Parliament. It has the power to create and destroy. It is subordinate to nobody. It cannot be subordinate to its own creation. The International Court is one of its creations. It cannot override its creator. Therefore there seems hardly any reason in General Smuts flouting the verdict of the United Nations Organisation and talking of taking the Indian question before the International

Court. Would the Union Government allow its Law Courts to override its Parliament? The Courts dare not override it. We have no doubt there are at least a few Judges and Magistrates who are not too happy to exercise all the laws enacted by Parliament. But they can do nothing. Their duty is to exercise the law enacted by Parliament or to resign from their posts, and one in millions has the courage to renounce such a dignified and lucrative post.

What sin have South Africans committed? asks General Smuts. For two million whites to try to keep over ten million non-whites suppressed out of fear of the former being submerged by the latter. Can there be a greater sin than this before man and God? And to take the instance of the Indians which concerns us directly. There are 200,000 Indians in the midst of 2,000,000 Europeans in the Union of South Africa. The area of the Union is 473,000 square miles or 300,000,000 acres. If 2,000,000 souls who are the masters of 473,000 square miles of territory refuse to allow 200,000 souls who have committed no sin other than that of being born with a darker complexion, whose ancestors have given them life blood to the land, to be treated as pariahs and who have all along been an energetic, peaceful and a law-abiding useful community, to live as self-respecting human beings, is it not the height of arrogance. Can there be a greater sin than that before man and God? A Government that can allow such a thing and the people who support it are doomed to destruction, is all that we can say. May better counsels yet prevail upon them and guide them to follow the path of righteousness.

EQUALITY OF TREATMENT

By L. W. RITCH

A GREAT deal has been made in the European press of the Indian claim to equality of treatment as a nation by others of the Union's non-European peoples. The claim is ridiculed as an impertinence coming from non-whites and impossible of entertainment for the additional reason that "it threatens the very foundation of Western civilisation and culture."

The former at least reflects an honest and undisguised declaration of "principles;" it is more than doubtful whether the latter is other than a euphemism for jealously preserving the vested interests and privileges of a strongly entrenched (white) overlordship.

It is not difficult to appreciate that just as formerly custom and habits of thought lent sanctity to chattel slavery as an institution, so the traditional South African notion that the black man is an inferior order of being, providentially created (like the ox or the mule) to bear the white man's most disagreeable burdens and submissively to do as he is told, has crystallised into a fatalistic notion that the colour of the skin is the determining factor in the social and political status of the individual. Like the Nazi fetish of "pure Aryan blood," any evidence suggestive of non-white ancestry is sufficient to warrant its unfortunate inheritor being relegated to the ranks of the servient as opposed to the dominant order, and subjected to the numerous statutory disabilities such as the Smuts entails.

"All men are born free and equal," declared the founders of the American Republic. A similar principle, the precursor of the American Declaration of Independence, is, at least, arguable if unquestionably reflects a concept that is democratic in the best sense.

"There shall be no equality in Church or State between whites and non-whites," declared the founders of the Traquevaal Republic and, embodying that declaration in the state's Grundwet so defined their conception of human relationships and the "Herrenvolk's" policy to be pursued.

When it is appreciated that since Union of the four provinces legislative power has largely, if not entirely, been in the hands of the Government of the Union, and that those who scored their color prejudices, it is no longer difficult to understand the presence of a Government of the Union designed to perpetrate white dominance and non-white subordination. There can be little if any doubt that since Union the more generous and liberal policy on the question of color that had already begun to influence the former Cape Colony has been neutralised if not actually killed out by the reactionary policy originating in the Northern provinces.

To get to the root of the widely prevailing color prejudice—often amounting to hatred—calls for some rather deep digging. For instance, it soon becomes obvious to the impartial observer that the anti-color complex is something that refuses to submit itself to the accepted standards of reason. Any attempt to test its merits by discussion is almost invariably fatal and not infrequently ends in insult being heaped on the head of the well-meaning opponent.

The fact of the matter, of course is, that the mental and emotional state called color prejudice is a psychological phenomenon, a knot, an obsession, an anti-rationalism. Like so many other aversions it arises from unreason—from mistaken or faulty premises, from inability to see beyond the mere surface, to distinguish essentials from accidentals; in short, to perceive that the "house of flesh" is not through which a man functions is no more the whole man than is a wheel of a car.

When egotism stemming "otherness" as against "likeness," and seeing only in the "foreign" something inimical to be combatted and expelled, is reinforced with lust of possessions and a passion for overlordship one is confronted with a darkness that is not easily dispelled.

In the Union House of Assembly on Tuesday, January 21, Dr. D. K. Malan, rose amid Opposition cheers to speak on the motion moved by him on U.N.O.'s decision on South-West Africa and the Indian question. Dr. Malan said the introduction of this motion could not have come as a surprise to anyone. Recent happenings overseas had forced South Africa to make a choice.

The Prime Minister's actions at U.N.O. were open to and deserved criticism. He had gone to U.N.O. after having agreed with the point of view in regard to the incorporation of South-West Africa put forward by the Opposition. In the debate then it had been made clear that not only would the Union, in incorporating South-West Africa, be well within the rights of the mandate but also that the principle which had conferred the mandate on South Africa no longer existed and that it was impossible to substitute another principle.

He said the position regarding the complaints brought by the Government of India was even worse. At U.N.O. the matter placed on the preliminary agenda.

The question was referred to the Committee of the Four Big Powers. At all expectations, the Prime Minister had remained silent and allowed the issue to remain on the agenda.

The Union should refuse to acquiesce any interference with its domestic affairs. Sovereignty was not a matter for the Government but for the nation as a whole and must in no way be compromised.

Dr. Malan said instead of U.N.O. granting South Africa's request for the incorporation of South-West Africa, the Union was now asked to put South-West Africa under U.N.O. trusteeship. The fact that this was a request to the Union meant that it could be refused. The United Nations Charter made it clear that mandatory Powers were asked voluntarily to hand over their mandates.

The Union had the right to make all its laws applicable to South-West Africa, to grant South-West Africa self-government and self governing bodies, and to grant it representation in the Union Parliament. He therefore asked that these rights should now be exercised to the fullest degree.

Dr. Malan said the U.N.O. decision on South-West Africa could be described as a request, on the Indian question the U.N.O. decision was a demand.

The solution of the Indian problem was to transfer the Indian community in South

UNION HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

DEBATE ON UNO DECISION

DR. MALAN'S RESOLUTION—GENERAL SMUTS'S REPLY

Africa to India or elsewhere. Such transfers of population were nothing out of the ordinary.

The people of Europe today were finding the solution of their minorities problems in the transfer of population. In Palestine, where there was a plan for partitioning, Britain was thinking along similar lines.

European representatives had been created in the Union Assembly. If the Minister of Finance had his way those representatives would be Natives and Indians and the block would increase in numbers.

The Minister of Finance, interjecting, asked Dr. Malan whether he wanted to repeal the Native Acts of 1936. Dr. Malan said yes.

TEXT OF DR. MALAN'S MOTION

THE text of Dr. Malan's motion was as follows: "That in view of the resolutions adopted recently by the United Nations Organisation relating to the incorporation of South-West Africa, the charge against the Union in respect of its Indian legislation and the policy of race and colour discrimination generally, and in view of the serious implications of such resolutions for South Africa and more particularly for the White race and its future, this House is of the opinion that:

"(1) The Union should give no effect to the requisition that South-West Africa should be placed under the trusteeship of the United Nations Organisation and/or that the Union should accept any responsibility towards the Trusteeship Council of U.N.O. with regard to the manner in which the Union as a mandatory is exercising that trust."

"(2) The Union should by virtue of its rights and powers as a mandatory prevent any change in South-West Africa's status with the rights and powers of a mandate which its various Provinces enjoy, and to give an independent voice to the Senate and the House of Assembly."

"(3) The Government should give no effect to the demand by U.N.O. that the Union should enter into negotiations with the Government of India regarding South Africa's own measures relating to the Indian question and in the event of entering to report thereon, except in so far as such negotiations have the express and exclusive object of having the Indian population of South Africa removed to India or elsewhere."

"(4) The Government should take the necessary steps to withdraw the representation of Indians in Parliament and in the Natal Provincial Council granted recently, as it is now apparent that such representation is both undesired and futile."

A Joint Committee of both Houses of Parliament should be appointed to devise a comprehensive policy for the Union in respect of the colour problem generally and more particularly in respect of the Native, Coloured and Asiatic population groups in their relation to the White race as well as their relations to each other, such policy to be based upon the principle of separation of Europeans and non-Europeans politically, residentially and as far as practicable also industrially."

There was disloyalty to South Africa among the Indians. They had laid complaints against South Africa with other nations and had beset the Union.

It was clear that the recently granted representation for Indians in Parliament was undesirable and futile and should be withdrawn.

By passing the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act a block of six non-

The colour problem had to be solved and a clear and definite policy must be followed. The legislation of 1936 would have to be reviewed.

There must be a general policy of separation and a specific policy for each group. It must be a just policy of separation, with each group in its own territory able to live and develop in that territory. Separation was a protection for the White

race and for the non-European. There must be so far as possible unanimity among the different political Parties on this policy. Therefore, there should be a combined Committee of both Houses, as there had been before 1936, which would handle the colour problem as a matter above Party politics.

Gen. Smuts's Reply

The Prime Minister, General J. C. Smuts, who was cheered from the Government benches, said the subjects contained in Dr. Malan's motion were among the most important in the history of the country. He hoped the discussion would be continued in a non-partisan spirit because they were far too important to be treated as Party issues.

He would be grateful if there could be a measure of unanimity on at least some of these problems.

Explaining South Africa's attitude regarding U.N.O. resolution on South-West Africa, General Smuts said the position was that the South African Government could not and would not make any proposal which would diminish the Union's rights or ignore the wishes of the people of South-West Africa.

South Africa was in the position of guardian to South-West Africa and had a duty towards its people. The result of the Union Government's attitude would be that draft agreement of trusteeship would be submitted. Then, in accordance with the United Nations Charter, the position regarding South-West Africa would remain unchanged, and the territory would continue to be administered under the Union's laws.

An Opposition Member: What would U.N.O. do?

The Prime Minister: What can U.N.O. do? We will be carrying out the terms of a contract. In terms of the United Nations Charter it is in our power to negotiate or not.

The people of South-West Africa had stated that they did not wish to come under the trusteeship system. The Union therefore had a duty not only under the Charter but also a moral duty towards the people of the territory.

An Opposition Member: What about secessions?

The Prime Minister: We are not without friends.

An Opposition Member: Will we have enough friends?

The Prime Minister said it was his aim to keep as many good friends on the side of South Africa as possible and not to isolate the Union unnecessarily.

An Opposition Member: What about the report to U.N.O.?

The Prime Minister said that provision was made in the United Nations Charter for reports on the administration of colonies. It was his view that South Africa did not fall under this chapter or the other chapter dealing with mandated territories but he thought it was a hint that should be taken.

He saw no objection, however, to supplying information to U.N.O. about the administration of the territory.

"So long as we do not come under the trusteeship system, I propose to make concessions on minor points. It is my view that we do not fall under Chapter 11 or Chapter 12 of the United Nations Charter, but we are prepared to act in accordance with Chapter 11."

Indian Problem

The Indian problem, the Prime Minister said, was quite different from that of South-West Africa. It was impossible to get U.N.O. to say what South Africa's sins were, what agreement South Africa had broken, or what terms of the Charter had been violated.

South Africa had no agreement with India. He had tried to explain that there was no such thing as a Capetown Agreement. The Capetown conference, in his opinion, was nothing more than a consultation between the Governments of the two countries.

As these were legal matters which were at stake he had said "Let us go to the Court which should decide these questions, the Court which is one of the most important organs of U.N.O." South Africa was not afraid of the facts. On the facts South Africa had a good case. His whole argument had been based on Chapter 75 of the Charter—the anchor of the Charter. He had said that the Court should decide whether this was or was not a domestic matter over which U.N.O. had no jurisdiction.

Couldn't Be Kept Out

India's complaint against South Africa was not a matter that could have been kept off the agenda by the Secretary-General. Once such a complaint was made to the Secretary-General, U.N.O. had itself to decide whether the matter would be placed on the agenda.

General Smuts said a great change was coming in the world. It was an eye-opener which had surprised him. The change was making the position difficult. The Union had been the first country to have to face such charges and U.N.O. had made a decision which would be far-reaching.

The point was this: If a minority group in a country could appeal to a foreign Power who could take up their case at U.N.O., on a matter which was really domestic one, chaos would be created in the world. It was not only South Africa but the whole world that was affected. But South Africa should not be pessimistic and think the case was lost. It was being dealt with step by step. (Cheers)

Act Must Stand

The Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act must stand. It would be the anchor of Natal. If South Africa did not want Durban to become a second Bombay, legislation such as this was absolutely essential. The Act did not discriminate. It applied equally to European and non-European. The Union had seen what had happened to other African countries where there was no such legislation. Almost too late, but still in time, he thought, Parliament had put through legislation which would guarantee the future of South Africa.

General Smuts said the Union was an unique experiment which was not understood by other countries. A community had been built up here which was not out of danger.

Other countries were slow in coming to realise that the danger which threatened the Union also threatened them and it was possible that on future occasions the Union would receive more support.

General Smuts said steps would have to be taken to see that the interests of Natal Indians in health, housing and educational facilities were adequately safeguarded. He thought the Indians had certain reasons for complaint which would have to be met without disturbing the fundamental issues at stake.

The Union had found a course to its Native policy after much difficulty. He had not agreed with General Horling in every respect but in the end that policy was adopted almost unanimously. It would be fatal to scrap that policy and start all over again. The present policy was working and it would be better to introduce improvements along the approved course.

Mr. J. G. Snyders (H.N.P. Waterburg): Is it true that you have said that segregation is a failure?

General Smuts: No. What I did say was that segregation was not the solution to all the problems.

General Smuts said that after the Hertzog legislation became law and entirely new problems had arisen, namely that of the Natives in urban areas, to a certain extent a solution had been

found for some of the problems and he preferred to carry along the existing lines.

Dr. Malan had also included in his motion the Coloured population in the Cape.

General Smuts said they would be treated as though they were an appendix to the European population. They were an "in-between nation" and their interests were closer to those of the European than they were to a further section. That should also remain as it was because the Coloured people were separated, a greater problem would arise than the existing one.

The European population in South Africa were in a position which called for the greatest caution. It was therefore better to let things remain as they were and to improve them from time to time.

Mr. O. R. Swart (H.N.P. Waterburg): "Are you also in favour of the policy advocated by the Minister of Mines—to have Natives in Parliament?"

General Smuts: I adhere to the Constitution.

General Smuts, replying to a further interjection, said that points of view were subject to alteration and he was not in a position to say what the points of view of succeeding generations might be.

Mr. Eric Louw

Mr. E. H. Louw (H.N.P. Beaufort West) said they had received an inadequate reply from the Prime Minister. Did the House have to approve the Prime Minister's weak tactics at U.N.O. Did they have to approve the lack of policy on the Coloured question?

The Prime Minister had failed to take the advice that had been given to him by the House. Why had the Prime Minister asked the United Nations for permission to incorporate South-West Africa when the United Nations had no authority over mandates?

If General Smuts had not done that he would not have placed South Africa in such a position. This request had meant that South Africa recognised U.N.O. as superior in the future status of mandated territories.

The first tactical error the Prime Minister had made was that instead of arguing the case on the jurisdiction issue in the first instance he had approached it on the factual issue. The Prime Minister had now signalled his willingness to submit reports to U.N.O. It made no difference whether those reports were made under Chapter 11 or Chapter 12—they would cause endless trouble.

The Prime Minister, interjecting, said the reports would be for information purposes only.

Mr. van der Merwe (H.N.P. Beaufort West) said that the Prime Minister had made a mistake in not considering the reports in South Africa of the various minorities.

It did not help, however, to debate the mistakes that General Smuts had made but it was necessary now to consider the repercussions in South Africa of these mistakes.

The Nationalist Party could not approve the tactics of the Prime Minister, nor could they support the policy of the Government in relation to the whole question.

White Papers On U.N.O. Decision

Government White Papers on the U.N.O. decisions about the incorporation of South-West Africa into the Union and on the Union's Indian and Coloured problems, have been prepared and it is hoped, will be available early next week, said the Prime Minister, General J. G. Smuts, in the House of Assembly Tuesday in reply to a question by Mr. J. E. F. Naudé (H.N.P. Beaufort West).

Mr. E. H. Louw (H.N.P. Beaufort West) asked the Prime Minister whether the Union had been ordered by the Indian Government to leave the country, and whether the Union Government had taken similar steps with regard to Indian Nationals in the Union. The Prime Minister replied that the Union Government had no knowledge of such an order by the Indian Government. The second question by Mr. Louw therefore fell away.



Dr. Khandooabhai Magesani MB Ch.B. the first Goan Indian to pass the Medical degree in the Cape

NEVER in history has the question of relationships between the two races in South Africa figured more prominently before the eyes of the world than it has during the last two months of this year. I know it all in the opinion of many South Africans the name of South Africa has been besmirched; it is not maliciously slandered. But, in the words of a progressive South African, who wrote recently on the subject, that attitude or frame of mind is traceable to a common acceptance, as a necessary evil, of the subversion of truth in public affairs to considerations of political expediency," said Mr. E. H. Godio recently in his presidential address to the Lorraine Advisory Board Congress in the Peacock Hall, East London.

Recalling that with the victory of the United Nations over the Axis last year had come hopes that the world would strive for a more lasting peace based on Christian principles and irrespective of race, creed or nationality, Mr. Godio said that these hopes had also been mingled with doubts that the fruits of victory would be enjoyed by all races. South Africa, he said, had become notorious for its harsh and, at times, inhuman treatment of the subject

"We pointed out at the time that the struggle then ended boiled down to a clear-cut issue between democratic and totalitarian principles, and much as we disliked basing an opinion on the exact nature of the form of our own Government, yet it is common knowledge that, in actual practice, South Africa does not subscribe fully to either of those principles in so far as the non-white section of the population is concerned.

"For these and many other reasons, we could not but feel apprehensive about the future relations between white and black in this country. Time has proved that we were not far wrong.

"Let me say, at the risk of being misunderstood, that with all due deference and respect to our Prime Minister's bold assertion made before he left the United States of America that 'our record of Native welfare work—education and training of Africans, their health and housing, their hospital facilities, pensions for the aged and blind, the wage standards in industry, the encouragement of Native Councils and of the freedom of the Native Press, and their absolute freedom of expression—is not surpassed and not equalled anywhere else in Africa,' I join issue with him and make it clear to say that there can be no

"GIVE US KINDER LAWS TO BRING US BACK" DISABILITIES OF NATIVES

misreading the fact that while it cannot be fully denied that we have recently secured a few concessions here and there, the Native policy of the Government has been, and still is, fundamentally oppressive and discriminatory in character.

"All this tall talk of 'freedom of the Native Press, and the absolute freedom of their expression while those who dare

The elevation of savage nations from barbarism to civilization was a slow process, and in that process there could be no compromise with the principles of the white man. If the European made such a compromise he was lost. So far from dying out, said Mr. Scallan, savages had increased numerically through the benefits brought them by the white man, who had saved them

tions between white and black in this country have done more harm than any other single factor—bar the policy of the Union Government—to the cause of racial enmity in this, our common country. What surprises the African, who is being told from all quarters that moderation is the most effective weapon in the battle for freedom and emancipation, is the extravagance and violence with which the language of the Acting High Commissioner bristles."

Pass Laws

Mr. Godio said that the last session of Parliament had not produced very much in the way of new legislation affecting Africans in the towns, excepting the transfer of the administration of the pass laws from the Central Government to the urban local authorities. That revolutionary and significant change of policy took place in the teeth of the strongest opposition by the Native people, who were aware that the so-called desirability of this change was due to the lack of a vigorous and progressive Native policy in the rural areas.

Methods of employment of Africans on European farms, and general living conditions in the reserves, cried out for improvement, and it was to counteract the attractions of the urban areas, which were the cause of the influx of Africans into the towns. It was also common knowledge that Africans were unanimous and consistent in their opposition to the pass system which this seeming, by innocuous legislation of the Government sought to entrench.

Another very important point which the Government ignored was that the very pass laws which it sought to perpetuate had been roundly condemned by its own Commission, including the Smith Committee of 1942. It was also worthy of note that Africans were denied representation on local government, and therefore could not influence the policy of the municipalities which had now been entrusted with the administration of these laws.

For the sake of the uninformed it was necessary to consider what these pass laws were and their effect, not only upon the African, but also upon his relationship to the European.

As a result of the action of the progressive type once described these laws, in the phrase: "A pass law is any law which renders a man's or woman's right to move freely in search of work in his or her own country dependent upon official permission which, if given is evinced by a document—a pass."

GHETTOS TO ACT GESTAPO BEGIN THEIR WORK

THE Passive Resistance Council has issued the following statement: "The Government having failed to get the co-operation of the Indian people in making the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act work as intended by the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Board, and knowing full well the result it would receive, has decided to use Gestapo methods as provided for in the Act by trying to force Indian owners of property to give information of property acquisition, ownership and occupation. Our worst fears have been realised. The Gestapo is on the march.

The Government's Gestapo agents in the guise of Information Officers, accompanied by C.I.D., are now making their rounds of Indian property owners and occupiers in controlled areas, to seek information so that they could discover contraventions of the Asiatic Act.

We Want No Gestapos

The Nazi Gestapo method of intimidating people into co-operation with the Government will be resisted by all democratic and freedom loving people in South Africa and abroad. The powers given to these Information Officers under the Act are so wide, that it amounts to nothing less than interference in the domestic and private lives of individuals.

The penalty for refusal to give information is barbarous and inhuman, a maximum of one year's imprisonment or a fine of £100 or both. In addition a continuing fine of £5 a day—all for the innocent crime of refusing to aid and abet the Government in establishing Ghettos under the Asiatic Act which has been condemned by us, and all progressive people throughout the world.

Now is not the time for the Government to waste energy and money in trying to force the Indian people to work the Ghetto Act whether it is in regard to the Land Tenure provisions or the Communal Franchise Clauses, but rather to make efforts to implement the United Nations decisions.

to tell the truth about the treatment of Africans are being ignored and ignored at least to use a less offensive phrase of Churchillian origin—a terminological inaccuracy.

According to the daily Press Mr. Scallan, the Acting High Commissioner for South Africa, had given the London Dignity Day function a "typical South African tongue" when he said:

"The white man could not compromise with his principles in civilising the savage; South Africa occupied a unique position among the nations of the world. It was the only purely European civilisation, surrounded by hordes of savages, held in check by the balance of power,

from extermination. Now, by a strange irony, the white man was being reviled in certain cases because he would not permit the savage to exterminate him."

Mr. Godio said: "This is a very much like Hyde Park oratory of the worst type, rather than a statement from a responsible official of the Government."

"Generally we are proud of the achievements of our South African Ministers Plenipotentiary and Envoy Extraordinary planted all over the civilised world, but that cannot be said of South Africa House in London."

"For the last 18 months or more, the pronouncements made from that quarter on the rela-

The Africans themselves had made it abundantly clear that they regarded all kinds of permits and contracts they were required to carry on their persons as passes. Their case against the pass laws was never so ably and concisely put forward as it was in a motion tabled in the House of Assembly by one of their representatives some two years ago, stating—

"That in the opinion of this House the pass laws (including all proclamations and regulations framed under the Natives Urban Areas Act, No 23 of 1923, as amended, in relation to service contract permits to seek work, residential, visitors' and lodgers' permits, restrictions on entry into urban areas and curfew) are,

"(a) in conflict with the democratic principles and values, for the maintenance of which throughout the world, the Union is participating in the present war

"(b) inconsistent with the healthy economic development of the Union,

"(c) conducive to inter-racial friction and ill-will,

"(d) inimical to the efficient and equitable administration of justice and of the penal system,

"And the Government is therefore requested to consider the advisability of repealing all proclamations and regulations which constitute the pass laws, and introducing legislation amending the relevant enactments, statutes as to repeal all provisions in terms of which the pass laws are framed."

A responsible European witness giving evidence before the Fagan Commission had recently characterised these pass laws as "a stupid attempt to cure the symptoms of a disease without removing the cause." He had added that "the blame for the present conditions cannot possibly be laid at the door of the African. Yet he has been called upon to bear the brunt of the conditions by the restrictions upon his movement which force him to suffer from economic ill-effects for which he has not been responsible."

The number of these pass laws was legion, said Mr. Godin, and the multiplicity of the documents an African was required to carry was perplexing. The most arduous ones were those derived from the Government and governing the movements of Africans in the northern Provinces, and the newer crop consists of those framed under the Urban Areas Act. Failure by an African to produce on demand any of these documents was a criminal offence punishable by imprisonment or suspension of a year.

"It may not be out of place here to point out that the pass laws proper, as the older ones are commonly known, claimed a total of 74,179 convictions, while that pass under the euphemistic title of 'contraventions of the Natives Urban Areas Act' claimed 29,310, making a grand total 95,489 Africans convicted for mere technical offences. Be it noted that this figure represents convictions only. Therefore, one would not be far wrong in estimating the number of Africans actually arrested under the pass laws at something like 300,000. This does not include convictions for failure to produce poll tax receipts, which also constitutes an offence. The number of Africans convicted under this item was 19,539."

"Imagine well over 175,000 Africans being gaoled or fined in one year for mere statutory offences involving no real offence against persons or property. Little wonder the African has come to regard the administration of the pass law as a deliberate process of manufacturing criminals by the thousand, and hence his regarding the prison as a boarding school specially designed and established for his accommodation and training for the vocation of committing more crimes."

It may interest this conference to know that in East London alone (and I believe in other proclaimed areas as well) an African is required to carry on his person one or more of the following documents in terms of proclamations and regulations framed under the Natives Urban Areas Act

"A residential or site permit, a lodgers' permit, a night pass after 11 p.m.; a permit to seek work; a permit to be in the proclaimed area for purposes other than seeking work, a service contract, a receipt for voter licence, a casual labourer's licence; a document of registration for mail Natives following occupations not under contract of service; a temporary voter's permit; a registered voter's certificate; a permit to enter the area."

"Can you beat that formidable list? The position obtaining in the northern Provinces, where this tall list of documents is additional to other forms of passes, can better be imagined than stated. No wonder there is a general distrust of the white man and a growing hatred of the police force by the African. He cannot understand this business."

"The sooner the pass laws are abolished the better for all concerned. They are not only undemocratic, but will also foster

racial friction, but are iniquitous in the extreme."

"The amateur criminologist may ask: how can you control the movements of the Native or stamp out the present crime wave if you abolish the pass laws?"

"He forgets that crime is a virulent disease which must be attacked in its cause rather than its manifestations if it is to be eradicated. Criminals are not born, but made in schools, at home, on the streets when driven there by bad social conditions, by the kind of life they lead. All this is the result of the failure

of our pseudo democracy in South Africa, whose diagnosis of its own principles is sketchy and half-hearted when applied to Africans."

"Well might the Africans appeal to the bar of public opinion in the words of Charles Dickens 'But, gentlemen, gentlemen, dealing with the men like me, begin at the right end. Give us kinder laws to bring us back when we are going wrong. And don't set gaol, gaol, gaol afore us everywhere we turn.'"

"Let us cherish the hope that this our appeal will not fall on deaf ears."

MR. A. I. MEER GOES TO GAOL

MR. A. I. MEER, Joint Secretary of the Natal Indian Congress, and Mr. S. V. Reddi, recruiting officer of the Passive Resistance Council, with eight other resisters were sentenced on Monday in the Durban Magistrate's Court for trespassing on Corporation land in Gule Street to the Ghetto. Hard labour on 12 months was passed on Mr. Meer made the following statement before the Court:

"We have been charged with trespass, have pleaded guilty and are ready to receive the sentence, but before sentence is passed it is necessary to place on record certain relevant facts in connection with the charge."

"Have we really committed an act of trespass? Does going to the vacant plot of land at the corner of Gule Street and Umbilo Road constitute trespass? Let us go into the history of this vacant piece of unfenced waste land in the heart of the City. It has been there from time immemorial. Our forefathers when they came to this country found it there. Persons white, black, brown and yellow trespassed on it from the time Durban became a City, and perhaps even before. They continue to trespass there during almost any hour of the day. Persons might be trespassing there even at this hour, while this Court is in session. They are not charged. Yet we have been singled out for prosecution. What is the explanation? It is a simple one."

"Trespass is not a crime, so far as this vacant plot of land is concerned. The only object in charging us is that we are defying the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act. But then the question may be asked why are we not charged under the Act. The answer again is a simple one. The Government knows full well that it is an unjust law, a law based on racial prejudice, a principle they dare not defend. They also realise, perhaps too late now, that a world tired of the Nazi doctrine of race superiority, which it sought to destroy, will no longer tolerate such laws, they have said so by their verdict at the United Nations. The authorities have erected a notice at Gule Street, warning trespassers against prosecution. But are trespassers prosecuted? No. Only those who defy the Ghetto Act are charged. As passive resisters we accept the charge."

"We have embarked on a holy war against an unholy Act, and it is the duty of all who believe in justice and the removal of racial oppression to join our army. We extend that invitation to you, Sir, as well."



Mr. A. I. MEER

THE A.I. India Congress Committee, at its session held at Delhi on the 5th and 6th, passed a resolution accepting the A.I.C.C.'s statement of December 6. The A.I.C.C. endorsed the statement of December 22. The resolution, *inter alia*, says: "The A.I.C.C. is anxious that the Constituent Assembly should proceed with the work of framing a constitution for free India with the goodwill of all parties concerned, and with a view of removing the difficulties that have arisen owing to varying interpretations, agree to advise action in accordance with the interpretation of the British Government in regard to the procedure to be followed in the sections." It adds: "It must be clearly understood, however, that this must not involve any compulsion of a province, and that the rights of the Sikhs in the Punjab should not be jeopardised. In the event of any attempt at such compulsion, a province or part of a province has the right to take such action as may be deemed necessary in order to give effect to the wishes of the people concerned." It concludes by saying: "The future course of action will depend upon the developments that take place, and the A.I.C.C. therefore directs the Working Committee to advise upon it whenever circumstances so require, keeping in view the basic principle of provincial autonomy." The resolution was passed by 99 votes against 52.

Why This Decision?

In moving the resolution Pandit Nehru said there was no sign of weakness in it. "By accepting the statement of Dec. 6 we would leave the door open for the League to enter and put forward their point of view. If we did not accept the statement it would give an opportunity to the British Government to change or withdraw their statement of May 16, with the result that the C.A. might be changed radically. Many forces have lined up against us. We should advance cautiously to meet and overcome those forces, and it was this consideration that prompted the Working Committee to bring the resolution before the House. "The League desired that the C.A. should not continue, and that the country should revert to the order of things that prevailed eight or nine months ago. We did not want to give an opportunity to anyone to say that we had broken the British plan. At the present time our object should be to outmanoeuvre our opponents. The time might come when Amrit would have to fight, that fight would not be single-handed, but would be waged with the whole of India behind it." Pandit Bhargava

OUR INDIA LETTER

(FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT)

Baroda, January 7, 1947.

A.I.C.C. RESOLUTION

Dev, in accepting the resolution said: "Any province or part thereof had the full right to stage a walkout in the event of compulsion being exercised against it in a walkout in such circumstances that province or part of it won't have world sympathy." Dr. P. T. Ramamaya, in supporting the resolution, said: "The British Government very much wants us to reject the statement. The Muslim League will not be very happy, possibly, if we accept it. In any case the obvious result of rejection would be that the Muslim League would demand a new Centre for the provinces under its control, and the British Government might accede to such a demand. When this is done, you have granted Pakistan by rejecting the document. Whatever concessions we may make to the British Government or to the Muslim League, it is subject to the cardinal and fundamental proposition that no province shall be compelled against its will to enter into a combination. There is no power on earth that can compel Amrit to remain in a section against its will."

'Do Or Die'

"My present mission is the most complicated and difficult one of my life," says Gandhi in the course of a letter to a co-worker. "I never experienced darkness before. The night seems to be pretty long. The only consolation is that I feel neither battered nor disappointed. I am prepared for any eventuality. 'Do or die' has to be put to rest here. 'Do' means that Hindus and Muslims should live together in peace and unity. Otherwise I should die in the attempt. It is really a difficult task. God's will be done."

The Peace March

Gandhi's walking tour commenced at 7.30 a.m. on the 2nd. Clipping a long bamboo pole with his right hand and resting the other on the shoulder of one of his companions, he started on his historic tour with four companions. A crowd of about a hundred villagers, men and women, trooped behind him. People of both communities stood on either side of the narrow path. At the second village on the way, Pandit Nehru, who had been put up for his reception by a Muslim resident Moulvi, Farooq, who said he and his co-villagers felt gratified that a great man

like Mahatma Gandhi had set foot in their village. Gandhi entered the village Chandiapur to the singing of Ram than. The plan is to visit 27 villages until February 1. Speaking at Chandiapur on the 2nd evening, he said his mission was the establishment of friendship between the sister communities living here and not to organise any one of them so that they might be victorious over the rest. So long as non-violence which had been proclaimed was a true force, it was weak but the new experiment in which he was engaged here was non-violence of the strong. If it proved successful, it should succeed in creating a moral atmosphere helpful to both communities, he told him. Only when the Hindus and the Muslims had shed completely their fear and suspicion of one another could there be real unity of heart. It did not matter that they professed different religions. This should not be the cause of hostility when their hearts were one. He referred to the dirty water in the tanks, and the slop in our land growing richer and the poor poorer. He said he would like to live to the age of 125, not through the help of medicines but in natural ways in which he would be able to place all services at the disposal of the nation. He asked them to take up spinning and village reconstruction as a means of achieving unity. He asked women to depend on God and on their own strength and to shed untouchability.

'Young Man Of 77'

"It is always a pleasure and an inspiration to meet this young man of 77," said Pandit Nehru with reference to his visit to Shri Rampur. "We always feel a little younger, brighter and lighter when we meet him." "It is a fateful tour," said Anbarya Kripalank, "which will be a trial of Mahatma's faith in truth and non-violence. It is significant that he attaches greater importance to his work in East Bengal than to what is happening in Delhi and London. I hope this tour will succeed in his objective of heart-to-heart Hindu-Muslim unity not only in East Bengal but in the rest of India." Referring to the Peace March, Hardar Patel said at Ahmedabad that nobody in the country had preached communal harmony more fervently than Mahatma Gandhi. At the age of 77 he was

a mighty effort for him to make. Nobody could say what would be the effect of his efforts. Man could only labour, but it was for God to recompense such labours. The *Statesman* says in an editorial on the 3rd: "The purpose of Gandhi's tour is essentially simple. It is, we think, to re-kindle the lamp of neighbourliness which in this and other areas has been extinguished by blood. As in the darkest night a small solitary light seen far away almost irresistibly attracts and comforts the traveller, so it may be with this tour."

Colossal Task

The task of rehabilitation in Nankhal and Tipperah districts is, however, colossal. Representatives from the latter district are reported to have told Pandit Nehru that a sum of not less than five to six crores of rupees would be needed for rehabilitation work in Tipperah district. Shri Thakker Bapu, Secretary of the All-India Harijan Sevak Sangh, who is of the same age as Gandhi, is working in the Chur area on the border of the two districts. On December 29 he said in a press interview: "The entire area (30 miles long and 6 miles wide) comprising of about 75 villages with a population of nearly 45,000 Namasudras (Harijans) has not only been devastated by marauders but the morals of the people, all of whom are Namasudras, has been almost completely destroyed. We have been called to the ground indiscriminately after having been thoroughly looted." According to his estimates, Namasudras of the area suffered damage to the tune of 75 lakhs of rupees. Only in Hinchur Bazar area property worth 30 lakhs had been destroyed. "I am doing my best to look after Bapu said, "on the religious and social aspect of the question where the clergy have been compelled to go through some form of conversion. I am trying to get Harimandir renovated and distributing Bengali editions of the Bible. Relief work is being done by the Marwadi Relief Society, the Ramakrishna Mission, Arya Samaj and other agencies." He, the Governor of Bengal, during his recent visit, had heard a great deal about the Namasudras, but they had not arrived from Calcutta even after the lapse of forty days. "The reluctance of executive officials," said Shri Thakker, "to give effect to the wishes of those at the top is almost taxing human patience."

Temple Entry Forges Ahead

In Tamil Nadu, Nellore and Tirunelveli was the first temple to be opened to the public.

Jagjivan Ram, the Labour Member in the Interim Government. On the New Year day the thousand-year old Temple of Sri Chinguraj in Thiruvannamalai (Dist. Tanjore) was declared open to Harijans by Shri Jagjivan Ram. "Is not our duty to strive for the redemption of millions going down and down every day?" said the Managing Trustees of the temple. Messages of congratulations had been sent on the occasion by Acharya Kripalank, Shri C. Rajagopalachari and Dr. Rajendra Prasad. Shri Jagjivan Ram, addressing a mass meeting, said he was happy not because he was a Harijan but because the great act done by the trustees of the temple had made Hinduism stronger than ever before. "The Harijans of India," said Shri Prithvi Singh Asad, General Secretary, All-India Depressed Class League, says in a statement: "Dr. Ambedkar's place is in Congress which has done so much for the Harijans. The Harijans of India, who culturally and religiously are part and parcel of the great Hindu race, being backward, will get every safeguard for the protection of all kinds of their just rights and interests. It is my firm belief that every member of the Congress High Command stands for the political, economic and social uplift of the Harijans."

India And Viet Nam

In the course of a statement on the Viet Nam struggle Acharya Kripalank, the Congress President, says: "In the struggle of the national movement in Viet Nam against French imperialism, our sympathies are naturally with the former. No nation, however progressive or revolutionary its creed at home, can be trusted to look after the welfare of another people at the point of the pistol. Until every nation small or big, is equally free, there can be no hope for peace or ordered progress. If the legitimate urge of the peoples of Asia for freedom is suppressed by force of superior arms, then sooner or later the world will be caught in a conflagration worse than the last world war. The responsibility for it will rest on the nations which have the power that is theirs today."

Communal Unity

In a speech at Ahmedabad Sardar Patel said India was bound to be free, and whatever impediments they still had in achieving their goal were purely internal. The Hindus and the Muslims had to win here. Whether there was Pakistan or not the interests of the Indians lay in living together amicably and peacefully. He congratulated the textile mill workers on their not having allowed communal poison among

them during the recent riots in the city, and on starting here the same work as Gandhiji was doing in East Bengal.

Speaking at a public meeting at Akola held under the All India Women's Conference, the Princess of Bessar made a stirring appeal to women and men: "If three very women and mothers who have, knowingly or unknowingly helped to kill other women's children could but convey to the importance of their real mission they would create an Easter that is ahead, like a huge, sweeping tidal wave, if they should fall in their task." Her Highness expressed the hope that women would understand and fulfil the understanding in their sons "that a big country like India which in itself is almost a continent, is naturally the home of diverse cultures, races and religions. And it is these differences that contribute to enrich the Indian picture. The 32nd All India Educational Conference, held at Trivandrum, passed a resolution which said: 'Books which fostered hatred of another language, literature and art were a potential danger to international peace and should be banned.' Janab K. Q. Saifyuddin, presiding over the 3rd All India Adult Conference at the same place, said: "I would appeal earnestly to all political leaders, to all teachers, to all young men and women who inhabit this great land which is today plunged in shame and mourning at the misdeeds of its own children to create whither we are going, and cry a halt to this madness." All nationalist Muslim organisations are reported to combine in an effort to fight the communal virus."

Princes And The C.A.

Referring to the objections raised by some Dethans of States against Pandit Nehru's resolution on objectives moved in the C.A., Shri K. M. Munshi said at a meeting in Bombay: "Some Dethans of Indian States are perturbed at the fact that the resolution claims to derive sovereignty from the people. It is absurd to maintain that the sovereignty of the All India Union can be derived from any one except from the people of India. The Government's statement makes it clear that the Constituent Assembly is to represent the people of India and their leaders as independent India are to enter into a treaty with Britain. The fact that sovereignty is derived from the people does not militate against the monarchic constitution in the country or in a part of it. These Dethans are trying to be more royal than kings themselves. Most of the Indian Princes know that their salvation lies in giving up the shadowy claims of sovereignty

which they in fact do not possess in the face of the political department of the Government of India. They are shrewd enough to see that the time has come when they must become the natural and not artificial leaders of their own people. They know that they have to adjust themselves to the times and make terms with the sovereign people of India. In that way alone lies their salvation."

Shri B. L. Mitter, the Dewan of Haridwar, referring to the same subject, says: "Pandit Nehru has made it quite clear that although the Union Constitution will be republican in form, all units need not be necessarily republican. Some may choose to retain the monarchical form,

The Cabinet Mission also visualises a variety in constitutions of the units. Therefore, I think the controversy regarding the location of sovereignty is more or less academic." He pointed out that in England, the sovereignty rested in the Crown. But in point of fact the sovereignty is with the people through Parliament. The substance of sovereignty consists of power in the administration. When totality of such power is transferred to the people, the people automatically becomes *de facto* sovereign, although in theory the sovereignty may rest elsewhere. He expressed his view that Pandit Nehru's resolution was no statutory law."

INDIANS IN EAST AFRICA MAHARAJ SINGH DELEGATION'S REPORT

INDIAN opinion in all the four territories of East Africa is unanimously opposed to the present immigration Bill," says the report submitted by the Government of India to the Delegation to East Africa on the proposed immigration restrictions in Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika and Zanzibar.

The Delegation consisted of Raja Sir Maharaj Singh (Leader), Mr. K. Sarwar Hasan and Mr. C. B. Jha. Its main purpose was to ascertain the public opinion in East Africa, particularly Indian opinion whether there was any necessity for legislation on the proposed lines and the extent to which such legislation would affect Indian interests.

The Delegation established close contacts with all sections of the Indian communities and also met a number of Europeans, Africans and a few Arabs and Goans, besides a large number of officials.

The Government of Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika and Zanzibar have now introduced bills in their respective Legislatures to impose permanent restrictions of a drastic nature on immigration into these territories. The Bills are identical for all the territories except for one or two minor details.

The Delegation points out that during discussions with the Governments of Kenya, Tanganyika, Uganda and Zanzibar, it became clear that the four Bills had been drafted and published after joint consultations and with the same object, namely, "to regulate the flow of immigration to the absorptive capacity of these territories."

The Delegation points out that the last official census in the East African territories was taken in 1931. The next census was due in 1941, but it could not be held because of the war. The Delegation considers that before any

measures are taken for tightening up the present immigration restrictions, an official census is essential. Along with the census there should be an economic survey by a Commission together with a survey of employment and undertakings. All immigrant races being adequately represented in the Commission. It would not otherwise appear possible to secure the data on which any proposal for immigration restriction should be based.

Summarising its views on the immigration Bills the Delegation states:

Except Zanzibar, all the territories of East Africa have vast spaces with sparse populations. Much being the case the question of immigration into these territories cannot or should not be decided merely from the domestic point of view.

There is no evidence of a large-scale or organised immigration in the past and the assumption that in the absence of drastic immigration restrictions such as are proposed in the present immigration Bills, there will be an influx of persons from Europe and Asia is not warranted by past experience or present indications. Nor is there evidence that immigration has been responsible in the past for unemployment; on the contrary it has been generally admitted that much of the prosperity and development of the East African territories has been due to the energy and enterprise of the immigrant races.

The fear of excessive immigration beyond the absorptive capacity of East Africa is not borne out by past experience. In periods of depression it is expected that, as has happened before, there will be a temporary cessation of the immigration and even emigration from the territories concerned.

In Kenya the throwing open

Things In General

UNO Batch Released

ABOUT 130 passive resisters who formed a portion of the batch that went to prison on the opening day of the Assembly of the United Nations Organisation were released last Wednesday from various Natal prisons.

Among them were ladies including Mrs. Boryekala Patel and her sister. All of them had served a term of three months. Mr. Mahesh Chandra was particularly interested in the batch since he had spent twenty-three days with it in the Lady Smith Jail. On his way back to Durban Mr. Gandhi met a few of the women passive resisters who were released from the Maritzburg Jail. All the passive resisters had gone through a strenuous time. From the interviews INDIAN OPINION had with some of the released passive resisters it appeared that the authorities had made it a policy to break their spirit by resorting

to various methods. Mr. Gandhi was particularly interested in the batch since he had spent twenty-three days with it in the Lady Smith Jail. On his way back to Durban Mr. Gandhi met a few of the women passive resisters who were released from the Maritzburg Jail. All the passive resisters had gone through a strenuous time. From the interviews INDIAN OPINION had with some of the released passive resisters it appeared that the authorities had made it a policy to break their spirit by resorting

A mass meeting under the auspices of the Natal Indian Congress was held on Wednesday evening at the Nicol Square to welcome the gallant band of passive resisters. Among the speakers were Dr. G. M. Nair, president of the Congress, Messrs. J. B. Singh, Manilal Gandhi, Dr. Gouhary, Mrs. Boryekala Patel and others.

Springfield Sporting Club

In order to contribute some money to the Passive Resistance Fund, the Springfield Sporting Club held a five-a-side tournament and Thruze competition on December 22, at the Springfield Racquets Sports Ground. The sum of £12-15-0, realised from the tournament, was donated to the fund. The termination of the tournament was Mr. M. Bookman, president of the club, Dr. Nair, chairman of the P.R.C., and Mr. D.

S.A. Race Relations Institute Condemns Colour Bar In Industry

The South African Institute of Race Relations in its annual report submitted to the Council meeting held in Cape Town on January 22, said "the colour bar has been declared unworkable by every commission which has examined industrial affairs since

1907, but it was strongly entrenched to the minds and emotions of the majority of Europeans."

Friends Of The Sick Association

The Secretary of Friends of the Sick Association, Mr. J. J. Barnard, is being seriously retarded due to lack of funds. The members of the Working Committee that the relief account had been overdrawn to the extent of £100 in order that the January 1948 instalment of £100 may be paid. On all accounts the fund is now £150 (plus monthly instalments, quite a small sum) which is the only amount of the Natal Anti-Tuberculosis Association. Every penny of the £150 is being used for the relief of the sick.

It is stated that all the members have been asked to contribute to the fund. It is stated that all the members have been asked to contribute to the fund. It is stated that all the members have been asked to contribute to the fund.

Australia's Asiatic Policy

It is stated that Australia's Asiatic Policy is being expressed by Sir Brinsford Garnet, a journalist who is visiting Australia on a goodwill tour, says Sapa Reuter's message from Canberra.

Sir Brinsford, who broadcast from the Government short wave station to India, said that he had previously expressed India's "white Australia" policy. In fairness, however, he thought that, having spoken to many Australians, this was not the case.

He termed it an economic and not a racial policy. The country had to maintain a homogeneous population, and therefore it did not want to contract obligations of admitting lowly-paid men from other countries, thereby lowering living standards and creating internal trouble.

When, and if, India entered her own living standards, Australia would be willing and ready to admit Indians.

Sir Brinsford said that there was logic in Australia's attitude.

It is officially announced that owing to the indisposition of Senator Clarkson, Mr. Lawrence, the Minister of Justice, will act as Minister of the Interior from Thursday.

of the highlands to non-European races will give land and occupation to thousands of Africans. This, in turn, will provide employment to a large number of Indians. The total area of the highlands is about 7,000,000 acres of which only a relatively small portion is at present under cultivation. At present there are in Kenya about 3,000 Italian settlers, most of whom are engaged in agriculture which is contemplated. The 'lapo facto' give employment both to Africans and persons of the

All the East African countries have large plans of development which are likely to increase with time in scope and variety. These will require increased man power, enterprise, initiative and finance.

Africans are becoming politically conscious, especially in Uganda and Kenya, and are naturally suspicious of an auto-influence. There is some economic contact between Africans and Indians, particularly in the field of petty trade in Kenya.

There is no marked ill-feeling between Africans and Indians as a whole. On the other hand we

are aware of African goodwill towards Indians while politically the two races have worked in cooperation to fight against their common dis-

crimination. The present situation in India, although non-discriminatory and non-racial in force will in practice adversely affect Indian immigration much more than the immigration of Europeans. In fact it will have the effect of almost closing the door to the further entrance of the Indians. We have been assured that the purpose of the Bill is not to discriminate against Indians. Not having regard to the past history of immigration restrictions and to the present attitude by persons in authority and by powerful official Europeans, we think that the apprehensions entertained by

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provisions of the Bill are only intended. Such a defective measure should preferably be withdrawn.

It is stated that the Government of East Africa is taking into consideration that have been put forward by the Government of India. This is all the more necessary, in view of the assurances given to us by their Government that they do not desire to discriminate unfairly against Indians.

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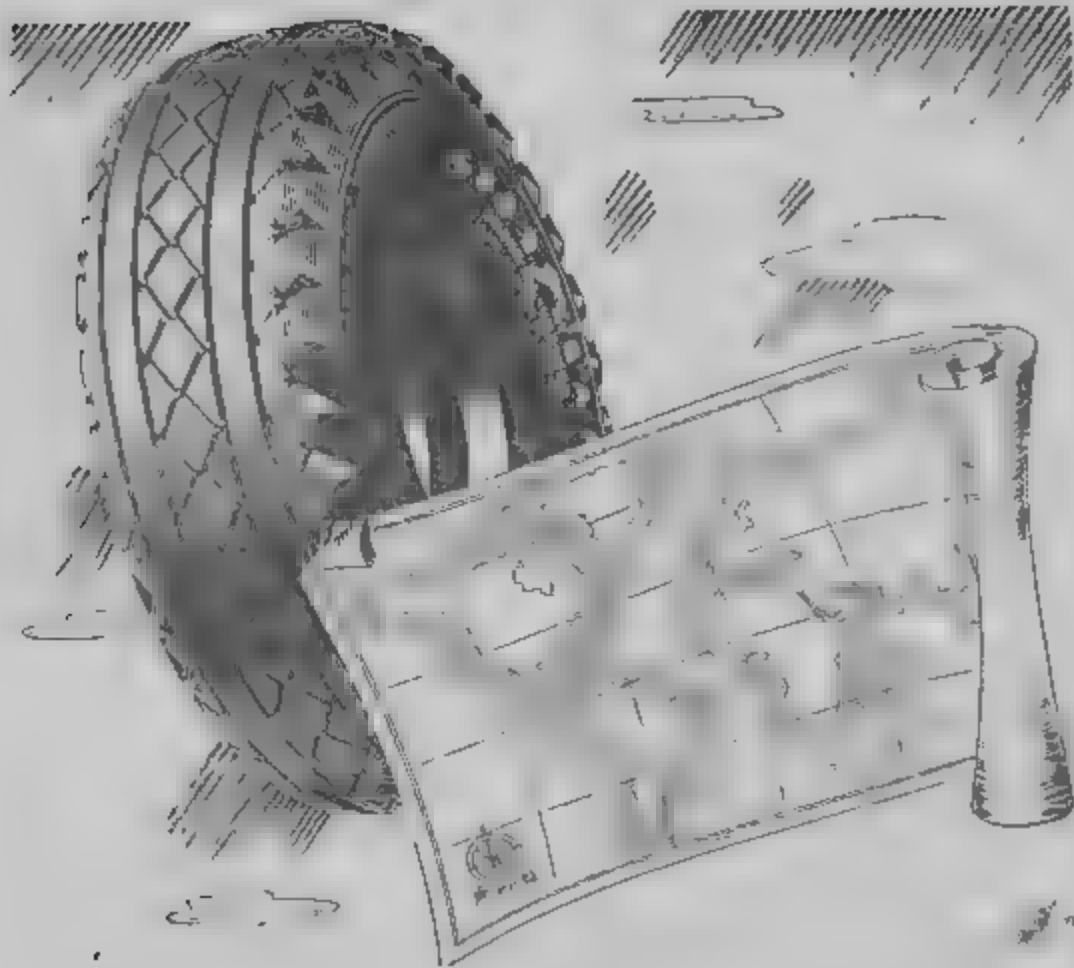
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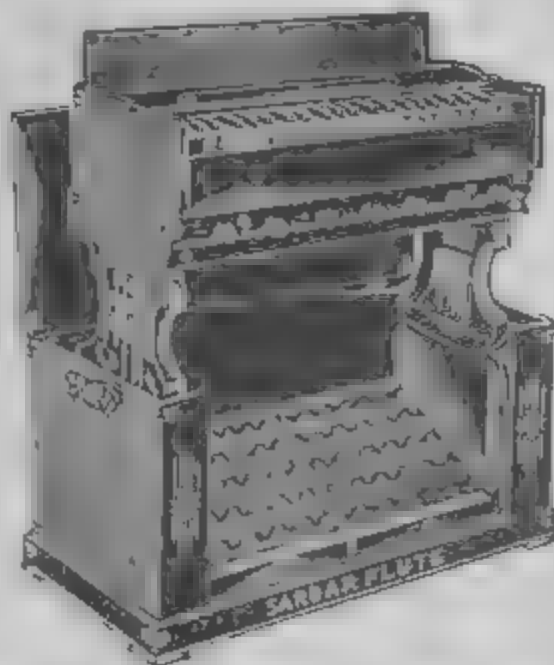
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INDIAN OPINION

MAHATMA

No. 5.—Vol. XLV.

Indian Opinion

FRIDAY, 31ST JAN. 1947

Indians And The Royal Visit

HIS MAJESTY the King and the Royal Princesses will shortly be visiting South Africa. The object of such a visit ought to be to see if all the subjects of His Majesty are happy and contented. If they were not it was a reflection on the rule and it was the duty of the King to remove the causes of unhappiness and discontent. Is that the object of the present Royal visit? It can hardly be said so. The position of the King to-day is pitiable. It is worse than the solitary individual. The King is just a figure-head having no powers whatsoever. Yet in his name there is mischief going on in his kingdom. We are said to be living in the age of democracy. In fact it can more appropriately be called inocracy. The minority in power rules over the vast majority who have no voice. In South Africa today the two million whites are the ruling class. They are the exploiters and the ten million non-whites are the exploited. The lot of the exploited can never at any time be happy and that is the position of the non-Europeans in this country of whom the Indians number two hundred and fifty thousand. The King's visit is an occasion for great joy for the white people. It is not so for the non-white. Because it is not so an earnest request was made on behalf

of the Indian community that this was not an appropriate occasion for His Majesty to visit South Africa and that we were not in a position to give a hearty welcome to him when we were suffering the pangs of humiliation by being denied elementary rights as self-respecting human beings. The powers that ruled, however, in defiance of our request insisted on having His Majesty brought here and a most painful duty has devolved upon us, in order to be true to ourselves and to His Majesty, to boycott all functions in connection with the Royal visit. In making this decision the Indian community means no disrespect to the King and Queen in person. We have no doubt every possible effort will be made by the authorities to show that all sections of the people of South Africa have rushed in welcoming His Majesty, which means recognising the present system of Government. We know there are sycophants and honour-seekers in our community as there are in every community who will be taken advantage of and who will readily lend themselves to stage a show before His Majesty giving him altogether a false impression of the state of affairs. We cannot stay the hands of such people. We can only pity them for their spinelessness. They are indeed not an asset but a hinder-

to the State.

The Natal Indian Congress last October was invited by the Mysore secretary to participate in the arrangements to be made to celebrate the visit of the Royal visit. The Congress executive sent a reply refusing the invitation. Among the reasons stated for doing so were

"that Indians were at the present moment passing through the most critical period in their history. A series of colour-discriminatory Acts depriving us of our elementary human rights during the last half a century, the culminated in the passing of the Asiatic Land Tenure and

1946, placed in the teeth of the strongest opposition ever voiced by our community.

action of the Union Government in 1946, placed in the teeth of the strongest opposition ever voiced by our community.

lation, has plunged the whole Indian community in a state of grave unrest. Reconciliation on colour is relation leaves no room for doubt as to what is the attitude of colour. The colour of the people of South Africa has become the sole criterion of colour.

The stand taken by the Congress executive was approved of and blessed by Mahatma Gandhi who wrote thus in *Haripur*.

"The Natal Indian Congress executive is to be congratulated on the reply. The Royal visit can evoke no feeling of joy among those who are fighting for their self-respect in South Africa in the making of which they have had no voice."

We wish to emphasise the fact that to accept the invitation of the Royal visit would be either to go about and fully

state in the celebration of a royal visit.

lations. A half-hearted participation would mean disresence. In the present

unity is not in the mind to participate wholeheartedly and there are undoubtedly they would be a reflection from participation. This does not mean that there should be any demonstration. There should be no demonstrations of any kind. The people should observe Tuesday as a day of mourning and a day of mourning.

shared before school. They refused to participate in the celebration. It should be the duty of the parents to explain the significance of the move to their children and to wear them from succumbing to any such temptation.

Boycott Of Indian Traders

DECISIONS to boycott Indian traders and black. That European shopkeepers who bought from Indians for reasons to fair game customers, were taken at a meeting of about 300 farmers which was held at Harbertonfontein, Klerksdorp, Transvaal, on Wednesday, January 22. It was decided to form an association called the Pro-European Consumers' Association. The chairman, Mr. A. J. Koss, said that the object was to answer the challenge of the people of India. Indian leaders have vilified South Africa at JNO and Indians to South Africa had not protested.

they were being oppressed in South Africa. Mr. Wouter Brink said he felt that if South Africans stood together and boycotted Indian traders it would not be long before the Indians packed their traps and returned to India.

We can hardly believe the farmers themselves are a little concerned about boycotting In-

dian traders. They are more concerned about getting their goods at a cheap market and get decent treatment and facilities. All these they have been getting more from the Indian traders than from any other and we have no doubt they are more interested. This agitation is on the part of some disgruntled European traders who wish to serve their own selfish ends and others who have political motives. They are able to make

their voices heard because they have the vote and the Indians have none. This strike will therefore not last long. But the leaders concerned should realise what incalculable harm they are doing to the whole country. It is actions such as these and not any genuine complaints that Indians or other non-European make of their ill treatment that go more to besmear the name of South Africa in the outside world.

INDIAN CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

PANDIT NEHRU'S RESOLUTION PASSED UNANIMOUSLY

THE Indian Constituent Assembly on Wednesday, January 23, unanimously passed Pandit Nehru's resolution defining the scope of the Assembly's resolve to proclaim India an independent sovereign republic.

The debate on the resolution was renewed on Monday, January 28, after nearly a month's recess by the Assembly. On Wednesday Dr. R. Jayakar withdrew his amendment submitted at the previous session, asking that consideration of the whole question should be postponed with the view to securing the co-operation of the League and of Indian States in shaping the Indian constitution. The Muslim League members have continued to boycott the Assembly.

Replying to the debate on his resolution, Pandit Nehru said: "There has been plenty of opportunity for those who wanted to come. Unfortunately they have not yet decided to come, and we shall welcome them at any future time, but it should be made clear that no work will be held up in future, whether anyone comes or not."

"Divine Rights Of Kings"

Referring to points raised in the debate that the idea of sovereignty of the people was not acceptable to certain rulers of Indian States, Pandit Nehru said: "It is a scandalous thing for any man, however highly placed he may be, to say he has any special divine rule over human beings today. On the divine right of kings there is going to be no compromise."

"As far as we are concerned, the representatives of States can come at any possible moment. We will welcome them if they are the proper representatives of the States. We stand on the threshold of freedom. We want to be friendly with the British people and the British Commonwealth of Nations."

Pandit Nehru said he hoped that the constitution, framed on the lines suggested in the resolution, would very soon lead "to the real freedom we have craved for."

"I hope it will lead also to the freedom of other countries in Asia, because in a sense, however unworthy we may be, we have to become—let us recognise it—the leaders of the freedom movement in Asia."

It was impossible and inconceivable to think in any other way than that of a sovereign republic of India, he added.

"What relations will that republic be to other countries of the world?" he asked.

"I or a long time past we have taken a pledge on India's Independence Day (January 26) that India must sever her connection with Great Britain, because that connection has become an emblem of British domination. At no time have we thought in terms of isolating ourselves from other countries."

"We are not laying down in this resolution any strict scheme as regards the governing of Indian States. All we say is this: that they, or such of them as are big enough to form units or group themselves, will be autonomous units with a very large measure of freedom, subject, no doubt, to certain central functions in which they will co-operate with the centre."

"If they choose to have some kind of constitutional monarchy, if they want to be welcome to do so. For my part, I am a republican in India and everywhere else every time," he added.

UNION GOVERNMENT'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS UNO DECISION

The following resolutions were passed at a meeting held in Durban on Thursday, January 23, under the auspices of a Passive Resistant Council of the Natal Indian Congress.

1) This meeting welcomes and praises the brave and gallant men and women resisters who courted a second term of three months' imprisonment on October 21, 1946, the historic day when the United Nations Assembly opened its session in New York. This meeting records that due to

on the opening day, advising that South Africa should completely disregard both decisions of UNO affecting South Africa.

This meeting is of the opinion that Dr. Meade's motion to effect means that South Africa should withdraw from UNO, and that the Union Government should repatriate all Indians from South Africa. This meeting is further perturbed that the United Party and Field Marshal Smuts should persist in declaring that the Asiatic Act will remain on the Statute Book despite the fact that UNO has decided that this Act was the cause of strained relations between India and South Africa and has recommended the efforts should be made to improve these relations. This meeting regrets that such an attitude by South African Parliamentarians may only lead to greater bitterness between India and South Africa and that a complete disregard of UNO's decisions may endanger world peace and lead to a further war. This meeting therefore demands the immediate opening up of negotiations between the Union Government and India, and the implementation of UNO's decisions forthwith.

Anti-Imperialist Struggle

2) This meeting expresses its fullest sympathy and support for the Indian people's struggle against their French rulers, and expresses the confident hope that this national struggle as part of the liberatory movement of the oppressed people of the world will be crowned with complete freedom.

MESSAGE FROM MRS. SARAJIN NAIDU

MRS. SARAJIN NAIDU has sent through Mr. Sureshjee Kumbharjee the following inspiring message to the passive resisters in South Africa:

"My dear comrades and brave children in South Africa. I send my greetings, love and pride. I have watched your brave and united struggle in defence of your just rights in South Africa. Do not let your courage falter as your faith grows dim and weary on your splendid Satyagraha in the knowledge that you are not fighting for your own cause only but for the human rights and honour of all the exploited people of the world."

the sacrifices of the Indian people, and the new spirit of freedom among the people of the world, the United Nations decided in favour of India's complaint against the Union Government, and requested that the treatment of Indians in South Africa should conform to the principles of the United Nations Charter. This meeting, however, is alarmed at the course pursued by the Union Parliament in session in regard to the decisions of the world tribunal in the question of South West Africa and the treatment of Indians in South Africa, and regrets that there should be a motion before the Union House of Parliament

IN the House of Assembly on 1 January 23 speaking on the debate on the U.N.O.'s decision, Mr. J. H. Hofmeyr said the Native Affairs Commission had brought together two matters of world importance—South Africa's relations with U.N.O. and the problem of race relations in South Africa.

South Africa's policy on race relations had been challenged by the majority of U.N.O. which represented the majority of world opinion. South Africa's arraignment before the tribunal of nations presented South Africa with a challenge that had to be met.

The motion was intended to represent the reply to the challenge which Dr. Malan and his party would give. If the motion were carried as the accepted opinion of South Africa it would be a pyrrhic victory. It would mean that the cause of reaction had triumphed in South Africa, and that the clock would be set back in regard to the aspirations of the non-European community.

The motion was of such importance that any personal issues should be avoided. The Opposition had dealt at length with the views that he had expressed on the Native question. Those views had been expressed by him throughout his political career but it now suited the Opposition to concentrate upon them with a view to building up an election psychology.

He did not object that those views should be attributed to him, but he did not feel to having attributed to him views that he had not expressed. Mr. Malan had misrepresented what he had said and during the debate had continued upon his career of misrepresentation. He had misrepresented on a point of order objected to the use of the words "career of distortion". "I am ready to withdraw the expression."

When he said that he favoured the ultimate removal of the colour bar what he was opposing was the colour bar in relation to Parliamentary representation.

"Anointed Successor"

"To add point to the statements they had made in regard to my speeches the Opposition now refer to me as the anointed successor to the Prime Minister," Mr. Hofmeyr continued. "I want to know what authority they have for saying that. The party has not appointed me, the party caucus has not appointed me, and the Prime Minister has not appointed me."

"It is perfectly true that I have acted for the Prime Minister in his absence overseas, but can they point to any indication

UNION HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

DEBATE ON UNO'S DECISION

MR. HOFMEYR'S SPEECH

from me that it is my desire to become Prime Minister in due course."

There was more than one both inside and outside this House, and clearly and definitely that I do not aspire for that position. We are not doing so, and who is to succeed to the position? but what we are concerned with is to remain in the position.

The argument used in support of Dr. Malan's motion, was that if Indian representation were to be removed it would mean an isolated bloc of six non-European representatives in the House, and in time that would lead to the representation of non-Europeans by non-Europeans. Ultimately, the Opposition argued, South Africa would approximate to the position of the old Austro-Hungarian Empire and the final result would be the destruction of European

The Coloured Vote

The logical implication of that argument were that if native representation continued, the downfall of European civilisation must follow. It was for that reason that he had asked Dr. Malan if he thought that native representation should go. He wanted to make it perfectly clear that in proposing this amendment to U.N.O. he was not making a statement that the non-Europeans should be represented in Parliament. Paragraph five of Dr. Malan's motion spoke of separation both political and residential in respect not only of natives and Asiatics but of the coloured.

That meant the vote of the coloured people must also go, and that there could be no question of the coloured people having group representation in Parliament.

He came to the conclusion, therefore, that it was the view of Dr. Malan that the non-European elements of the population of South Africa should not be represented in Parliament. He hoped that Dr. Malan would say what form of representation for non-European he proposed.

White Civilization

Dr. Malan apparently thought it essential if white civilisation in South Africa was to be saved that non-European should not be represented at all in Parliament.

Dr. Malan had said that separation must be just and that it did not mean oppression, every section must have its own

territain, and lead its own life there. The Opposition, however, did not intend to stand for such a policy. They did not want full territorial segregation—they wanted segregation politically, residentially and, so far as was practical, industrially. What a world of meaning was in those words "so far as practical."

There was nothing definite about those words and he could but take it that Dr. Malan meant so far as the Europeans could dispense with the services of the non-European in industry and in the kitchen.

"Equity And Justice"

Did it mean that Dr. Malan was prepared to dispense with the non-Europeans as leavers of wood and drawn of water? Of course Dr. Malan did not intend that, and the words "equity and justice" in Dr. Malan's motion were a misnomer and a sham.

The non-Europeans were compelled to live among the Europeans and to share common interests with them, such as the payment of taxes. They would suffer common food shortages. What provision was Dr. Malan going to make for their common interest?

He did not want them to be represented in Parliament, yet "no taxation without representation" was a very elementary principle of political justice.

In a recent academic speech Dr. Malan advocated the building of a bigger non-European university in South Africa. What would be the position of the graduates of such a university? They would be professional men and income-tax payers, yet what representation would he accord them?

According to Dr. Malan there would be no Natives' Representative Council for them because the latter was a "place of agitators." Dr. Malan wanted to do two things which were quite incompatible: he wanted to maintain a vertical colour line on the basis of the policy of separation as he defined it, and he also wanted to be just and equitable.

Dr. Malan could only resolve his dilemma by going the whole hog for full territorial separation, which meant dispensing with the services of non-Europeans, coloured and native, on the mines, in industry, on the farms and in the kitchen, or give up ideas of being just and generous.

Dr. Malan was violating logic, thereby destroying his own argu-

ments. Logic was out of the picture. Rather was it on the side of those of his party who had consistently opposed provisions for native education.

European Domination

Dr. Malan should admit frankly that it was a conception of what was necessary to maintain European domination, not justice, that underlined his policy.

That policy could not be justified on moral principles or Christian ethics. An attitude such as this and against such a background could not be presented to U.N.O.

Colonel Standaard wanted a select committee to define the attitude to be presented to U.N.O., but there was no time for that. It had taken two years to get the Hertzog Bill through in this way. The next meeting of U.N.O. was in a year's time.

"Up to a point we are all on common ground, South Africa is in a difficult position in a largely hostile world. That world is rapidly becoming one world and we cannot isolate ourselves."

U.N.O. Must Survive

It was essential for the world that the U.N.O. should survive. U.N.O. was so essential for South Africa as part of that world even though U.N.O. at the beginning had made what the Union regarded as mistakes concerning herself.

The world had just emerged from a war. Another war in this atomic age would lead to the destruction of civilisation. U.N.O. was the sole bulwark against destruction.

"We should not even hold out the possibility of the start of the destruction of U.N.O. U.N.O. must survive and we must play our part." Only among those lines could the best interests of South Africa be served.

Earlier Speeches

Speaking on Dr. Malan's motion on January 23, before Mr. Hofmeyr had addressed the House Mr. Klopper (H.N.P., Vredenburg) said the people in South West Africa asked the Prime Minister to ask the League of Nations for incorporation or independence, but he refused both requests, and now the League of Nations no longer existed.

At the General Smuts had given the impression that he wanted to annex South West Africa—an Imperialistic action. He had not told U.N.O. that the people of South West Africa wanted incorporation.

The Prime Minister (General Smuts): Read my representation at U.N.O.

DURBAN CITY COUNCIL WANTS UMBILO ROAD FOR EUROPEANS ONLY

(By J. M. SINGH Secretary Natal Indian Congress)

The Durban City Council is considering making representations to the Land Tenure Advisory Board that a nine-acre block of land in Umhlo Kood, should be controlled for European occupation. At present under the Asiatic Land Tenure Act, this land is exempted and thirteen of the eighteen subdivisions are owned by Asiatics. The recommendation of the City Council Sub-Committee is that this land should be exempted with out any compensation to the owners since Asiatic occupation of this area would be "undesirable, particularly as Umhlo Kood is one of the main approaches to the City."

Added to the fact that under the Asiatic Land Tenure Act exempted land for Indians is frightfully limited, the local authorities owing to their compulsion and because they represent only the European section of people—and deny expression and representation to the non-Europeans, are actually busy recommending further limitations of areas for Asiatic occupation. This was not unexpected, for when the Indian people decided not to co-operate with the Obsolete Act, they fully realized the grave implications of the Act as far as they were concerned. On the part of the local authorities and municipalities, the recommendation made by local Councils and Town Boards, speaking for the white bourgeoisie, that further restrictions be made of scheduled areas, so as to turn more and more of these exempted areas into controlled areas and preserves of the white ruling class, thereby confining the Indians to smaller neglected and over populated reserves.

In the past, the Indian people can only be oppressed and exploited, for the Indian people have no voice in the affairs of the country, no local, or provincial councils or the Union Parliament.

The only solution of this question would be to grant direct representation on an equal basis to all sections of the population in all governing bodies of the country, so that laws and rules of government would be made without prejudice or bias against any particular section but for the benefit of the whole country.

Civic Amenities For Those Who Have The Franchise

The Transport Inquiry Commission appointed in 1946 by the Administrator of Natal has finished its work, and its report con-

tains revelations which should be examined carefully.

The Commission notes "that one-third of Durban's 286,000 people formed a privileged class to which the Municipality devoted 73 per cent of the transport. This privileged class is of course the Europeans of Durban. They enjoy the franchise, they control the municipal transport, so they decide to have 73 per cent of the municipal transport for themselves and have the balance to the two-third non-white, valueless and lawless residents of Durban. Despite the fact that the average economic standard of the European is higher than the non-European and therefore he can afford to use his private transport, yet the proportion of public vehicles belonging Council allowance to Europeans compared to non-Europeans is five to one. Is it even necessary to ask whether this is fair, and just? It is not the least surprising that the Commission recommends that "the transport plans at present drawn up should be scrapped and reviewed in the light of serving the needs of the whole community? For we can expect a City Council composed only of the European section to have the inclination to run affairs for the benefit of those it does not represent."

This neglect of the present rulers of the country is only one example of the fruits of denying franchise and representation to all. The basic question is not whether transport, housing or any other amenity should be improved for the Indian or African people, but whether the Indian and African is going to be given a share in the affairs of the country. Can it still be doubted that fair pay and justice demands that White South Africa should completely reorientate its attitude and accept the fact that the country as a whole will only progress if all its inhabitants are treated on an equal basis enjoying equal opportunities and exercising equal rights in the government of the country. The answer is simple. Franchise on the common roll must be extended to all sections of the South African people, and not confined to a small privileged class, who can see and work no farther than their own interests demand.

Chinese in Canada

The Prime Minister of Canada, Mr. Mackenzie King, has announced that the Canadian Government would introduce legislation to remove all race discrimination against Chinese in Canada.

DANGERS OF COLOUR BAR POLICY

In the course of his lecture on "Group Consciousness and Race Prejudices" in Capetown on Wednesday, January 23, Professor I. D. MacCrone said: "Whether we like it or not, we shall, from now on, have to reckon with what, to many of us, is the startling fact that we form an integral part of a new kind of world that has become profoundly aware of the problems arising out of human relations; that has become racially self-conscious and sensitive about any kind of racial discrimination to a quite unprecedented degree, and that has become vocal and highly critical wherever it has reason to believe that such racial discrimination may be practised."

"Confronted by such a formidable situation in the real world from which we cannot segregate ourselves however much we may like to do so, we may try to avoid the reality by refusing to recognise the revolutionary change that has come over the world while continuing to cherish those racial prejudices that we have inherited from any age that has long since vanished, or is in the process of vanishing from the rest of the world," said Professor MacCrone.

"Such a course, it seems to me, can only end in a tragic breakdown of our whole social system—a breakdown which may be postponed for a time by defiant gestures but which cannot, in the long run, be avoided."

"For my part, I sincerely hope that we shall not allow ourselves to be first made mad before we are finally destroyed. But we have another and more rational chance offered to us. And that is to bring about those changes within ourselves, in our own mental attitudes and ways of thinking and feeling about the world-order so far as the relations between the races within the country, or elsewhere, are concerned."

If we succeed in doing so, or even modifying our existing race prejudices we shall have removed one of the main obstacles in the way of coming to terms with the demands of the real world in which we live to-day."



The Late Mr. M. M. Lokhat

The death of Mr. Linjee Mamonjee Moon Lokhat, which took place on Monday, removes from the life of the Indian community of Durban an old and respected person. The late Mr. Lokhat was of a quiet and amiable disposition. He took a very long part in the public life of the community and was the first president of the Natal Indian Association and later vice-president of the Natal Indian Congress. The late Mr. Lokhat is survived by his widow and five sons to whom we extend our heartfelt sympathy. A memorial meeting was held at the M. K. Gandhi Library on Tuesday when tributes were paid by various speakers to the deceased for the useful services he had rendered in the political, social, religious and educational life of the community.

NEWS IN BRIEF

Dr. Natchez And Dr.
Dudon To Leave For India

[illegible]

Mr. A. I. Kover: Yes, sir.
To know.

Mr. A. I. Lange, a member of the German Delegation to UNO is expected to return to Durham today but a message we received

**Society Of Friends Moral
Sympathy**

[illegible]

sympathy in your efforts to
[redacted] [redacted] [redacted]
[redacted] [redacted] [redacted] between your
[redacted] other inhabitants of

21,881 Europeans And 1,125
In North West Hudson

has nearly doubled in 10 years, according to the preliminary report of the U.S. Census Bureau.

Nagari Prachinai Sabha

held a meeting recently in order to
form a 5-man building committee. The
committee is composed of Mr. J. H. Jones,
C. H. Jones, J. H. Jones, and J. H. Jones.
The committee is now working on the
plans for the building of the
new Indian School and is
expected to complete the plans in
the near future.

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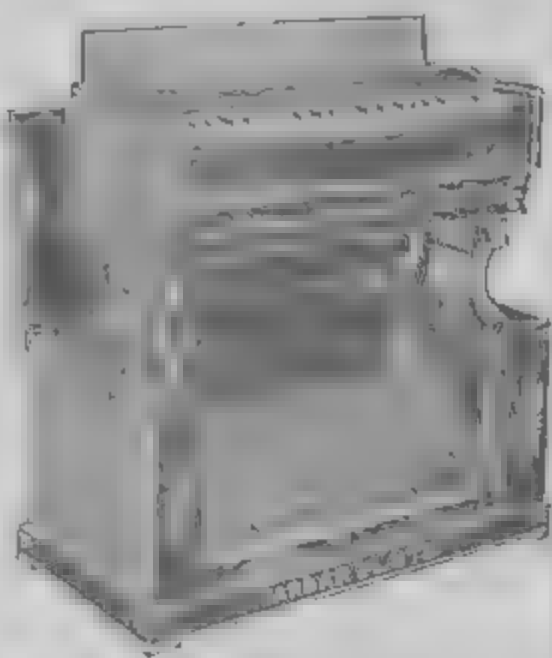
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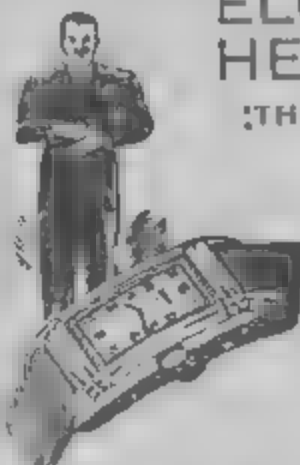


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in extremely to

We should have brought Gen. Smuts would not dare to suggest it after the bitter experience he and his Government had had of the Native Representative Council, and can it be honestly said that the Coloured community is satisfied with its lot with the Coloured Advisory Board? Profits are not wanting to show that it is not. What we want is substance and not the shadow. We are asking for bread and we are having stones thrown at us.

"The only propaganda of any man was the truth," he said. He further said:

political structure of Sou

What Gen. Smith is now trying to do is to entrap the main mass by diverting the minds of the Indians to some further confessions of a very doubtful character, if they appear glittering to the eyes of some of our people we would warn them that "all that glitters is not gold."

DR. Y. M. DADOO, president of the Transvaal Congress, and Dr. G. M. Nankier, president of the Natal Indian Congress, who were to leave by air for India to consult the Indian leaders on the Indian question and to attend the Inter-Asian Conference which is due to meet in New Delhi on March 23, are being prevented from doing so by the Union authorities. Dr. Nankier, we are told, has been refused a passport and in the case of Dr. Dadoo a certificate of identity, which is usually earned by all Indians going to India from the Union, which had already been granted, has been taken away from him. Such high-handedness in times of stress and strain in India is not a new thing.

Well might it be asked: Are we living under a democratic or under the Nuremberg regime? Is the Union Government getting ready? We say this believing that the step will be taken with full knowledge and consent of the Government.

SOME SANE CRITICISM ON UNION'S ATTITUDE ON UNO'S DECISION A LONG VIEW WANTED

COMMENTING on the Union Government's attitude in regard to U.N.O.'s decision on South West Africa and the treatment of Indians in the Union the *East London Dispatch* dated January 1, writes:

If the United Nations Organisation is to become a body respected by all and feared by all the transgressors, it is necessary to permit South Africa to ignore its decisions, which in the eyes of the United Nations is not in accord with justice or even moral interests, but merely shelter Great Britain withdraw her diplomatic representation at the behest of the General Assembly. It is unlikely, therefore, that U.N.O. would look tolerantly at South Africa's action if the settlement ignored the request in regard to the Indians. It is a great conflict with the Union in regard to South West Africa for to treat South West as a fifth province would be a permanent incorporation within the Union. And it must not be forgotten that if U.N.O. takes a serious view of South Africa's attitude of its decisions it has it

"Finally, there is opinion in South Africa itself to take into consideration. The U.N.O. advanced the possibility of a union by half a century. They know that two thirds of the people in the world are better off than they are and a higher standard of life. That knowledge

is that the Union Government does not intend to improve their conditions. And among the Europeans there is a rapidly spreading conviction that more must be done to educate and uplift the African population.

In these circumstances, we urge the Government to heed the warning of U.N.O., to take the long view and to plan a long range programme of non-European development that will ensure peaceful progress and prosperity in the Union and give satisfaction at home and abroad.

Need For Sound Goals

Dr. J. N. Freedman, until recently senior lecturer in the Department of Commerce at the Witwatersrand University, who left for New York, where he is to take up a post in the Econo-

mics and Social Council, in a Press interview said it was important that the Union should have ultimate goals which were fundamentally sound. They must be goals which the world would accept as equitable and just—it would be easier than to explain and demonstrate to other nations a fault as which obstructed the attainment of those goals. The national income in South Africa, he said, was relatively low if all sections of the population were taken into consideration. It was of great importance to

provide opportunities for the mass of the people to undertake skilled work. More effective use

The Union should aim at economic development to increase the national income. Industrial expansion will provide opportunities to the people and the country will receive the fruits. This is one of the forces which inevitably leads on to those goals which I have mentioned as being fundamentally sound.

The time will come when the white minority in this country will be glad that world principles are being insisted on. The surest way to maintain standards of living is to create opportunities for everyone to improve; the surest way to safeguard white civilisation is to see that as many people as possible accept the values of such civilisation."

A Serious Matter

The Rev. Dr. Hooch Coventry writes in the *East London Daily Dispatch* dated January 23:

"We need to be quite clear what really happened at U.N.O. The decision simply insisted on the right of the world council to deal with the matter, suggesting that 'friendly relations between two member states have been impaired.' Both governments were asked to report to the next session what

measures had been adopted to remove this position, stating that the principle of settlement should be 'in conformity with the international obligations under the agreement concluded between the two governments and the relevant provisions of the Charter.' A scrutiny of the voting shows that the decision did not follow purely racial lines. U.N.O.'s power, apart from what may threaten the peace of the world, seems to be confined to recommendation and not to actual interference.

Though the affair does hold the possibilities of a world clash of colour, it has not yet reached that stage and need not do so.

We are witnessing the birth throes of a new world-order, the alternative to which is a return to power politics with the certainty of another and more dreadful war sooner or later. The larger part of mankind is what we call coloured and the new order will necessarily be determined by this. No policy of white supremacy will be acceptable, for the Coloured peoples are demanding their freedom and their place in the

Quite apart from the justification of the condemnation of our present policy there is the argument, insisted on by Field-Marshal Smuts, that this is purely a domestic matter and that outside criticism is unwarranted. This will be strongly disputed and there is need for clear thinking about it. How far can any matter be purely domestic to-

This might be claimed for cholera in a home and yet that sickness is infectious, it is a national matter and, as the 1918 plague proved, even international. The Labour organisation of the League of Nations showed how a labour problem in any country might influence labour in other lands. All economic affairs are now recognised as having an international reference.

Seriousness Of The Position

In the past, strong nations have not hesitated to intervene where injustice to their countrymen was suspected and, whether we like it or not, India has taken a strong stand and reiterated in defence of Indians in South Africa. Friendly relations

therein lies the seriousness of the position.

Many people here claim all Indians together, judging them all by what they see in this land. This is a fatal mistake. The Indians are a great people, great in intellect, in wealth, in natural resources, in industrial efficiency and in manpower. When they have settled their internal differences they will be a force in the world. Can a small country like ours afford to antagonise them? We are only 2,000,000 whites against the 400,000,000.

Another point which should be in our minds is the possibility of our creating a big colour bloc in South Africa, antagonistic to us.

In so far as our policy is based merely on colour and the effort to maintain white supremacy at all costs, it will not have the sympathy of world opinion and it is an ominous fact that the working of the Act in dispute classes Turks and a

Unapproval has already been voiced by India, China and by the Arabs.

Undoubtedly, the matter is serious and we must frankly face our position and judge our opinion on honestly for we are now on the verge of our decision will have on our side a policy based on justice, fairness and humanity and get rid once for all of any selfish and illogical prejudices.

For want of woe we are part of a world organisation and can no longer live alone. The powerful and self-interest of the States of America has found it necessary to abandon the policy of isolationism, we can be sure that along that line there is a security for South Africa.

A Woman Should Have Been At U.N.O.

It is a pity that no woman was present at the U.N.O. meeting. A woman should have been there to state emphatically that the General Smuts had one of the most important and practical women in the South African delegation. Her presence might have been avoided, the president of the Johannesburg National Council of Women, Mrs. L. Thornton Archer, told the women's meeting.

[Note: There will still be a meeting of the U.N.O. in the near future.]

MOVING has resolution in the

July 30, Senator H. M. Byrd (R-R) said that the facts would have to be considered not only because of the resolutions taken at UN 1, but because South Africa has become the central problem in the problem of humanity. It was of the utmost importance that ways and means should be found, with the co-operation of all races, for the common purpose and progress.

signific to avoid the danger of war was inevitable

The coloured peoples of the world felt that if UNO could not settle this problem of South Africa, then it could not settle the problems and fears of other small and bigger countries.

Because coloured peoples formed the majority of mankind, they would not allow things to go on as they were.

If UNO had the right to ask South Africa to fall within its framework, South Africa had the right to ask UNO to fall within its framework.

The main charge against South Africa was that the living standards of non Europeans were low.

There was only one hope for humanity and that was that all the nations would agree to abide by the principles of the Charter.

"The only way to save the world from war is to strengthen UNO and to enforce law. The important thing is not whether UNO has made a mistake about us, but whether we abide by its

promise on these questions.

"I don't believe anyone can persuade the outside world that South Africa's structure is in conformity with the Charter. It is a foregone conclusion that our sovereign rights are protected in the Charter, but I say we can't remain in UNO unless we are prepared to make some fundamental alterations to the structure. Membership of UNO does not allow for the principles of racial discrimination and supremacy."

The world would not allow South Africa to remain as it was. US-G's first criticisms were only a finger pointing, the next step would be sanctions: the World Bank only had to decide not to take South Africa's gold.

DEBATE IN THE SENATE ON UNO DECISION

Sanctions could be imposed only by the Security Council, and what the Prime Minister meant by "friends" was that South Africa would always have friends to exercise the veto in her favour. That was not true.

The British delegation received much criticism when it got home from UNO for its support of South Africa and it was not certain that Mr Attlee and Mr. Deakin would be able to even supporting South Africa. The Prime Minister had no guarantee that the British and French Governments would support him. If Mr. Henry Wallace

non-Europeans much longer?

The South West Africa issue had been decided on whether the natives could make a decision as an adult, intelligent people. Was South Africa ashamed of a free township agreement? Was she unable to administer South West Africa to meet the approval of the Trusteeship Council?

At UNO the Prime Minister had taken a stand on the legal decision, but it was impossible to slush a problem into a corridor by referring it to the International Court of Justice. UNO sent the case to the Inter-

SENATOR BASNER'S RESOLUTION

The motion moved by Senator H. M. Bannoy (Native Representative) read:

... significant in the majority of
nations in the United Nations Organization

"Whereas it is necessary, in view of the disturbed and changing conditions and conflicting ideologies in the world, in order to avoid atomic warfare and the possible destruction of humanity, to prevent the United Nations from becoming a

Whereas it is impossible for Africa to withdraw from the United Nations Organization without losing its voice and lowering the prestige of the United Nations;

Whom it is impossible, without the co-operation of all, to raise in South Africa and without rapidly increasing the national economy of South Africa, to make the necessary changes in the structure of South Africa.

national Court, the non-Kuomintang of the world would have looked upon it as a sign of failure, that would have weakened UNO. South Africa could not whitewash her reputation without changing her policy.

Gen. Smuts's Reply

The Prime Minister, Georget Smuts, said that in what he was going to say, he was not speaking against UNO. South Africa was not signi...

much trouble for it. There was a feeling of resentment and disappointment. He did not share that opinion, nor did most of the people.

"UNO has made a bad start; I can assure the House that, watching that scene from the inside, in touch with Powers great and small, they were disappointed in the course things were taken.

A change was taking place which people did not appreciate. It came to a head at UNO. For many generations western civilization had taken the lead. At New York they found that this civilization was in danger: the centre of power and leadership was shifting in the world.

It happened that South Africa was the spearpoint of the attack. We are so small, we are so weak. Why not single out this small country for attack?—and it came to that.

We are behind LNO if it carries out the Charter. If it ~~does not~~ it will go this way of the League of Nations.

otherwise, there would be chaos
and ruin.

The fundamental principle of the Charter was that G.N.O. would not poke its nose into the domestic matters of any country. No nation would know where it was unless countries were recognised as sovereigns and could run their internal

[illegible]

overcome of India raised their complaint against South Africa, the Union took the line, under the Charter, that "you have no right to raise this point. If you rely on any breach of the Charter, we will refer the matter to the court for his decision."

There had been much talk on fundamental rights. It was a fundamental right for anyone to appeal to a court of law. He had claimed that right and the answer was "No. We shall express our opinion; we shall express it on the basis of emotion, passion, ignorance." That cut right into the foundation of

"If that is to be maintained, without being a prophet, I know what the current of UNO will be."

The British Ambassador, General Sir Hartley Shawcross, took exactly the same line as he did LNO had suffered a self-inflicted wound. The time would come when it would be realised that not only South Africa, but America and Russia, might come under the hammer.

"Something was done to South Africa at UNO, which, if it is repeated to other countries, will blow UNO sky high."

People were ignorant of South Africa. Publicity was needed.

In a speech delivered in Bombay on India's part at UNO, Mr. Justice Chagla, a member of India's delegation to UNO, said:

It was an honour to serve under Mrs. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit. By her charm, beauty and ability she literally swept the UNO off its floor.

Members of the delegation had specific instructions from the Government of India that they should consider every question that came up at the UNO only on its merits and participate in the debate and vote on it accordingly.

I have heard it said that India aligned herself with the Slav Bloc. It was a fallacious contention. Russia supported the cause of India and the delegation appreciated her support. But it should not be construed from it that on this ground India voted with Russian or other quarters. We never lost sight of the merits of each case that came up at the UNO. Our votes were cast strictly on the basis of merits.

All the nations at UNO showed great sympathy towards the cause of India and her struggle for freedom. She received tremendous support from all quarters. That showed unmistakably how much India equaled for in the councils of the world.

The delegation represented to the UNO that South Africa by adopting a policy of racial segregation and discriminatory legislation had violated the very principles and purposes of the United Nations Charter. Mr. Marshall Hanna had played a leading part in drafting that Charter and was regarded as one of its architects. How could he then pass legislation which infringed the fundamentals of that document?

Mr. Marshall Hanna admitted that the facts were so over whelmingly against him that he could not hold his own. So he gave a very ingenuous answer. He sought to avail himself of technical and procedural points and said that the policy South Africa had adopted was purely a domestic concern. South Africa was a sovereign State and the UNO had no right to interfere in domestic affairs. His argument sounded very plausible. Many States were frightened that to favour their sovereignty might also be called into question. It was a very clever move.

The Indian delegation replied that when a sovereign State became a member of the UNO and agreed to carry out the provisions of the Charter it owed some of its sovereign rights to that organisation.

So when the UNO decided to accept was a big resolution in its implications. It decided, in the first place, that policy of racial segregation and discriminatory legislation was contrary to

OUR INDIAN LETTER

(FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT)

Baroda, January 14, 1947

INDIA AT UNO

the terms of the Charter. In future no member State of the UNO could pass such legislation without being accused of violating the Charter. Secondly, the resolution established an important precedent that the UNO had jurisdiction to check matters of racial segregation and discriminatory legislation. The doors of the UNO would always be open to any such complaint.

India was a country without any resource and was still struggling for her independence. How did she succeed in securing a two thirds majority at the UNO? All that the delegation did was to raise this problem to a high moral level. They did not take any narrow legislative point of view. A moral appeal was made. And it must be said to the lasting credit of the UNO that they gave a great response.

It was most unfortunate that England at this crucial period did not support India. The delegation was told that England would remain neutral. But she did not keep her word and sided with South Africa.

When the crisis in was passed almost all the delegates, even those who had a signed themselves against India, came to the members of the Indian delegation, shook hands warmly with them and said that though they had officially voted against it, they individually were happy at her great victory.

The UNO by adopting the two resolutions, one on Government and the other with regard to Indians in South Africa, justified its existence. It embodied the maintenance of order of justice and peace in the world. In the UNO lay the germs of a World Parliament where questions would be decided not by the force of arms but by reason and argument. India in the future had great potentialities to the Council of the World. It was a very important observation made there. But there were two conditions for it. Firstly, India should be free and secondly, but not as important, that she should settle her domestic differences.

India And U.S.S.R

Speaking at a party given to the Russian delegates by the Indian Science Congress, Prof. Voigt, Vice-President of the Academy of Sciences of U.S.S.R., said: "The Academy greatly appreciates the honour of being in-

ited to take part in the session of the Indian Science Congress, and express their deep gratitude to the Congress and to Pandit Nehru in particular. The names of eminent Indian scientists are well-known to the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R. We greatly hope that our participation in the work of the Indian Science Congress will contribute a great deal to the strengthening of the scientific bonds, cultural intercourse, and friendly relations between the people of our country and the people of India." Pandit Nehru, in his reply said, "for many years past we have looked with very great interest towards the Soviet Union for many reasons but more especially because of the tremendous achievements of the Soviet Union during the last quarter of a century or so. You are our neighbours and I am sure we must take interest in each other, we must know each other and develop closer contacts with each other."

But apart from being neighbours, you have been pioneers in a very important way. You have transformed the vast lands of your country before our eyes with a speed that has astonished humanity. Instantly, when we want to produce great changes in India, we want to learn from your example. We want to know what you have done and how you have done it. Among the many things that you have done is the

application of that science to the betterment of human beings who live in these vast territories.

"It is our purpose also to better our lot and to share the fruits of science to that end and we want to learn from you what you have to teach in that respect. So the message you have brought and your coming here has been very welcome to us."

Speaking as Minister for External Affairs, Government of India, he expressed his hope that "in the near future our two countries will be able to exchange diplomatic representatives and that having done so, the door will be opened for closer contact in many fields of bonded human

in Indo-China between the French Power and Viet Nam. It is difficult for us to know all the true facts. But one thing is patent that armed forces are trying to crush Viet Nam. India has always had a high regard for France and for all that that country had represented in the history of the struggle for human freedom. We have also appreciated French culture and the high development of the arts in France. It is our hope to draw closer to France in the political and cultural domains. But the attempt of France to crush the spirit of freedom in Indo-China has deeply moved the Indian people who have always stood for the freedom of every part of Asia. Their goodwill for France has been put under a severe strain. Their sympathies are naturally go to the people of Indo-China. I trust that the Government and people of France will realise that the action they have undertaken in Indo-China is having and will continue to have far-reaching repercussions injurious to French prestige in Asia. The prestige of France as of any other country is not going to be kept up by force of arms, but by the renunciation of imperialism and the support of human freedom and progress everywhere. Even a military success may yield barren fruit and leave a legacy of hatred and bitter opposition behind it. I earnestly trust, therefore, that the French Republic will revert to peaceful methods in Indo-China and show by its own example that it stands for freedom everywhere."

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India At Viet Nam

In a statement on the situation at Viet Nam (Sim), Pandit Nehru says: "In Asia at present there is a deep conflict going on



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Page 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 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621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000, 1001, 1002, 1003, 1004, 1005, 1006, 1007, 1008, 1009, 1010, 1011, 1012, 1013, 1014, 1015, 1016, 1017, 1018, 1019, 1020, 1021, 1022, 1023, 1024, 1025, 1026, 1027, 1028, 1029, 1030, 1031, 1032, 1033, 1034, 1035, 1036, 1037, 1038, 1039, 1040, 1041, 1042, 1043, 1044, 1045, 1046, 1047, 1048, 1049, 1050, 1051, 1052, 1053, 1054, 1055, 1056, 1057, 1058, 1059, 1060, 1061, 1062, 1063, 1064, 1065, 1066, 1067, 1068, 1069, 1070, 1071, 1072, 1073, 1074, 1075, 1076, 1077, 1078, 1079, 1080, 1081, 1082, 1083, 1084, 1085, 1086, 1087, 1088, 1089, 1090, 1091, 1092, 1093, 1094, 1095, 1096, 1097, 1098, 1099, 1100, 1101, 1102, 1103, 1104, 1105, 1106, 1107, 1108, 1109, 1110, 1111, 1112, 1113, 1114, 1115, 1116, 1117, 1118, 1119, 1120, 1121, 1122, 1123, 1124, 1125, 1126, 1127, 1128, 1129, 1130, 1131, 1132, 1133, 1134, 1135, 1136, 1137, 1138, 1139, 1140, 1141, 1142, 1143, 1144, 1145, 1146, 1147, 1148, 1149, 1150, 1151, 1152, 1153, 1154, 1155, 1156, 1157, 1158, 1159, 1160, 1161, 1162, 1163, 1164, 1165, 1166, 1167, 1168, 1169, 1170, 1171, 1172, 1173, 1174, 1175, 1176, 1177, 1178, 1179, 1180, 1181, 1182, 1183, 1184, 1185, 1186, 1187, 1188, 1189, 1190, 1191, 1192, 1193, 1194, 1195, 1196, 1197, 1198, 1199, 1200, 1201, 1202, 1203, 1204, 1205, 1206, 1207, 1208, 1209, 1210, 1211, 1212, 1213, 1214, 1215, 1216, 1217, 1218, 1219, 1220, 1221, 1222, 1223, 1224, 1225, 1226, 1227, 1228, 1229, 1230, 1231, 1232, 1233, 1234, 1235, 1236, 1237, 1238, 1239, 1240, 1241, 1242, 1243, 1244, 1245, 1246, 1247, 1248, 1249, 1250, 1251, 1252, 1253, 1254, 1255, 1256, 1257, 1258, 1259, 1260, 1261, 1262, 1263, 1264, 1265, 1266, 1267, 1268, 1269, 1270, 1271, 1272, 1273, 1274, 1275, 1276, 1277, 1278, 1279, 1280, 1281, 1282, 1283, 1284, 1285, 1286, 1287, 1288, 1289, 1290, 1291, 1292, 1293, 1294, 1295, 1296, 1297, 1298, 1299, 1300, 1301, 1302, 1303, 1304, 1305, 1306, 1307, 1308, 1309, 1310, 1311, 1312, 1313, 1314, 1315, 1316, 1317, 1318, 1319, 1320, 1321, 1322, 1323, 1324, 1325, 1326, 1327, 1328, 1329, 1330, 1331, 1332, 1333, 1334, 1335, 1336, 1337, 1338, 1339, 1340, 1341, 1342, 1343, 1344, 1345, 1346, 1347, 1348, 1349, 1350, 1351, 1352, 1353, 1354, 1355, 1356, 1357, 1358, 1359, 1360, 1361, 1362, 1363, 1364, 1365, 1366, 1367, 1368, 1369, 1370, 1371, 1372, 1373, 1374, 1375, 1376, 1377, 1378, 1379, 1380, 1381, 1382, 1383, 1384, 1385, 1386, 1387, 1388, 1389, 1390, 1391, 1392, 1393, 1394, 1395, 1396, 1397, 1398, 1399, 1400, 1401, 1402, 1403, 1404, 1405, 1406, 1407, 1408, 1409, 1410, 1411, 1412, 1413, 1414, 1415, 1416, 1417, 1418, 1419, 1420, 1421, 1422, 1423, 1424, 1425, 1426, 1427, 1428, 1429, 1430, 1431, 1432, 1433, 1434, 1435, 1436, 1437, 1438, 1439, 1440, 1441, 1442, 1443, 1444, 1445, 1446, 1447, 1448, 1449, 1450, 1451, 1452, 1453, 1454, 1455, 1456, 1457, 1458, 1459, 1460, 1461, 1462, 1463, 1464, 1465, 1466, 1467, 1468, 1469, 1470, 1471, 1472, 1473, 1474, 1475, 1476, 1477, 1478, 1479, 1480, 1481, 1482, 1483, 1484, 1485, 1486, 1487, 1488, 1489, 1490, 1491, 1492, 1493, 1494, 1495, 1496, 1497, 1498, 1499, 1500, 1501, 1502, 1503, 1504, 1505, 1506, 1507, 1508, 1509, 1510, 1511, 1512, 1513, 1514, 1515, 1516, 1517, 1518, 1519, 1520, 1521, 1522, 1523, 1524, 1525, 1526, 1527, 1528, 1529, 1530, 1531, 1532, 1533, 1534, 1535, 1536, 1537, 1538, 1539, 1540, 1541, 1542, 1543, 1544, 1545, 1546, 1547, 1548, 1549, 1550, 1551, 1552, 1553, 1554, 1555, 1556, 1557, 1558, 1559, 1560, 1561, 1562, 1563, 1564, 1565, 1566, 1567, 1568, 1569, 1570, 1571, 1572, 1573, 1574, 1575, 1576, 1577, 1578, 1579, 1580, 1581, 1582, 1583, 1584, 1585, 1586, 1587, 1588, 1589, 1590, 1591, 1592, 1593, 1594, 1595, 1596, 1597, 1598, 1599, 1600, 1601, 1602, 1603, 1604, 1605, 1606, 1607, 1608, 1609, 1610, 1611, 1612, 1613, 1614, 1615, 1616, 1617, 1618, 1619, 1620, 1621, 1622, 1623, 1624, 1625, 1626, 1627, 1628, 1629, 1630, 1631, 1632, 1633, 1634, 1635, 1636, 1637, 1638, 1639, 1640, 1641, 1642, 1643, 1644, 1645, 1646, 1647, 1648, 1649, 1650, 1651, 1652, 1653, 1654, 1655, 1656, 1657, 1658, 1659, 1660, 1661, 1662, 1663, 1664, 1665, 1666, 1667, 1668, 1669, 1670, 1671, 1672, 1673, 1674, 1675, 1676, 1677, 1678, 1679, 1680, 1681, 1682, 1683, 1684, 1685, 1686, 1687, 1688, 1689, 1690, 1691, 1692, 1693, 1694, 1695, 1696, 1697, 1698, 1699, 1700, 1701, 1702, 1703, 1704, 1705, 1706, 1707, 1708, 1709, 1710, 1711, 1712, 1713, 1714, 1715, 1716, 1717, 1718, 1719, 1720, 1721, 1722, 1723, 1724, 1725, 1726, 1727, 1728, 1729, 1730, 1731, 1732, 1733, 1734, 1735, 1736, 1737, 1738, 1739, 1740, 1741, 1742, 1743, 1744, 1745, 1746, 1747, 1748, 1749, 1750, 1751, 1752, 1753, 1754, 1755, 1756, 1757, 1758, 1759, 1760, 1761, 1762, 1763, 1764, 1765, 1766, 1767, 1768, 1769, 1770, 1771, 1772, 1773, 1774, 1775, 1776, 1777, 1778, 1779, 1780, 1781, 1782, 1783, 1784, 1785, 1786, 1787, 1788, 1789, 1790, 1791, 1792, 1793, 1794, 1795, 1796, 1797, 1798, 1799, 1800, 1801, 1802, 1803, 1804, 1805, 1806, 1807, 1808, 1809, 1810, 1811, 1812, 1813, 1814, 1815, 1816, 1817, 1818, 1819, 1820, 1821, 1822, 1823, 1824, 1825, 1826, 1827, 1828, 1829, 1830, 1831, 1832, 1833, 1834, 1835, 1836, 1837, 1838, 1839, 1840, 1841, 1842, 1843, 1844, 1845, 1846, 1847, 1848, 1849, 1850, 1851, 1852, 1853, 1854, 1855, 1856, 1857, 1858, 1859, 1860, 1861, 1862, 1863, 1864, 1865, 1866, 1867, 1868, 1869, 1870, 1871, 1872, 1873, 1874, 1875, 1876, 1877, 1878, 1879, 1880, 1881, 1882, 1883, 1884, 1885, 1886, 1887, 1888, 1889, 1890, 1891, 1892, 1893, 1894, 1895, 1896, 1897, 1898, 1899, 1900, 1901, 1902, 1903, 1904, 1905, 1906, 1907, 1908, 1909, 1910, 1911, 1912, 1913, 1914, 1915, 1916, 1917, 1918, 1919, 1920, 1921, 1922, 1923, 1924, 1925, 1926, 1927, 1928, 1929, 1930, 1931, 1932, 1933, 1934, 1935, 1936, 1937, 1938, 1939, 1940, 1941, 1942, 1943, 1944, 1945, 1946, 1947, 1948, 1949, 1950, 1951, 1952, 1953, 1954, 1955, 1956, 1957, 1958, 1959,

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ing of it with even towards the enemy. We would even venture to suggest that if, in the performance of this duty necessity demands it, the struggle should be suspended for the duration of the Royal family's stay in the Union. This attitude would be entirely in the line with the spirit of passive resistance which would redound to the credit

of the passive resisters. Passive resisters should be ready to fight at a moment's notice and to lay down their arms when occasion demands it.

With these sentiments we sincerely wish their Majesties the King and the Queen and their Royal Highnesses the Princesses a very pleasant and a happy journey.

REV. DR. BOOTH COVENTRY ON THE INDIAN QUESTION

BARMED resisters of a great and proud people, the Indians consider that the degrading legislation of South Africa is an insult to their race. They feel it degrades them to be of an inferior type of humanity. They know that in the past generations who have stood in the forefront of human achievement in letters, in science, in religion, and in all occasions when energetic heroism was demanded. They do not want that European civilization is greater and nobler

can be it to be inferior and so

and their industry was the foundation of South's prosperity and that they have contributed much to the progress and wealth of the country.

They claim that our Government has broken several pledges and treated with its promises as mere scraps of paper. The words of Lord Salisbury are quoted:

It is an error to have completed the terms of service to which they agreed, as the return for the expense of bringing them to the Colony will be less than in all respects with privileges no whit inferior to those of any other class of Her Majesty's subjects resident in the Colonies. This pledge, they say has been shamefully broken.

They also remind us that Sir J. L. Hulton, the pioneer of the sugar industry, confessed "The condition of the Colony before the importation of Indian labour was one of gloom. It was one of them and there threatened to extinguish the vitality of the country, and it was only by the Government mandating the importation of labour that the Colony began at once to revive. Durban was absolutely built up by the Indian population."

The present day Indians have been in the country, have lived here all their lives, have made all their social contributions and their means of livelihood in South Africa, therefore in their

home. They are citizens as much as any man and they demand the status of full and free citizenship in a free land.

In the world war their people nobly played their part in the overthrow of Nazism. Even divided as she was, in the past over two million fighting men lay in the ranks of the Allies and they took no small part in gaining the ultimate victory. They have a right, therefore, to share in the fruits of that victory. The Atlantic Charter is their charter and the four freedoms of President Roosevelt, they claim for themselves.

They deny them all this and they can point to over 60 discriminatory measures steadily making their position worse, culminating in the Act of 1946.

They state that the intention of this long list of discriminatory acts has only one object—the degrading of the Indian population in the face of the Union. The restrictions are designed to limit the expansion of their economic life and the communal representation offered is, to their mind, no representation at all.

Segregation they regard with abhorrence. They demand equal conditions, inadequate transport, the lack of social amenities, and finally the creation of a new

people to the south. There are 25,000 Indians in the old Borough but the total land allotted to them is only about 150 acres. This means 700 people to the acre. In the Borough the European density is 16 to the acre. Here, they say, the standards of life, disease and all kinds of social disabilities.

The land set apart for them cannot support them. They believe that the purpose of the Government is to reduce them to the position of serfs, so that they may supply cheap labour. They are, therefore, determined to resist with all their power.

PASSPORTS REFUSED TO DR. NAICKER AND DR. DADOO

PROTEST MEETING IN DURBAN

DURBAN, Feb. 14.—A very large meeting to grant passports to Dr. Naicker and myself is an outrage against the civil liberties of not only the Indians, but of all South Africans," declared Dr. Dadoo at a mass meeting of Indians held at Nocol Square on Sunday February 9 under the auspices of the

The meeting was to have been a farewell reception to both leaders who had arranged to leave for India on the following day.

Dr. Dadoo, who was the chief speaker, continued: "By such action the Government is now indulging in Nazi-fascist tactics in order to maintain its domination over the non-Europeans. The duty of Congress is to mobilise every organisation and every section of the South African people to protest against the Government's latest fascist step in refusing the passports, and to prevent the Government from converting South Africa into a fascist state."

Dr. Dadoo referred to the attitude of the Indian Union adopted against Indians by buses to homes via by inspectors of Indian homes, by bands of communists threatening Indians with assault and by a boycott of Indian traders.

The President General of the African National Congress, Dr. Xuma, who went to U.N.O., said his people had a longer experience than the Indians of torture in this country under white domination. He warned the Indians not to accept the Indian Advisory Board which would be a puppet for the Government.

He also warned the Indians not to accept the franchise in the Asiatic Act. Dr. Xuma pointed out that before 1935 thirteen constitutions in the Cape Province were influenced by the African vote but since 1935 when Africans were put on a separate roll to vote for separate representatives they had no influence whatsoever in parliamentary

In an impressive speech Mrs. A. B. Lavopierre, Chairman of the Council of Human Rights, a European organisation, said that her organisation called upon the Government to implement the U.N.O. decision by first removing the Asiatic Act from the statute book thereby opening a way for amicable talks for a just solution of the racial problem. She declared that it was not enough that the Government should attempt to compromise by offers to spend one million pounds on

social amenities for the Indian people. "The only way in which the Government can uplift the Indian people and other non-Europeans is by acceding to their full democratic rights in accordance with the Charter of the U.N.O."

Referring to a speech made by Mr. Heston Nicholls in London Mrs. Lavopierre declared: "It was Mr. Nicholls who told an audience in England that there was a school within walking distance of every Bantu child. I have just returned from Mr. Nicholls's home district and I can assure you that the neglected, unclothed, poverty-stricken Bantu children living in the district have to travel 20 miles a day on foot if they wished to attend school. This statement cannot be 'misleading' but it is untrue. She affirmed the Congress faith in the cause of the Indian people."

The resolution which was passed at the meeting was: "This refusal to nothing less than an unjustified and fascist curtailment of fundamental civil liberties which should be guaranteed to every individual. This mass meeting, therefore, views with considerable alarm, and strongly deplores, the growing fascist tendencies of the South African Government in refusing the right of individuals to proceed overseas because of their political allegiances and in the meantime with the specific motive of stifling any exposure overseas of the continuance of the violent colour policy of the Union Government which has been strongly condemned by the United Nations. Consequently this meeting calls upon all responsible persons and organisations, irrespective of race or creed to join their protest immediately in all possible ways and demand that the Union Government forthwith grants passport facilities to Doctors Naicker and Dadoo."

The other speakers who joined in the protest were Mr. Sorabjee Rustomjee, the Joint Passive Resistance Council delegate to New York, and Mr. Gumbin Anna, Secretary of the Cape Passive Resistance Council, who was deported from Capetown last week.

THE KNOWLEDGE THAT KNOWS NOT

By L. W. RITCH

For as it is more commonly translated "ignorance."

The great sage Patanjali points out that there can be "wrong" knowledge as well as "right" knowledge; according to Pope, the proper study of mankind is Man, while over the portals that gave entrance to the schools of the Greeks was inscribed the legend "Man Know Thyself."

Now, our western civilisation never tires of self gratulation on its sixth century progress, on the store of knowledge it has acquired and the vast field over which its knowledge extends, and doubtless its claim, together with the satisfaction expressed, is not entirely unwarranted in respect of the discoveries—perhaps more truly re-discoveries—that have resulted from scientific researches in the vast field of

The phenomenal aspect of the universe, its expression as matter and form, is however but one of its manifestations, moreover its physical aspect is perhaps farthest removed from its real, its essential nature, and in any case there is not the difference between that consists of a store of accumulated data gathered and tabulated as a result of observation as from the "outside" and the knowledge that is that of intensive understanding following enlightened insight. Such knowledge is a "Knowing a contacting with "the essence of things," "things as they are in themselves," not merely as they appear sensed from "outside." In respect of man, man

of his own, his subjective self, of the self of his fellow-men and of the relationship that binds each of us to every other of us, and all of us to our common Source. When a man comes to discern well, choose well, act well, abstain well, and so subserve and advance his own good, he knows that made him man.

If the root-cause of the world's woes be ignorance and the corrective of ignorance be enlightenment through education, is not a fair test of the effective value of our education the extent to which it has enabled us to pre-

ceive the true cause of our ills and also to apply the proper remedy for them?

If, as is generally admitted it is "Man's inhumanity to man that makes countless numbers mourn," may it not fairly be questioned whether what we have thought to be sound education, has, tested by results, educated, that is, "drawn or led out" what is worthiest in man's complex make up what constitutes man's real dignity or worth and places him at least one rung higher than the brute on the evolutionary ladder, or whether it may not be largely responsible for that very inhumanity of which we complain?

What of direction regarding life's meaning, purpose and objective does modern education afford our youths? How, if in any way, does it assist him in the matter of self knowledge or even stimulate him to seek such knowledge?

Broadly speaking, the average youth learns to regard himself as an organism, flesh, forgotten, or, at best, in which in some mysterious manner arises a sense of individuality or "I-ness" on unconscious capacity of responding to feelings of pleasure and pain.

and of instilling and teaching to certain other processes embraced under the general term of "thought" or mental activity. If his education be not entirely

physical apparatus called a soul, of which he is the somewhat precarious possessor. But, as regards his existence having any background, of its having any plan or purpose other than worldly success is he encouraged even to speculate? And, the factors that from boy-hood he is taught make for success, the physical apparatus called a soul, of which he is the somewhat precarious possessor. But, as regards his existence having any background, of its having any plan or purpose other than worldly success is he encouraged even to speculate? And, the factors that from boy-hood he is taught make for success, the

making him, since they are what man prize most? Among the deeper and significance of "survival as the first law of Nature" and "survival is to the fittest," he views the field of his life's activities as a Tom Tiddler's Ground in which the prizes are to the astute and the race to grab them to the swift, or as a man—defender and jungle whinge in each is for himself and the weakest to the wall. Worldly possessions, power and power, satisfaction of appetites, wants and desires, these are what the aggregate mind taught and

thought to constitute wealth, to expect from education on such lines and from regarding life and living in such ways? The "leading out," the emergence, of the Man of Self-sacrifice

and service, or the minded self-seeker?

"Am I my brother's keeper?" from a proud and condescending oligarchy whom appealed to to deal justly and kindly by those over whom they hold absolute

INDIA ON S. A. INDIAN QUESTION REACTION ON GENERAL SMUTS'S ATTITUDE

Harare, January 28, 1947.

THE South African stand, said Mrs. Pandit, "is based on the principle of minority." The South African Premier's pronouncement on the debate on it in the South African Assembly amount to a double defiance of the U.N.O.'s considered verdict.

Firstly, to say that the Indo-South African dispute is a domestic issue is to attempt to revive a plea which was rejected by the

Secondly Field Marshal Smuts's assertion means a flat refusal to carry out the U.N.O.'s direction to make a report to the Assembly on the Indian question.

The issue thus raised is as important internationally as it is for India nationally. It is a test case and a challenge which the U.N.O. cannot ignore without serious impairment of its authority. It is suggested that the Government of India for its part need to no more than report to the next session of the U.N.O. Assembly that South Africa has declined to discuss the matter. It is not for India to make any approach to South Africa. India is the complainant before the U.N.O., and has obtained a verdict in her favour, and it remains for the defendant to honour the terms of that verdict or to make its own explanations to the authority which gave that verdict.

The Bombay Chronicle commenting editorially says: It is amazing, however, that General Smuts, of all men, should should hold the view that there was no such thing as the Capetown Agreement, that no such agreement had ever been registered before the League of Nations and that the Capetown Conference was nothing more than a consultation between the Governments of the two countries. Even if the Conference was only for consultation the agreement reached there could not fail to be binding merely because it was not registered before the

League of Nations. To shew it on the plea of non-registration is worthy more of a pettifogging lawyer than a responsible Minister enjoying some reputation as a statesman. The anti-Indian

General Smuts persists in that legislation in spite of the disapproval of the U.N.O. that body with in the words of Mr. H. M. F. Smith, former High Commissioner to South Africa, "has something to say about it at the

African Union for its objection to ignore the verdict of the U.N.O. on the verdict on the terms of the issue in 1946 Africa was passed by the All India Congress Conference at its annual session held at Bombay under the presidency of Dr. John Mathai, the Minister for the ways in the

India would be prepared to open direct negotiations with South Africa regarding the Indian Question on our Union that the Act is suggested, Mr. V. Krishna Menon, Indian Secretary to Europe, declared at a press conference. Mr. Menon concluded that the recent utterances by General Smuts concerning United Nations resolution and trusteeship of South-West Africa were a "violation of the international law of which General Smuts was part author." He revealed that the India League in London planned to launch a campaign on behalf of the Indians in South Africa. On February 1 of this year the South Africa Committee of the India League would be formed to carry out the campaign of trying to "influence opinion in the United Kingdom that the British Government need in supporting South Africa at U.N.O." Mr. Menon said, "The important role we heads in Britain are perceiving disturbed over the situation in South Africa and they are likely to urge the U.N.O."

BOYCOTT MOVEMENT IN TRANSVAAL

THE following is a copy of a circular sent out by Mr. N. G. Tante, chairman Farmers Union, Vryburg:

A public meeting will be held on Friday, February 21, at 8 p.m. in the Town Hall, Vryburg, to protest against the action of the Indian Government in boycotting South Africa on account of legislation passed by the South African Government in connection with Indians in Natal and Transvaal.

At a meeting of the Vryburg Farmers' Union held in November a resolution was passed supporting any proposed action to boycott the Indian traders as a protest against the Indian Government boycott of South Africa. The boycott of the Indian Government is having a serious hampering effect on farmers' produce particularly in creating shortage of grain bags, and thereby hampering production and the marketing of all farm produce. It is felt that some action must be taken. At a preliminary meeting of the Farmers' Union and other organisations, it was decided to call a mass meeting on the above date. The object of the meeting is (1) to protest against the action of the Indian Government, (2) to form an organised body to boycott all Indian traders in protest against the Indian Government's action.

N. G. TANTE,
Chairman Farmers' Union Vryburg.

In Schweizer Renke

Our correspondent from Schweizer Renke informs us that from January 4 the Europeans have launched in this town and district a general boycott of all Indian traders, and the result is that the Nationalists and the English have combined. On January 21 Dr. Dadoo, Mr. Nana Jinn, Molvi Saloojee, Goolam Pabai and Rev Scott visited this place. Rev Scott stayed here 4 days to investigate. He has been to Europeans and has told them their action was wrong and unjust.

Rev Scott's Speech

In the course of his speech Rev Scott said "The Indian community is now in the vanguard of the movement for the emancipation of the non-white races in South Africa. This movement is now entering upon a very critical phase and there are great possibilities of growth and development, as the present boycott shows the Indian people are not afraid to stand up for their rights."

"The U.N.O. decisions have given great encouragement and inspiration to all who have worked for the freeing of the coloured races in the Union from those morally and economically undesirable restrictions that have been deliberately placed in the path of their progress."

"The whole world should be grateful to India for the great stand she has taken in the current controversy. It has been a good prelude of what a powerful addition to the forces of peace and progress in the world India will become."

Nevertheless we have now, despite the conclusion of the

civilised world, to face these racial issues here in South Africa, and it may prove to be a long and hard struggle.

"General Smuts has shown so far only a hardening and a determination to go further on the disastrous course laid down in the existing Asiatic legislation. He has not succeeded in learning or passing on to many of his countrymen some of the great lessons which the United Nations Assembly should have taught the South African delegation."

"His speeches so far have only given impetus to racial prejudice and encouraged anti-Asiatic and anti other non-European activities."

Must Stand Firm

"The Indian people must be prepared to meet this menace to their existence and their livelihood knowing that it is part of the whole freedom movement in the Union and of their own people in the world outside. They must stand firm in their resistance and not be distracted or diverted by the present boycott from their main purpose. The present boycott is after all only a symptom of the fundamentally evil and unsound attitude of the majority of the two white communities in South Africa towards the Indian and other non-white races. Nevertheless it is not a racial conflict. It is a question of the whole shape of the future of this and other countries where the coloured races live and their vital part in future progress."

"The Indian community must

therefore take stock of their situation now and realise that their future is at stake and is bound up with the need for radical changes in the whole political and economic structure of the country. Hence the future will depend not so much on a continual fight on narrowly conceived or racial issues but on the social and racial development of the country as a whole."

"There must be co-operation and a rallying of all the forces of the oppressed if the power of gold and the other monopolies interested in maintaining colour bars and cheap migratory labour are to be challenged effectively and the peoples of the Union given their rightful place in the progress and development of the country as a whole. The colour bar serves the purpose of the combined monopolies, the gold owners, landowners and craft unions, and only the maximum

unity and courage on the part of the persecuted and oppressed people would break the power of those monopolies as it is undoubtedly the will and purpose of God that they should be broken on account of the misery and evil they are causing."

"The struggle is on. The Passive Resistance movement has been born again, and the people of Schweizer Renke are called upon to hold an important sector of the front."

"If the white people continue the boycott a number of hungry Africans who find it difficult to buy from the European shops and would consume the full quotas of essential supplies to Indian traders."

"The Indian community therefore must take stock of its whole political, social and economic situation in the Union specially in relation to its vital role in this turning point in the history of the country."

WHY PASSPORTS WERE REFUSED

WHILST these lines are being written, Dr. Dadoo and Dr. Naicker have not yet been informed officially why they have been refused passports to proceed to India to attend the All Asian Conference.

The political correspondent of the *Natal Mercury* at Capetown was, however, informed by the Minister of Justice and Acting Minister of the Interior, Mr. H. G. Lawrence why they have been refused passport endorsements.

"The decision to refuse passport facilities to Dr. Naicker and Dr. Dadoo was a Government decision," said Mr. Lawrence, "and it must be obvious that this decision was not based on any fear that either of these persons might make propaganda adverse to South Africa in India."

"The mere stopping of persons leaving the country will not prevent propaganda being made and the Government have no intention of trying to maintain their standpoint on the Indian question by suppressing criticism."

The applications were dealt with purely on their merits and as a domestic issue. Passport facilities are not given as a right and it has often happened in the past that such applications have been refused on personal grounds to the applicants.

"In the present instance both the applicants in what they considered to be the furtherance of their cause have flouted the laws of the land and been dealt with by the Courts. Having

been given as a right

"And whatever differences of opinion may legitimately be between Indian or European, on the Indian issue, such differences do not justify provocative abuse of the laws of the land."

Mr. Lawrence added that the decision to refuse passports to Dr. Naicker and Dr. Dadoo was taken under a section of the Immigration Act which provides for the with-

already informed on the phone of the arrival of the police, instructed that the search should be allowed but meanwhile the Nook group decided otherwise.

Mahatma Narayan Swami, President Council of Action, All India Satyarth Prakash Defence Committee, has called off the Satyagraha. He says, "Seven days are over and the Government has taken no action against the Satyagrahis. This means for all practical purposes there is no fear against the Satyarth Prakash and the Arya Samajists can use it freely. I am convinced this policy of the Hind Government will hold good for all time. If, however, the Government deviates from this policy, the Arya Samajists will be obliged to resume the Satyagraha."

Dr. John Mathai, a leader over the A. I. C. C. Conference observed that there were two matters which particularly demanded the attention of Christians, firstly, to heal the wounds and soften the asperities which existed in the body politic and, secondly, to work for the removal of the appalling want which was a curse on the country. Dr. Mathai said that, as a community, Christians in India had no reason to be notably apprehensive of the future. They claimed no special privileges and asked for no special favours. All that they demanded was that whatever changes occurred in the location and organisation of political power in India, there would be no attempt by those in authority to differentiate against them and invade their fundamental rights as citizens.

Temple Entry Progressing

The decision to throw open to Hindus the ancient historic temple of Sri Ranganatha in Srirangam was taken by a majority at a meeting of the Board of Trustees of the Devasthanams. The decision was a great revolution in the affairs of the temple and the progress of the temple entry programme in India is now going on in the south of India, where the fortress of custom had at one time been most impregnable. These great and ancient temples are now attaining a more glorious position in the architecture of the South Indian temple.

chills and Andai's big heart is saddened today and the songs they sing, pleading for the door to be opened, speak in its meaning. May our failures end with this Orthodox friends, some of them, may have still doubts and fears. May the spirit of compassion and wisdom that inspired and stilled Ramana and Peria and Adai wipe out those baseless fears and light up the joy and hope of our people and take us to God."

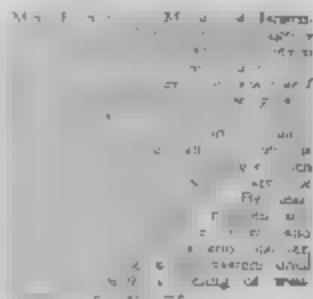
Message To Arabs

Jawahri Nehrū has sent the following message to the Arab delegation which is to attend the Palestine Conference, opening in London this week: "Our good wishes to you for the Palestine Conference. India has followed with full sympathy the struggle of the Arabs for freedom and to prevent any imposition upon them. There can be no settlement of the question of Palestine without agreement and goodwill of the Arabs. We earnestly trust that it will be possible for all the people of Palestine to arrive at an agreement without the intervention of any external authority. In any event you will have our good wishes."

Seventy Thousand Labourers Resume Work

Seventy thousand textile and other industrial workers resumed work at Dainipore United Provinces on Friday, January 24 after a 14 days' strike, following an agreement by the Government to release the labour leaders who were arrested during the disturbances on January 6. The strike started on January 4, when factory owners refused to agree to the workers' demands for better facilities.

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Things In General

Twelve Resisters Go To Gaol

Last Sunday a batch of 12 passive resisters all from Durban including two women courted arrest in the usual way and were all sentenced on Monday to 15 or 30 days' imprisonment.

Released

Mr. J. C. Meer, secretary Tinnevely Indian Congress, Mr. A. I. Meer, secretary Natal Indian Congress, and Mr. Reddy, recruiting officer of the Passive Resistance Council, were among the passive resisters who were released from Stanger and Bergville jails.

Left For India

Among the passengers that left Durban for India by the Karagala which sailed on Wednesday, February 12, were Mr. M. A. Gokal of the firm of Messrs. A. Gokal and Sons, Durban, and Mrs. Gokal, Mr. P. Hargovan of Messrs. P. Hargovan and Co., Durban, Mr. H. M. Patel of Prince Edward Street, Durban, Mr. K. N. Padua, from Durban, Mr. Somabhai Patel of Messrs. I. C. Ashabhai and Co., Johannesburg, Mr. R. M. Patel of Messrs. Manchester Trading Co., Johannesburg, and Mr. S. A. Gandhi of Messrs. Gandhi Bros., Durban, and Mrs. Gandhi and children.

Pinetown Hindu Young Men's Association

The annual general meeting of the Pinetown and Districts Hindu Young Men's Association was held recently at Pinetown. The Association which came into being a year ago in the interest and welfare of the Hindu community of Pinetown and district was successful in procuring free hall and in extent about an acre generously donated by Mr. Iyakos Govender. The Association intended to erect a large hall and temple. The hall will be used for public and social gatherings. The following officials were elected for the coming year:—Trustees: Messrs. Iyakos Govender, G. V. Naidoo, R. N. Naicker, Balraj Naidoo, H. M. Naidoo, N. G. Nalliah, Harry Pillay, C. S. Chetty, M. S. Govender, president; Mr. N. G. Naidoo, vice-president; Messrs. S. K. Naidoo, N. M. Naidoo, Gopal Nalliah, joint hon. secretaries. Messrs. M. Naidoo, I. V. Govender, hon. treasurer; Mr. P. C. John and others on the committee; Messrs. G. V. Naidoo, R. N. Naicker, P. V. Naidoo, and others.

Obituary R. S. Naidoo, D. Mannam Naidoo, K. K. Naidoo, R. Bridgman, Gopal Naidoo, T. A. Gopal, P. Abno and Nades Naidoo.

Obituary

The sad and sudden death, through heart failure, of Mrs. K. Daya of Messrs. K. Daya and Sons of Aliwal North (Cape), took place at the general hospital, Johannesburg on February 1. Mrs. K. Daya was an old resident of Aliwal North and was well liked by all those who came in touch with her. Many a visitor passing through the Cape had enjoyed her warm hospitality. She leaves behind her sorrowing husband, six sons and a daughter and a large family to mourn their loss. The deceased body was cremated at the Johannesburg crematorium. The ceremony was attended by a large number of friends and relatives.

Thanks

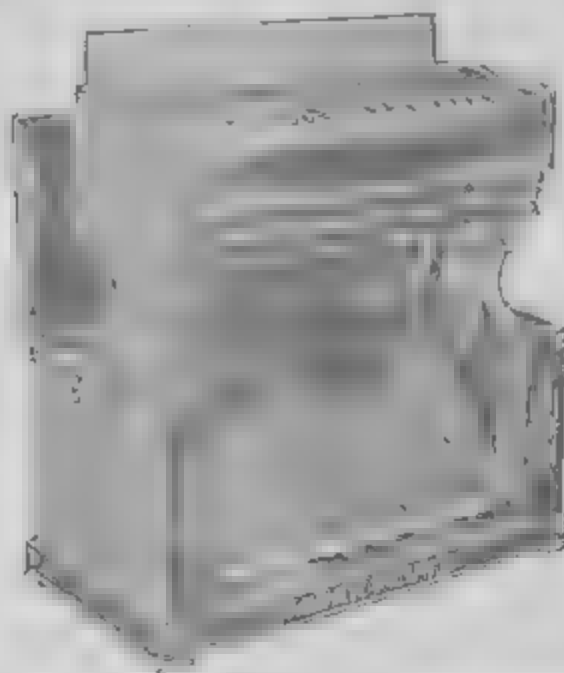
Mr. K. Daya of Aliwal North (Cape) on behalf of himself and his family and wish to express their heartfelt thanks to all friends and relatives for their kind messages of sympathy in the great and tragic loss sustained by them.

Death Of Mr. H. H. Dhupelia

While going to Form news was received of the death, after a prolonged illness, of Mr. H. H. Dhupelia of Messrs. Dhupelia and Sons, Durban.

SOUTH AFRICAN HINDU MATHA SABHA BIENNIAL GENERAL MEETING

The biennial general meeting of the South African Hindu Matha Sabha will be held at the Natal Hindu Association Hall, Victoria Street, Durban, on Saturday the 10th at 3 p.m., and Sunday at 10 a.m. Agenda:—(1) Prayers, (2) Minutes, (3) Correspondence, (4) Secretary's Report, (5) Treasurer's Financial Statement, (6) Balance Sheet and Auditor's Report, (7) Election of Officials, Minutes, (8) Election of Auditor, (9) General.



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INDIAN OPINION

MAHATMA GANDHI
IN

FRIDAY, 21ST

1947

1947

Indian Opinion

FRIDAY, 21ST FEBRUARY, 1947

Will South Africa Rise To The Occasion?

WE notice a strong tendency on the part of both the *Natal Mercury* and the *Natal Daily News* to scorn as belittling those who are anxious to participate in the celebrations of the 100th anniversary of the birth of Mahatma Gandhi. These men, members of our community who have all of a sudden become very vocal in expressing their "loyalty" to the King and are quoting the authority of the scriptures in defence of their action. If the latter have the satisfaction to feel that they are not deceiving their conscience and the former that the real people that count have wholeheartedly participated in the celebrations they are both welcome to it. We regret to have to say it does not deter us in the least from the stand we have taken and advised our community to take. Our God is witness to our sincerity and in that we do not need to refer to the scriptures. We need hardly say how our heart weeps that we are not able to participate in the jubilation, but our conscience does not allow us to put up a hypocritical show. With all due respect to their Majesties the King and the Queen and their Royal Highnesses the Princesses, we do not wish them to carry with them the impression that all is well with us. We wish them to realize that all is not well with us in South Africa. It is stated by the *Natal Mercury* that, "the King's visit is symbolic of our constitutional solidarity based not upon the rigid rules of the totalitarian system which has brought down Europe in ruins, but upon the recognition of free individual human rights." Is South Africa not totalitarian in the sense that two million Whites have kept ten million non-Whites in serfdom. "Free in-

dividual human rights" are for the Whites in South Africa, not for the non-Whites.

What interests us more, however, is the King's speech in reply to the joint address of welcome to his Majesty from both Houses of Parliament at Cape Town. These are His Majesty's words:

"I am conscious of the fact that the relationship between the two peoples has not been perfect in the past. I am conscious that I will guide you steadily towards a just and equitable relationship between all peoples in your country."

If one only thinks, there is a world of meaning in these words. We attach much value to them than the honours of the Order of merit conferred on our Prime Minister by His Majesty the King.

How can this relationship be achieved? Not by perpetuating the Colour Bar. It is a blot on the South African constitution. It is not in keeping with the Atlantic Charter, it is not in keeping with the changing world, it is not in keeping with the principles of Christianity. And yet, the problem is not one which cannot be solved. "Where there is a will there is a way." Sane and moderate thinking is required. The charge of insanity and hatred against us, however, levelled against us. We, on the other hand, feel the defect is on the other side. We are the aggrieved party. We have been bent to the farthest limit. You cannot bend us any more.

The *Natal Daily News* angrily writes, "there can be no real advance unless the Indians recognize it is for them to accept the Natal way of life and not for Natal to accept the Indian way." We would humbly sug-

gest, let us neither accept the Natal nor the Indian way of life, let us accept the correct way of life. There are wise thinkers among Europeans who are reminding us of the correct way of life. Rev. Dr. Booth Coventry's suggestions appeal to us. "If we are to have lasting peace and world harmony," Dr. Booth Coventry says, "colour prejudice will have to be abandoned. This must destroy all ideas of White dominance, but it need not endanger White civilisation. If this is really good it will remain. If not, why seek to preserve it?" Dr. Booth Coventry further goes on to say, "Morally there can be no defence of colour discrimination. Christianity is definitely against it." In conclusion of his very thoughtful survey of the whole situation he says "The abolition of restrictive legislation and the development of our coloured people, bringing them gradually up to our own standard, with the open door of opportunity for them, is the way of South Africa's salvation."

To-day his Majesty the King will perform the opening of the fourth session of the South African Parliament of the Union. It will be a unique occasion in the history of South Africa. There should be some outstanding act to mark such a great occasion. What better act could there be, if we may venture to suggest, than to declare the abolition of the Colour Bar from the Union Statute? What greater honour could there be from South Africa to their Majesties the King and Queen and to their Royal Highnesses the Princesses? What happiness it would bring to the hearts of millions of suppressed people? What blessings the White rulers of this country would receive, and we make bold to say that South Africa would not only regain her lost prestige but would win laurels from all parts of the world and blessings from all the oppressed people of the world as she has never done in her whole history. We can contemplate no

thing more appropriate to mark the unique occasion of the Royal visit. Will South Africa rise to the occasion?

Qualified Franchise For Indians

A REFERENDUM of all European voters is to be taken on February 28 as to whether or not should be given Municipal franchise on the lines indicated by the Natal Administrator, Mr. D. B. Mitchell. It will serve no purpose to discuss the proposal, which we cannot approve of consistently with the stand we have already taken of a common roll and of no other form of franchise. At any rate even if we are forced to accept the proposal it has been stoutly opposed by the Natal Municipal Association and it is their opinion which has necessitated the taking of a referendum on the question. Those who have the greatest inclination to accept the proposal, and we have reason to believe that quite a good deal of overtures have been made to the weaklings in our community, we would in all honesty and sincerity wish them against buying the pig. We would much rather be thrilled to accept common roll with the right to vote only for Europeans than the proposed separate roll which in reality means nothing else but communal franchise. If we are opposed to the principle of segregation we cannot see how we can accept this proposal which is after all based on that principle.

The Nationalist's Attitude Towards The Royal Visit

Only 11 Nationalist M.P. participated in the Address of welcome received by the Majesties from both Houses of Parliament at Cape Town. Neither Dr. Malan, leader of the Nationalist Party, nor any of the Provincial leaders of the Hertzog Nationalist Party were present. The Nationalist Party is the only party in South Africa which has never done in her whole history. We can contemplate no

Mr. Mahatma Gandhi said we were today fighting for our self-respect, which was more than bread and butter to us. We should not fear man or be slaves unto him. We should have faith in God.

Goodwill Sunday What It Should Mean to the African

Star (Johannesburg) on Thursday, February 21:-

"Vague platitudes about mutual tolerance are not enough. Goodwill will have to clothe itself in legislation, in economic readjustments, in new political outlooks, and in the willingness to share frankly with other nations in the solution of race problems, which in varying degrees are common to many nations."

"Goodwill, if it is to mean anything, must mean the making of our nation of our diversified population, and of our world."

"Let us at this goodwill season not get our backs up and demand that South Africa withdraw from UNO because UNO has dared to criticize our policies in racial matters. Rather let us be moved by the joy that we have received, to re-examine our policies and the preconceptions that lie behind them in the light of the new world."

Make a new war with the old. We are not to be deceived by our conspicuous flight. Are we now for the sake of bread going to betray our mothers, sisters and wives who have undergone great

sufferings for a cause we hold so sacred? In this will discover us, the civilized world will despise us."

The following resolutions were then passed unanimously:-
(1) "This meeting held out to the V.D.B. held on Sunday February 17 barely resolves not to get absorbed in the celebrations connected with the Royal visit and call upon the Indian community to refrain from doing so in the fullest belief that while we in the country suffer from disabilities and indignities and see the virtues of racial discrimination particularly with the coloured existence on the Statute book of the Asiatic Land Tenure and Representation Act of 1913 on the face of overwhelming opposition to it, the atmosphere is not one that is conducive to our participation in any festivities."

(2) "This meeting refuses to associate with any person, organization or institution which is in

view supporting the Royal visit which, if followed can have a weakening effect on our cause, and therefore hereby signifies its repudiation of the policy of the Government of South Africa in this regard."

(3) "This meeting resolves to view supporting the Royal visit which, if followed can have a weakening effect on our cause, and therefore hereby signifies its repudiation of the policy of the Government of South Africa in this regard."

(4) "This meeting resolves to view supporting the Royal visit which, if followed can have a weakening effect on our cause, and therefore hereby signifies its repudiation of the policy of the Government of South Africa in this regard."

(5) "This meeting resolves to view supporting the Royal visit which, if followed can have a weakening effect on our cause, and therefore hereby signifies its repudiation of the policy of the Government of South Africa in this regard."

and the Government of South Africa in this regard."

SCHEME TO BOYCOTT INDIAN TRADERS GAINS SUPPORT

In parts of the country is gaining support. A European Consumers' Association has been formed in Vereeniging, where a number of prominent local citizens have associated themselves with the

A vigilance committee has been formed in Pietersburg. Members of the United and Nationalist Parties there have combined to further the local boycott. About 2,000 people attended one meeting, when it was proposed that Europeans entering Indian stores should be tarred and feathered, and that the same punishment should be inflicted on European girls working for Indians.

Belfast has organized a vigilance committee, and a consumers' association has been formed in Pretoria.

A decision was taken at Greytown, Natal, to the effect that all members of the Unvoet Agricultural Society should be requested to support European traders only, and to encourage their friends and native employees to do likewise.

The Natal Witness, referring to the tarring and feathering proposal, condemned this attempt at mob violence, and stated that it should be "stamped out with the utmost vigour of the law."

The Diamond Fields Advertiser, Kimberley, points out that a boycott is alien to the South African tradition displaying the game People in the Union should be animated by a policy of live and let live, and of keeping politics out of business.—Rand Daily Mail.

APPEAL FOR FUNDS FOR ADAM'S COLLEGE

[The following appeal speaks for itself. Although thousands of Indians are today starving for education and have to be provided for, it does not therefore mean that we should see others starving and the least of all those who are in a worse plight than ourselves and those to whom we owe by no means small degree our present happy position in this country. Adam's Mission is well known throughout South Africa and it has rendered immeasurable service to the Bantu people, many of whom owe their enlightenment to that institution. The College, which still bears its name, is now under the charge of a Board of Governors. Indubitably it has been benefited by it and are still continuing to benefit by it. But even if they did not the sense of education can or should have no barriers and we have no hesitation in commending this appeal by Mr. J. J. Abrams on behalf of Adam's College on the own merits asking them to generously respond to it.—Ed 10.]

The above Native Institution which bears its name after Dr. Adam of the American Mission was founded in 1847.

Although it is situated at the Natal South Coast, approximately 23 miles from Durban, in a south westerly direction, it can be said to have a national character as its students hail from all parts of the Union, as well as from Rhodesia, Nyasaland, Kenya and Uganda.

Present students number 450 and there is a waiting list of over 400, this has now increased to 1,000.

Adam's College has to its credit the education of Native Chiefs, Native Doctors and Medical Assistants, teachers, interpreters, clerks, female nurses and others in all walks of life.

The College was taken from the American Mission and is now under the charge of a Board of Governors whose term of office is three years. They are elected from members of the College.

The Institution is solely for educational purposes. Standard VI is the entrance qualification. There are 16 Europeans and 21

Indians on the staff. The Institution's contribution amounts to approximately 60 per cent, being in respect of teachers' salaries and equipment. The Institution is non-sectarian.

The Appeal is in respect of funds embracing the following: Water Works, Electric Light, Sanitation, Hostel for students (both boys and girls), Accommodation for residential staff, New training college building, New high school building.

It is true that there are many other appeals being made at the present moment, but the fact should not be overlooked that the position of the community concerned in this appeal is the most desperate.

In connection with the present appeal, and I therefore trust that you will see your way clear to respond generously to the urgent needs of this century-old Institution which has done, and is still doing so much to advance the Bantu for a wider horizon with evolution in its wake, and for a more complete share of the country's welfare and progress. I commend this as a most deserving cause.

I would like to add that past students of Adam's College are now also contributing towards the above appeal. A leading Native, not connected with Adam's College, has donated £1,000. But rich Natives are very few and far between. Our trusteeship over the native races is still in existence. Chosen should be made payable to Adam's College and should be crossed.

Yours etc,

F. W. ALLEN.

Retired Magistrate and Native Commissioner
Orange Free State

111 Pietermaritzburg Street,

Durban.

ON the 12th Gandhiji walked with bandaged toes, was suffering from 'stomach' which was due to his walking barefoot. A ...

that the A.L.C.O. by its Delhi resolution had accepted the statement of December 6 of the British Government and had gone to the farthest limit consistent with its principles, to declare its friendly attitude to the ...

attitude to this friendly gesture, but he could only hope that they would reciprocate. "Neither Pakistan nor civil war are solutions to the communal quarrel," he said to a Muslim visitor. It was wrong to think that Pakistan could be achieved through civil war.

Gandhiji now rises at 3 o'clock in the morning; of late he used to rise at 2 a.m., yet he could not cope with his work. He now proposes to confine his activities solely to Noakhali and other disturbed areas. He says that if he emerges safely from the ordeal, he will gladly resume his other activities.

At Karapara Gandhiji was greeted with 'bhikhar' and blowing of conch-shells by Hindu women. He referred to the plight of weavers, asked Government and moneyed men to help, and suggested to weavers to take to spinning to provide yarn for themselves. To the villagers he said: "I am not so afraid of any enemy weapons as I am of the ... which are more powerful weapons carried by ... in God and fear Him only."

On the 14th he halted on his way at four places at the wish of Muslim villagers. At one of these places Muslim women had gathered to meet him. At Shubpur on the 15th he said that a real education was the root cause of differences between Hindus and Muslims. After all Hindus and Muslims had to live side by side and all had to work to wards that end.

At Bhainiarpur on the 17th Gandhiji said, in reply to questions, that he had no objection to the setting up of a separate Muslim State. In fact Bengal was such a case. If a Muslim State implied freedom to make hostile treaties with foreign powers to the detriment of the country as a whole, then that could not be a matter for agreement. Only after a long process has been won, can there be the question of granting Pakistan. To reverse the process was to invite foreign ...

OUR INDIAN LETTER

(FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENTS)

Darode, January 21, 1947

THE WALKING TOUR

"Jandi (freedom) and Pakistan require the exclusion of all ... least India is free, there cannot be ... every foreign rule."

At Naraynarpur Gandhiji's host was a Muslim gentleman, Kam ... On the way to this village he was given a grand ovation by the Muslim residents of the locality.

At Bhainiarpur on the 14th, performing the duties of a priest, Gandhiji reinstated the family deity of Radha-Krishna in the household shrine of his host. Three influential Muslims of the village said to him: "Now that you have installed the family deity here, we will stand surety for the protection." Gandhiji said that was just what was expected and they should do so.

Later, a number of Muslim youths who had joined him in his work, referred to the installation of the family deity of his host, and said that nothing that had happened in the past was going to be repeated and they would stand guarantee for it. Gandhiji thanked them and said: "If your work comes from your heart and not merely from your lips, then their effect will not be confined merely to India but will spread over the whole world. At the evening prayer he said that real purdah was not of the body but of the mind. What was needed was real education among women, more so among Muslim women. Khuda and Rama were one, only called by different names. A true Muslim should be afraid of Him and not of the punishment that might be inflicted due to this or that.

On the 15th Gandhiji narrowly escaped from a fall. He walked with bare feet without landings. During the first seven days of the pilgrimage he had to work for about 20 hours daily in order to dispose of correspondence and other work.

At Farhote on the 17th he said to a batch of 42 volunteers: "The sword can be met by the sword, but that will lead to nothing. (main non-violent and harbour no fear. You can defeat anyone not with the help of the latter but only with love." He asked Hindu women to give up the habit of differentiating between high and low and between ...

and caste, and to mix freely with the Muslim ... The ... thing appeared to him also. He said he was an equal servant of both communities of India. He wished he had the power to stop the internecine war and the consequent blood-bath. He had come to Noakhali to test the power of his non-violence. He had no desire to leave Bharu ... of their action that they were also blood-brothers living to each other in perfect peace and unity. He would be glad to see Muslim opinion working actively in urging offenders not before the courts of justice but before courts of public opinion. Let the offenders show contrition and let them ... nations whom offenders were ... and that they used fear no ... and that days of freedom were over. Only then could Hindus be asked to return to their villages. What was wanted was not ...

At Ramdevpur

At Ramdevpur on the 17th a Congress worker from Andhra performed khatkhata, dance before a large audience in the presence of Gandhiji. On the 18th

of looking to any political party for ... of their daily problems of life, people should look towards themselves, and together would be peace. He has approved a plan of Sikh workers including some Sikh women,

... where they can work ... At ... given a hearty reception at a Muslim house. A

... had ... test on to the life and ... of the Hindu minority.

... of the local property from various places, even from ... and returned them to the ...

Political Events

... the Government of the ... Province, says a ... from Nagpur, has ... to follow the policy laid down by the Government of India where by only an exceptional ... and that too on a ... for the ... for ...

urgent, suitable steps will be taken simultaneously for training Indians to fill up these posts. Malik Feroze Khan Noon says about the A.L.C.O. resolution "I cannot see how the Muslim League can come into the Constituent Assembly in view of the spirit of hostility towards Muslims, which still exists in the minds of the Congress High Command."

The Sikhs would withdraw from the Constituent Assembly if the right of veto in the Punjab and the North West Group was not conceded to them, said two prominent Sikh leaders. They hoped the Muslim League would now join the Constituent Assembly in the larger interests of the country, but if the League did not do so, it would not be the fault of the Congress. The Working Committee of the Assam Province ...

... regarding sections and groups: "The committee is of the opinion that it is the inalienable right of the people of every province to frame its own constitution without any compulsion, imposition or interference from outside. The committee reiterates that the constitution of Assam shall be framed by its own representatives only."

We are ready to face any ... for our goal," said Shri Bardoloi, the Assam Premier, on the 18th. Assam could not boycott the Constituent Assembly, but "we are not going to submit to compulsion."

"It is not a fact," said Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, the Dewan of Travancore, "that the Negotiations Committee has declined participation until the Muslim League came in."

C. A. Chairman Speaks Out

When the Constituent Assembly met again on the 20th, the chairman, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, made a detailed statement refuting the views expressed recently in Kua and by Mr. Churchill and Lord Simon that the Assembly represented only one major community to India or was a body of Hindus or caste Hindus. He described the statements as "wholly contrary to ... and likely to lead to ... The chairman also spoke for themselves. "Out of a total of ...

... members who were to take part in the preliminary session. ... members attended. These ... members consisted of 155 ... of a total of 160, 30 Scheduled Caste representatives out of a total of 23, all the 5 Sikhs, 6 Indian Christians out of a total of 7 and the 3 representatives of backward tribes, all 3 Anglo-Indians, all 3 Parsis, and 6 Muslims out of 20. The sign-

REFERENDUM ON INDIAN FRANCHISE

Does anyone in that of the respondents of the Indian League, for a nation which would be free?

"British Connection Must End"

On the question of independence, said Mr. S. Radhakrishnan, the first speaker, there could be no difference of opinion. It was inconceivable that India could be a dominion like other Dominions which were bound to Great Britain by ties of race, religion or culture. At, even though we elect to get out of the British Commonwealth, there are a hundred different ways of voluntary co-operation and mutual assistance. A nation of free people are going to live in a spirit of friendship or whether they are going to live in a spirit of enmity depends completely on the attitude which Great Britain will adopt in this matter. Referring to Mr. Churchill's statement he said: "Such statements merely prolong the agony. The British connection will end, must end." Referring to the mention of a Sovereign Republic, he said: "The Princes will be there so long as they make themselves responsible to the people of this country. I do hope that they will realize that when large empires are passing away, it is their duty to the people to bring hope and peace to the people. If they do not, they will play a notable part in the shaping of our country. We have no ill will towards the Princes." "Much against their will," he added, "the Congress has been working for the last 20 years. If after this, and after adequate safeguards were provided for minorities, the British Government still insisted some excuse for postponing the change, it would be a colossal betrayal of human history."

Asia At UNO

Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit referred to the UNO. "The Asian nations assembled there were so dominated by the imperialist powers that ruled them that they could speak with no independent voice and heard only the voice of the respective imperialist powers. Asia is far behind the people in Europe in representation in the UNO, and it was perhaps for the first time in history that at the last moment a voice was heard. A country not free itself was able to raise its voice not only for its own cause but for the oppressed and dependent peoples all over the world. India would no doubt assume the leadership not only of Asia but of the world. We have it in

power to help the entire world towards a better way of life. Unless Asia comes into her own, the world cannot function. India, to assume her leadership of Asia, and Asia of the world, must first free herself socially, economically and culturally."

Congress And Tribal Interests

"The Congress has always maintained," said Mr. Acharya Kripalani, Congress President, in opening the All India Provincial and Partially Excluded Areas Conference held at New Delhi on the 11th, "that there should not be any excluded or partially excluded areas. They should all be merged with the provinces. The formation of water-tight compartments will not solve the problem. We have to think in terms of India. The common questions of poverty, literacy and other things are all over India. The tribal areas and excluded and partially excluded areas are safe in the hands of Congress."

Communal Situation

The Hind Premier said at a press conference that Hind was a Muslim majority province, and Hindus should look to the religious susceptibilities of the 75 per cent. Muslims who were to be on the subject of Satyagrah. The Government was not in a position to remove the restrictions on the 14th chapter. It was no use disturbing the peace of the Province. The Frontier Leader, who is now touring Bihar, advised the people to foster the spirit of humanity and tolerance without which independence would be a mockery. He said that deeds of brutality against a minority were not sanctioned by any principles in the world. By such misdeeds they were playing directly into the hands of their enemies and strengthening the British stranglehold on the country. He has condemned the recent tribal raids in Hazara District in the NWFP, and has appealed for peace.

UNEMPLOYED

Indians who are unemployed please hand in your name at the office of the National Indian Congress, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

A GENERAL poll of all burgesses enrolled on the current Durban municipal voters list will be held on Friday, February 28, 1947, between 8 a.m. and 8 p.m. to test public opinion on the question of the Indian franchise.

The proposals outlined by the Administrator of Natal to extend the municipal franchise to Indians and to provide for the election by them of Indians to the Durban City Council and other local authorities in Natal include the following features:

Indians with certain qualifications shall be placed on an Indian voters' list separate from the European voters' list. Where there are 20 or more Indian voters one Indian councillor shall be elected, where 50 or more, provided there are 20 or more European councillors (as in Durban), two Indians shall be elected to the Council. Indian councillors so elected shall hold office for two years, elections being held every second year, and shall be in addition to the present European councillors.

Municipal Association's Opposition

A resolution asking the Administrator of Natal to defer any legislation on the admission of Indians to Natal towns and city councils, and other local authorities, was passed at a special meeting in Maritzburg on February 13 of the Natal Municipal Association. The resolution recommended the immediate holding of a general poll of municipal voters on the acceptability or otherwise, of the proposals made by the Administrator. The resolution was moved by Mr. L. L. Boyd, Deputy Mayor of Durban.

The meeting was the largest of its kind ever convened in Natal and was attended by delegates from nearly every municipality in the Province. It was a sequel to a recent conference in Cape Town between delegates of the Natal Municipal Association and the Prime Minister, General Smuts, at which the Administrator was present.

Addressing the meeting, Mr. Mitchell, who wanted the whole question of the Indian franchise to be decided by the people.

Natal is not pleased with any of the proposals to give the Indian legislative power in municipal councils. He wants to see the whole question decided by the people.

Mr. Mitchell said that, but for a slight flaw in the Asiatic Land Tenure Bill, the franchise would have been conferred on the Indians. The flaw, which was seen at the last moment, had saved Natal.

If the Provincial Council, by legislation, gave the Indians a seat in municipal bodies, it had the power to amend. This was a vital factor.

Before the Indians could be on any municipal body, said Mr. Mitchell, they had to be qualified to be put on the electoral roll.

Indians would not be able to exercise a municipal franchise unless they already exercised parliamentary franchise. A separate municipal voters' roll would be made for Indians, who would not vote simultaneously with the Europeans. This arrangement would prevent any clash at the polls.

"The general policy is for Indians to elect Indians," said Mr. Mitchell. "The evils that flow from allowing Indians to vote for Europeans are terrible. Europeans who have to go to Indians to canvass for votes cause many social evils which are almost unbelievable."

For this reason Indians could vote only for Indians, and not for Europeans. But where the number of Indians was less than 20, they could vote for a European representative on a municipal council.

A roll of Indian voters would be compiled every two years. Asked about the opening of boundaries to Indians, Mr. Mitchell said that he was opposed to it. Areas where there were no Indians should be preserved.

In reply to another question, Mr. Mitchell said that the seats for Europeans on town councils would not be affected by the two Indian seats.

Mr. Boyd then proposed his motion, which was carried by 30 votes to four.

The motion by the Mayor of Maritzburg for the institution of Indian boards was carried by 35 votes to two.

A motion by Mr. Claassen, of Port Shepstone, according to the Administrator's terms as they stood was lost by six votes to 30.

S.A. EUROPEANS ON PASSPORT REFUSAL

The refusal of the Government to grant a passport to Dr. Naicker and Dr. Dadoo was referred to by Mr. Arthur Barlow, M.P., in the House of Assembly when he said that he was not pleading for the Indians, he was pleading for the principle that no man should be refused a passport unless he was a danger to his country when he went overseas. If these Indians were going overseas to upset the balance of another country against South Africa there might have been a case, but that had not been given as a reason.

Interjecting, Mr. Eric Louw said the British Government had refused a passport a month ago to Sir Oswald Mosley.

Mr. Barlow said that had been done under Britain's war emergency regulations.

Silly Tactics

The East London Daily Dispatch writes under the above caption: It is difficult to know what conceivable purpose Mr. H. G. Lawrence thinks will be served by "getting tough" with two Indians.

If they have been dealt with in the Courts, what is the point of imposing further penalties on them? The public will conclude from, or in spite of, Mr. Lawrence's statement that the two Indians were refused permission to leave the country because they consistently attack the Government; and outside opinion, not only Indian, will find little excuse for the Minister's action in the fact that these attacks admittedly take an staggering form. Why does Mr. Lawrence talk about imposing penalties on the movements of individuals?

An Ill-judged Ban

The Cape Argus describes the refusal of passports to Dr. Dadoo and Dr. Naicker as "an ill-judged ban." The paper writes: That the applicant has served a term of imprisonment under the Riotous Assemblies Act is not a sufficient reason for interdicting his journey. In the 1924-29 Union Parliament there sat 23 members, two of them Cabinet Ministers, who had spent varying periods in gaol. But it was never suggested that any of them ought to be barred from going overseas. In any case what good purpose can be served by preventing Dr. Naicker from visiting India? Whatever he might say there to misrepresent the conditions under which Asiatics reside in this country will now be said with still greater virulence by others. And the refusal to grant him a passport will only place another weapon in the hands of our enemies. It will be broadcast throughout the world as an example of the "tyranny" under which the Indians in South Africa dwell, and as clear proof that the Government of the Union has something sinister to conceal. It would be far more politic to allow Dr. Naicker and any other Indians who wish to go overseas to do so without the slightest restriction. They cannot do more to misinform the world than they have done already. By allowing them full freedom of movement the Union would at least show that it had complete confidence in the strength and the reasonableness of its own attitude no matter how it censured and its intentions may be distorted abroad.

Stupid Blunder

The Forum writes under the above caption: The decision not to grant passports to the two Indian leaders, Dr. Naicker and Dr. Dadoo who want to go to India is a stupid blunder. Apart from such considerations as an individual's right to freedom of movement—a basic freedom after all—the decision is tactically shortsighted for it plays right into the hands of South Africa's detractors. Besides that, of course, it simply confirms the very worst suspicions of those countries who were told at Lake Success that the non-Europeans in the Union are denied elementary human rights.

Things In General

Charge Against Rev. Michael Scott

The Rev. Michael Scott appeared in the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court on a charge of having given the 1946 election without the Minister's approval, given with the concurrence of the City Council. On the application of the defence the hearing was adjourned till March 2. Mr. Scott told the Magistrate that the

reason for applying for the adjournment was that there was a very serious situation at the camp. There had been an outbreak of small-pox and not very much order was being maintained.

Obituary

The death after a long illness of Mr. H. H. Dhupella, an old resident of Durban took place on Thursday February 13, at his residence at Wills Road. The late

Mr. Dhupella was a prominent merchant being the founder of the firm of Messrs. Dhupella and Sons, which now stands as Messrs. Dhupella and Sons (Pty) Ltd. He was also managing director until the time of his death of Messrs. Dhupella Properties (Pty) Ltd. The late Mr. Dhupella was one of the few Indians who came to this country under an education test in 1905. He took a keen interest in the social, religious and educational upliftment of the community and took an active part in forming the Kathiward Mloda Boma Samaj and the creation of a hall and school under the auspices of the Samaj, which has recently been opened.

The late Mr. Dhupella has created a charitable trust of his name for the benefit of the community.

The funeral was attended by all sections of the community both rich and poor with a sprinkling of Europeans also. The late Mr. Dhupella, who was 55 years of age, leaves behind three grown up sons and a daughter and a wife. The funeral took place on Saturday, February 15, at 11 a.m. from the residence of the late Mr. Dhupella at Wills Road, Durban.

Thanks

Mr. P. H. Dhupella on behalf of his brothers, sisters and all members of the family and of his friends and acquaintances in this country and overseas, express their sincere thanks to all those who have shown sympathy and assistance during the illness and death of the late Mr. Dhupella.

The Minister of the Interior, it is understood, has refused to issue a passport to Miss W. Palmer, a Coloured woman, who was to attend a conference of the Women International Democratic Federation in Prague this month. No reason was given for the refusal.

SOUTH AFRICAN HINDU MAHA SABHA BIENNIAL GENERAL MEETING.

The biennial general meeting of the above Sabha will be held at the South Hindu Association Hall, Victoria Street, Durban, on Saturday and Sunday, 16th and 17th March. The meeting will be on Saturday the 16th at 3 p.m. and Sunday at 10 a.m.

Agenda:—(1) Prayers, (2) Minutes, (3) Correspondence, (4) Secretarial Report, (5) Treasurer's Financial Statement, (6) Balance Sheet and Auditor's Report, (7) Election of Officials, (8) Election of an Honorary Secretary, (9) Election of an Honorary Treasurer, (10) General.

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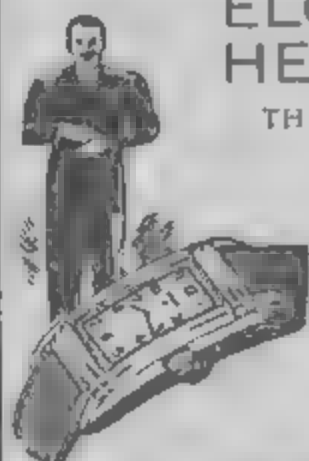
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INDIAN OPINION

MAHATMA JUNG

No. 9, Vol. XLV.

FRIDAY, 28TH FEBRUARY, 1945.

Indian Opinion

1. 4. 1947

Law Of Conscience Vs Man made Law

second method out of any number of families' things. It had to be changed even when it seemed an old story. It was challenged by other national families alone, for bitter experience had taught

ਅੰਤਰਰਾਸ਼ਟਰੀ ਪ੍ਰੋਗਰਾਮ: ਸਭਨੇ ਪ੍ਰਿੰਸਪਲਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਸਾਰੇ
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THESE are words of the *Natal Daily News*. Do they breathe democracy? Not as we understand the meaning of it. They breathe Nazism, Fascism, Imperialism or any other "ism" but not democracy. Of course democracy means in South Africa the right of the European minority to rule over a vast and voiceless non-European majority according to their own sweet will. The law must be obeyed, says our contemporary, and it challenges the right to resort to Passive Resistance against a law which is considered by those whom it affects as unjust, oppressive and immoral. "It strikes a blow at a pillar of Western civilization on which we must not stray," declares our contemporary. If what our contemporary says were true the position would be intolerable. But happily even with the existing laws of the country it is not true. Every law has a penalty clause for the breach of that law. One either obeys the law or suffers the penalty. The penalty may be death. How could a person willingly without the least resistance submitting to the highest penalty provided in the law for the breach thereof be prevented from doing so? If our civilisation wishes to take credit for this breach it

in the law which slightly distinguishes it from the Anglo law it is welcome to do so. And how is a law to be considered if not from a moral standpoint? Surely are not all laws based on a moral foundation? Why does Parliament invoke the Bible?

Positive Resistance appears to our contemporary to be a 'demonic and corruptive Asiatic

ance, was no Asiatic and that we are following His ideology Western civilization may as well deny it in for we have no doubt he would be thoroughly ashamed

had recourse to it as the only effective weapon against tyranny and injustice and against oppression, numerous instances can be quoted of Westerners having followed what our contemporaries designate in terms of an "Asiatic ideology." Passive Resistance was adopted by a large section of highly educated people in England against the Education Act in the early part of the present century. The suffragists who fought for women's franchise resorted to it.

however] philosopher and writer, one has to be man first and a subject afterwards. He has to obey the law of conscience before blindly complying with the alternative of man-made law vs. Societas whose name is known not only to all Westerners but throughout the civilized world abided by (the law of conscience is preference to man made law and quickly welcomed and submitted to the death penalty. "No one ever believes in the truth of any thing till he sees that some one is willing to die for it." The prison, the stake, the gallows—these are the great arguments which convince men. And

you refuse to submit to these punishments, you destroy your only chance of converting men to your faith," thus wrote Tolstoy, the renowned Russian philosopher and writer. We can quote scores of instances from Indian history of persons having staked their lives in submitting to the law of conscience preference to man-made law. But this will so long to convince the reader and those who think like our contemporary does, that passive Resistance is the most civilized, the clearest and the most dignified weapon that can be used against tyranny and oppression. If we the oppressed people of South Africa can use the weapon in the proper manner and have the power of endurance, which is only derived from an implicit faith in God, which again is born only from the strict adherence to truth in thought, word and deed, we will succeed in changing the

while craving of human nature, without peace, contentment, and happiness, even mentioned itself are not possible. The declaration of Pericles in his great Funeral Oration holds for all time.

Happiness is Freedom, and
 Freedom is Courage
 That is the fundamental
 equation of all politics and all
 human government, and any
 system which ignores it is built
 on sand." It will perhaps be a
 surprise to the reader to know
 that these two sentences are
 expressed by none else but
 General Sherman. Is not the pre-
 sent system of Government woe-
 fully ignoring the fundamen-
 tal equation and is it not therefore
 doomed to destruction, unless it
 is amended before it ever sees the
 fatal blow?

The Royal Visit

WORLD that having said what we have already said in our previous letters on the stand Indians should take regard to the Kayak. we could have kept silent. The way the Native Indian Congress is being belittled by it assisted by a section of the press, and the methods adopted in doing so, makes it incumbent on us to once again refer to the

message received by the Natal Indian Congress from Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, we still maintain that the stand taken by Congress not to participate in the celebrations of the Royal visit was a correct one. Much has been made of Pandit Nehru's message, to the effect that to exploit it for the rules of common decency have been thrown aside. How the message could have come from the High Commissioner's office to any other and in which it was misused.

thing to fear in it being published. We are not bound to take advice from our leaders in China and from all those who we feel are competent to give it. It does not, therefore, necessarily follow that we should in all circumstances abide by their advice. We who are in the United States must rely at the last on our own judgment and not wholly accordingly. If, instead, we throw ourselves unreservedly on our leaders in China then we are fit for nothing.

We have our differences with the Congress officials. We do not agree with all that they do in their methods, but we have no quarrel with their intentions. As a people, we are behaving in a self-respecting manner. It could not, in its official capacity, have acted otherwise with any sense of national honour. It required courage and fearlessness. Let those who are in the Government of this country be satisfied with the way they have conducted their business. Let those who are in the Government of this country be satisfied with the way they have conducted their business. Let those who are in the Government of this country be satisfied with the way they have conducted their business.

The British Government intends to take the necessary steps to effect a transference of power into responsible Indian hands not later than June, 1948. This statement was made by Mr. Attlee in the House of Commons on Thursday, February 20.

Speaking of the Indian States, Mr. Attlee said the British Government did not intend to hand

over the Indian States to a new government.

Mr. Attlee also announced the end of the appointment of Lord Wavell as Viceroy and his replacement by Lord Louis Mountbatten. The change takes place next month. An Earlship will be conferred on Lord Wavell.

When Mr. Churchill, leader of Opposition, asked what

the British Government, Mr. Attlee said he did not propose to add anything to his

statement that the Opposition was entitled to be treated reasonably, Mr. Churchill asked what had led to the removal or dismissal of the Viceroy.

Attlee replied that Lord Wavell was not appointed for a fixed term. It was thought that the changed phase of the Indian problem was a suitable time to make him change.

It was with great regret, Mr. Attlee went on to say, that the Government found there were still differences among the Indian parties which were preventing the Constituent Assembly from functioning as it was intended it should. The essence of the plan was that the Assembly should be fully representa-

"The Government desires to hand over its responsibility to the authorities established by a constitution approved by all parties in India, in accordance with the Cabinet Mission; but, unfortunately, there is at present no clear prospect that such a constitution and such authorities will emerge.

"The present state of uncertainty is fraught with danger and cannot be indefinitely pro-

The British Government was anxious to hand over its responsibilities to a Government resting on the sure foundations of the people's support and capable of maintaining peace and administering India with justice and efficiency, in order that it might be ready to shoulder the great responsibility which would come up at next year.

But it should appear that the projected constitution would not have been worked out by a fully representative Assembly before a regulated time, the

TRANSFER OF POWER TO INDIA NOT LATER THAN JUNE, 1948

APPOINTMENT OF NEW VICEROY

Government would have to consider to whom the powers of the Central Government in British India should be handed over on the due date, whether as a whole to some form of central government for British India or in some areas to the existing Governments or in such other way as might seem most reasonable and in the Indian people's best interests.

Regarding the Indian States, as was explicitly stated by the Cabinet Mission, the British

opening of a new and final phase in India would be an appropriate time to end that war appointment.

Answering his John Anderson, a former Governor of Bengal, who spoke of the uncertainty which would remain for a long time, Mr. Attlee said "He is quite right about the uncertainty. One of the reasons for this statement is to try to remove that uncertainty, which has continued in spite of all our declarations. People are still thinking

PANDIT NEHRU ON MR. ATTLEE'S STATEMENT

The British Government's statement on India was wise and courageous, Pandit Nehru, Vice-President of the Interim Government, said at New Delhi.

The declaration that the final transference of power to India would take place not later than June, 1948, not only removed all misconceptions and suspicion but also brought reality and a certain dynamic quality to the present situation in India.

He hoped that the long history of conflict and ill will between Britain and India was over. "We look forward to a peaceful and co-operative transition and to the establishment of close and friendly relations with the British people."

Pandit Nehru stated that he never doubted Field Marshal Lord Wavell's sincerity and desire to serve India's interest, though there had been differences of opinion during the past months.

"I have a high regard for him and shall be sorry in many ways to part with him," he said. He made the observations when relaying a report that the replacement of Lord Wavell by Lord Mountbatten was regarded by a Congress source, close to him, as a move to placate him.

Pandit Nehru added that he regretted that unauthorised statements had been made about the appointment of a new Viceroy. "We have a new statement which is clear and authoritative."

Government did not intend to hand over its powers and obligations under paramountcy to any government of British India.

It was not intended to bring paramountcy, as a system, to an end earlier than the date of final transfer of power, but it was contemplated that for the intervening period relations of the Government of India with the States might be adjusted by agreement.

The British Government believed that British commercial and industrial interests in India could be protected and promoted by the new Government.

Announcing Rear Admiral Viscount Mountbatten's appointment as Viceroy, Mr. Attlee said it was agreed that Lord Wavell's appointment should be a wartime one. Lord Wavell had discharged that high office during a very difficult period with devotion and a high sense of duty. But it was seen that the

they can hang on and let things drift. We are against drift. We want definite action."

Mr. Raymond Blackburn (Lab., Buckingham, Kings Norton) asked whether Mr. Attlee would make it plain that the British Government though very anxious to fulfil the promise of self-government, did not seek to abandon all responsibilities for security in India.

Mr. Attlee seemed to hesitate with his answer and the Opposition quickly pressed him to the point. He then said "I have made it perfectly clear. It has been our constant endeavour that we should have a settled Government in India. That cannot be obtained by long continued uncertainty.

"As it is the policy of this country and, I think, of this House, that the Indians should become responsible for their own Government, I think it is time they faced up to the responsi-

bility of the situation."

Mr. Richard Butler, a Conservative and a former Under-Secretary for India, asked, if all the difficulties were not resolved was it still the intention to go ahead and hand over power to small units without proper consideration of a central government and to set back over India in chaos.

Mr. Attlee declared hastily: "It is not the intention to hand over India in chaos. I think these points could be much better developed in a debate."

Mr. Churchill asked: "Is an answer to be given to the question whether there have been any differences or divergencies between the Government and the Viceroy?" In spite of repeated shouts of "Answer," from the Conservative benches, Mr. Attlee did not reply.

A National Liberal member, amid Conservative cheers, then asked whether or not Lord Wavell was to be permitted to make a public statement. Mr. Churchill pressed the same question, but Mr. Attlee made no reply.

Fears Expressed By Conservative Peers

Front Bench Conservative Peers of the House of Lords met immediately after the Government's statement on India and decided to table a motion of the India debate in the House of Lords "that the Government's decision to hand over India to an Indian Government or Governments in June, 1948, under conditions which appear to be in conflict with previous declarations of the Government, and without any provisions for the protection of minorities and for the discharge of its obligations, is likely to imperil the peace and prosperity of India."

The King Opens Parliament

It was a great occasion in the annals of the Union of South Africa when His Majesty the King opened in Capetown the fourth session of the north Union Parliament on Friday, February 21. In the course of his speech His Majesty uttered the following significant words. "You are now dealing with the problems of peace, a peace which must be based on the principles of freedom and justice, if it is to endure. For that there is a call for courage, goodwill, and the effective co-operation of all who desire the welfare of humanity."

COMMENTING on the situation in India, the East London Daily Dispatch recently wrote:

The political situation in India remains obscure, but signs are not wanting that it is growing more critical as the weeks go by. The British Government has been landed on the horns of a particularly distressing dilemma by its own inability to come to a decision and act upon it, or alternatively, because it chose to gamble on obtaining the agreement and co-operation of all sections in India. Now, whichever way it acts—and sooner or later it must do something—the Government faces the prospect of displeasing a large section of Indians and being accused of breach of faith.

When the British Cabinet Mission persuaded the Indian political groups in India to agree in principle to a federal union, certain conditions were laid down by Britain and agreed to by Congress and the Muslim League. It was on the basis of those agreed terms that a Constituent Assembly was created to frame the constitutional structure of the new India, before the Assembly met Congress had repudiated Britain's interpretation of certain of the conditions and the Muslim League had refused to accept the terms first accepted the terms previously agreed upon.

As the conditions on which Britain was prepared to hand over power to a central Indian Government had not been complied with, it would have been reasonable for the Viceroy to postpone the convocation of the Constituent Assembly. This, however, was not done. The Assembly was allowed to meet, despite the fact that the Muslims were not represented and have taken no part in the framing of a constitution. Mr. Jinnah probably feels he is on a good wicket because, in a declaration on December 8, the British Government said that "should a constitution come to be framed by a Constituent Assembly in which a large section of the Indian people had not been represented, His Majesty's Government could not contemplate forcing such a constitution on any unwilling part of the country." Meanwhile the Government has continued to reason and has passed a resolution in favour of the proclamation of an independent sovereign republic of India—a provocative act which at present stage, falls outside the purview of the Interim Government.

EAST LONDON 'DAILY DISPATCH' ON INDIA

Why, then, was the Constituent Assembly allowed to sit? It seems to us, in view of the fact that it was obvious that if the Assembly met without the participation of the Muslim League the result would be the framing of a purely Hindu constitution, which the British Government had declared it would not force upon the unwilling, the proper course would have been to stay the meeting of the Assembly. It might be, of course, that the British Government had not abandoned hope of the Muslim League changing its attitude and allowing its representatives to take their place in the Assembly. If so, its tactics have failed; the Muslims are still holding aloof and extremely serious situation has developed. Sooner or later the British Government will have to decide whether it recognises the Assembly as an All-India sovereign body or not—and the longer the Assembly continues to function without authority, if the Assembly is recognised as a valid constituent body for the whole of India, the British Government cannot object to its decisions; if, on the other hand, it is declared invalid, Britain will be challenging a body claiming to represent all India—a body which the Viceroy is permitted to meet and which has already performed acts of state. In either event, communal disorders are likely to increase and might rise rapidly to the magnitude of civil war. Then the question of the use of British troops will become acute, for on Britain will devolve the responsibility of protecting the lives of the subjects.

It is clear, therefore, that the longer the Constituent Assembly sits without authority, the better. If the Assembly is recognised as a valid constituent body for the whole of India, the British Government cannot object to its decisions; if, on the other hand, it is declared invalid, Britain will be challenging a body claiming to represent all India—a body which the Viceroy is permitted to meet and which has already performed acts of state. In either event, communal disorders are likely to increase and might rise rapidly to the magnitude of civil war. Then the question of the use of British troops will become acute, for on Britain will devolve the responsibility of protecting the lives of the subjects.

Mr. Attlee's Statement

The same paper writes in the issue of February 22 on Mr. Attlee's statement on India in the House of Commons:

The British Government has at last been impelled to do something to try to stem the deterioration of the position in India, which, as we wrote some days ago, is becoming more and more critical. Having failed to secure the co-operation of the two main political sections in the Constituent Assembly—which, it must be remembered, was brought into being on the distinct condition that it should be representative of all sections

—it was obvious that some new move was necessary, unless chaos was to ensue. Delay in making that approach bred an uncertainty among Indian politicians, civil servants and the masses of the Indian people which tended to create a dangerous situation. Mr. Attlee's new plan as outlined in the House of Commons, was designed to relieve that uncertainty. Whether it will succeed in its object is open to question.

As we read the British Premier's statement, the Government has decided on one last gamble to win Hindu and Muslim unity in a central government for the whole country. By setting a definite date upon which Britain will walk out of India and leave the responsibility of government and of defence of the country to the Indians themselves, the Government apparently hopes to frighten the Muslims into accepting the new plan.

But Mr. Attlee made it clear that should it be desirable state of affairs not develop, Britain will not hand over responsibility, even if some provinces have to have separate governments of their own. Therefore, we think, is the weakness of the new plan. This decision implies that if the Muslims persist in their boycott of the Constituent Assembly until the date of the transfer of power, autonomous governments may be set up in those provinces where Muslims greatly predominate—which is, in effect, what they have always striven for, Pakistan—and that a similar scheme may be adopted for the Indian States, while the greater part of the country would come under a central government. If this reading of the plan is correct, we cannot see how it is going to end the existing state of uncertainty. But it is calculated to increase the hostility of the two sections and to render an amicable settlement out of the question.

When the Constituent Assembly was allowed to function without the participation of the Muslims it looked as though the British Government was playing a game of hide-and-seek with the Muslims. We do not think for one moment that that is the intention, but it is undoubtedly the effect the new plan will produce. The desire to fulfil its promise and grant India independence and self-government can hardly be understood

but the British Government will not be able to avoid its responsibilities in India so easily as Mr. Attlee's statement suggests might be the case. Once the principle of separate governments for different parts of India comes to be put into practice, the communal disturbances of the past and present might very easily flare up into a tremendous civil conflict in which Britain would of necessity be involved, for who, if not Britain, would look after the vast British commercial interests and protect British lives and property?

The Prime Minister will have to be much more explicit than

India. On the face of it, Mr. Attlee's statement is an invitation that Britain will quit India in June, 1948, no matter what the internal position may be, how bleak the outlook. Such a policy is not in accord with British traditions and ideas of fair play nor is it in accord with the conditions laid down by the Cabinet Mission for the handing over to India of complete independence.

The 'Natal Mercury's' Comment

The Natal Mercury in its issue of February 22 writes:

There is little in those Indian politicians have been the critics of Mr. Attlee's momentous announcement that the British Government intended to transfer full sovereign power to India not later than June, 1948. With the wisdom of this decision from the British and Commonwealth point of view is open to a serious question, it has at least on the ground from under the feet of those Indian sceptics who openly doubted the sincerity of their long-standing promises to do so. They argued—and their words were widely echoed in the United States—that Britain was following a deliberate policy of "divide and rule," that it was the British purpose to aggravate and intensify the acute differences between Moslems and Hindus, for it provided Britain with a valid excuse for remaining in control of India's destiny. Events have now proved how completely wrong were those who quite unjustly imputed sinister motives to Britain's earnest endeavours to create a united India by which, would be, themselves, Britain has now told the Indian leaders that it is no longer prepared to do so.

INDIANS AND THE MUNICIPAL FRANCHISE

addicted with the blame for their failure to reach a workmanlike understanding. She intends to divest herself of the responsibility for the peaceable and just administration of India and has bluntly told the Indian people they must work out their own salvation within the next 15 months. While this plan must necessarily remove the last vestige of doubt regarding Britain's bona fides, it is difficult to believe that it will prove in the long run to have been either statesmanlike or unselfish. There is an uneasy suspicion that the British Government, almost overwhelmed as they are with internal and world-wide

MRS. HELEN CHAPLIN, of 27 Winter Avenue, Durban, in the course of a letter to the *Natal Mercury* writes: "I certainly was surprised to hear that Indians were a majority of the Capetown City Council.

"The position in Capetown is governed by Section 44 of the Cape Municipal Ordinance 30 of 1912 which gives the franchise to every person of full age,

"There is a property qualification—the occupying or owning of property to the value of £100 for Councillors, or the occupying of property to the value of £200 or the owning of property to the value of £100 for voters. The full interpretation means that anybody, for example a Native female or any Asiatic female or any other person with property qualifications, can vote or be a Municipal Councillor.

"At the moment Capetown's 45 Councillors include: Mr. W. H. L. Willemberg, a Coloured, Mrs. Z. Gool (who is a daughter of a Scotswoman who married the late Dr. A. Abdulrahman, a Malay), Mr. Ahmed Ismail, an Indian, Mr. M. E. V. ...

The Cape Division usually has one or two Coloured members as does the Cape Provincial Council. The most famous of these was Dr. A. Ab. Jansz, who was for many years chairman of the Finance Committee of the Capetown City Council and was for a long time a member of the Cape Pro-

City Council," Mr. Cryan said.

Dealing with the recent meeting between the Natal Municipal Association and the Administrator, Mr. Cryan said the Association was not in agreement with the Administrator, he said.

Mr. Cryan drew attention to the fact that the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act gave Indians a legislative right and not an executive right. Asiatics might assist in making laws but not in carrying them out. In the House of Assembly, the Senate, and the various legislative bodies but the City Council was an executive body.

Referring to the Communist Party, Mr. Cryan said "there is a political Party in this country a Communist Party, which is using the Indians in order to further its political ends. The vast majority of the Indians are incapable of using a vote. Those who are fit to use it have

been used by the communists."

Mrs. A. M. G. Mayhew, who is a woman of great influence in Durban, would prefer to sit next to an Indian on the Municipal Council rather than "the type of European who would stoop to represent them," asked the audience not to do anything

"We must see the solution is one where we preserve our racial superiority and yet give them a measure of freedom and justice which they do not have at the present time," she said.

Mr. A. A. Carte pleaded for time to consider a problem that would affect the community for hundreds of years. "Why must we hurry to a solution in a few weeks? We have lots of other things to do in the Council," Mr. Carte said. If this representation were granted it would mean Indians sitting on the Council and "coming over" Europeans. It would be only a matter of time before the Europeans on the Council were outvoted by the Indians.

A general call to Indians to vote on the referendum no matter how they voted, was made by all speakers.

Polling Today

The result of the Durban referendum on the Indian franchise question will be announced tonight (February 28) in the City Council Chamber. Polling will be between the hours of

Durban's 45,303 voters will be asked to vote "Yes" or "No" to the proposals outlined by the Administrator of Natal to extend the Municipal franchise to Indians and to allow Indians to elect Indians as members of the Durban City Council. The ballot paper will also contain a summary of the Administrator's

S. A. Indian Question In Indian Assembly

REPLYING to a question in the Central Legislative Assembly on February 22, Mr. J. H. Thomas, Secretary of State for India, said: "The Government of India are not at present in a position to discuss the question of the South African Indian question by the House, Pandit Nabhu, Member for Commonwealth Relations, said:

problems, have taken a desperate gamble, which on past and present indications may prove a losing one. The Indians, who are in the majority, may welcome this unreserved assurance of Britain's intention to quit India, what are the views of the Moslems and other minorities? It seems inconceivable that Britain, should it come to a final showdown, would sacrifice their interests.

to the heavy burden which rests squarely upon the shoulders of the British people. The country seems doomed to a long and bloody war. The choice is between a

Promised 'Voice' Not Seats

At a meeting of the Durban South Ratepayers' Association held last Monday night, the suggestion of the chairman of the Association, Colonel W. Nathan, that all Indians be represented or sent to other countries or provinces, was received with enthusiasm by the meeting, which also applauded when a suggestion of boycott of the Indians was also made.

Colonel Cryan said that there was no political motive whatever in the referendum. It was not introduced with the idea of making an attack on the Government.

Making a special appeal to the Press to record the fact, he went on to say that the original resolution of the City Council agreed to give the Indians a "voice" in the conduct of civic affairs. This wording was deliberate and the Council did not mean that Indians would sit on the Council.

"I am against Indians sitting on the City Council, not against them being represented on the

REPUBLICANISTS AND THE ROYAL VISIT

REPUBLICANS will adopt a neutral attitude towards the Royal Visit, according to a leading article in *Die Transvaler* which warned the Government not to exploit the traditional hospitality and courtesy of the Afrikaners for the purpose of making "Empire propaganda."

A warning is necessary to those on the Government side who, notwithstanding the assurance that the Royal Family are here on holiday, are trying to make violent propaganda for the Empire," the article stated.

"They are trying to drown all possible republicanism by asserting that the united hospitality and courtesy of the Afrikaners will triumph over all other considerations. On account of the expectation that the Afrikaners will say nothing, it is announced that even the republicans will take part in the enthusiastic welcome."

All that, the newspaper says, is "sheer nonsense." "Republicans will be neutral towards the visit, but their attitude should not be falsely interpreted. South Africa will become a republic only with the abolition of the monarchy and the bonds which bind her to the Empire."

"All distortions which are given to this concept are calculated to mislead and on wit (the public). But the republicans are not so stupid as to be caught out by that."

To link that sort of manoeuvring with the Royal visit, and to sugar the propaganda pills with reference to the hospitality and good manners of the Afrikaners, "is looking for trouble. Even the most courteous person will defend himself against the abuse of his attitudes," says *Die Transvaler*.

Let the Government Press be warned. Their propaganda will be met by a more intelligent and more realistic

NATAL INDIAN CONGRESS

EMERGENCY CONFERENCE

At an Emergency Conference called by the Natal Indian Congress and representing two hundred Indian Congress Committees of the Passive Resistance Council and eight other interested organisations, held at the Gandhi Library on Sunday, February 23, 101 delegates representing 30 organisations attended.

The conference was presided over by Dr. G. M. Nalaker and the discussions centred round passive resistance, led by Mr. J. N. Singh, secretary of the P.N.C., communal franchise led by Mr. A. I. Meer, joint hon. secretary of the Natal Indian Congress, and Royal visit led by Mr. M. D. Naidoo, joint hon. secretary of the Natal Indian Congress.

The following resolutions were passed at the conference:—

Passive Resistance

This Emergency Conference, having fully reviewed the passive resistance movement, having noted with alarm the attitude and policy of the Union Government towards the Indian community and other sections of the South African people to carry out an aggressive political campaign expelling the Indians from the Union, and having decided to support the Indian people in their struggle against the increased attack on civil rights and liberties of the South African people as shown by the refusal of passports to Doctors Naicker, Padon, and Nam J. Palmer.

"This Conference therefore reaffirms the decision of the Joint Council of the Natal and Transvaal Congresses to continue the passive resistance struggle and demands the immediate implementation of the TNO decision by the Union Government and to this end resolves to advise the Congress Workers and Action Committees throughout Natal and Cape upon these to

- (i) carry out a door-to-door campaign in recruiting families and enrolling volunteers,
- (ii) embark on a proper area distribution of the 'Passive Resister' and other leaflets and literature,
- (iii) hold by Sunday, March 16, mass meetings in their area to explain the policy adopted at the Conference and to protest against the refusal of passports to Doctors Nalaker and Naidoo and others.

"Conference further appeals for the full support and co-operation of trade unions and other organisations especially those with membership in carrying out the above decisions."

The above resolution was moved by Mr. J. N. Singh and seconded by Mr. D. Peters and was carried unanimously.

Royal Visit

"This Conference having patiently and carefully considered the presence of their Majesties in South Africa and the political implications arising from the Royal visit hereby records:

1. That the Indian people of Natal and South Africa have the greatest respect for the persons of their Majesties.

That His Majesty King George VI, on his visit to South Africa, has inflicted a very grave injury and has deeply insulted and humiliated the Indian people of South Africa by

- (a) passing the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Reserves Act
- (b) adopting race inequality and discrimination as a State doctrine that forms the basis of its laws and political, economic and social life.

2. That the intolerance and persecution of the Indian people reached the breaking point with the passing of the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act with the result that our people have been forced into a state of civil disobedience.

- (a) entrenching one self respect and honour as a nation,
- (b) preventing our relegation to slums and ghettos with the attendant evils of poverty, disease, misery, starvation and death.

3. That our disabilities, especially at the present time, have rendered us far too unhappy and vulnerable to permit any sincere participation in glad and joyous events.

That it is our determination to pursue relentlessly the path of struggle, whatever the sacrifices that it may impose upon us, until such time as our people are no longer the victims of brutalising and oppressive measures because of their race. That it is the intention of the Prime Minister of His Majesty's Government in South Africa to exploit the visit of their Majesties for propaganda purposes even able to the Union of South Africa in the eyes of the world, especially the United Nations.

7. That even on occasions such as the celebration in honour of Royalty we are faced with racial discrimination in the all functions at which their Majesties will be present are organised on a basis of segregation for the different groups.

This Conference, therefore, records with very deep regret its inability to offer their Majesties a glad welcome to South Africa at the present time, and its unwillingness to be associated with joyous celebrations or festivities when racial intolerance and oppressive conditions make real and sincere pleasure impossible.

The above resolution was moved by Mr. M. D. Naidoo and was seconded by Mr. P. G. Steyn. It was carried by a majority, one vote against was given by Mr. V. S. M. Pillai.

Communal Franchise

"This Conference, having fully reviewed the communal franchise of the Union, rejects the various proposals for communal franchise for Indians whether made by the Administrator of Natal or anyone else, and endorses the demand of the Natal Indian Congress for franchise on the common roll, for the following reasons:

- (1) Communal franchise, instead of fostering harmonious relations between the different groups, only intensifies racial antagonism. This has been fully demonstrated by the experiences of countries which have tried the method of representation.

(2) Communal franchise, instead of bringing peace to South Africa. For, instead of encouraging all the groups of the country to work for the general welfare of the country and all its peoples tends to make each racial group a separatist, having separate interests, and results in endless conflict.

- (3) Communal franchise has proved ineffective in South Africa and the African people after ten years' experience have, through the N.A.C. and the African National Congress, rejected this form of representation as being ineffectual, ineffective and dangerous.

This Conference therefore calls upon the Indian people to be continually vigilant and reject all proposals of representation on a communal basis and refuse to

enrol or register as voters on any separate communal roll whether for Parliamentary, Provincial, Municipal or Local representation."

Indian Advisory Board

"This Conference has studied with care the proposal of the Prime Minister to establish an Indian Advisory Board which will consider and advise the Government on matters connected with health, housing, unemployment and education.

"This Conference has before it the experience of the Coloured Advisory Council which has caused a division in the ranks of the Coloured people, provided the Government with an appendage that has a 'coloured' membership, but failed to bring about a real improvement in their status or conditions of life. The role of the Native Representative Council which, after ten years of existence, was found to be a dead conviction that while the policy of the Government in regard to the Native people remained unchanged, no useful purpose by the Council, not wishing to meet and, therefore, adjourned indefinitely.

"In the light of this experience, this Conference is of the opinion that an Indian Advisory Board will be ineffective and unable to serve any useful function while the racial discrimination and segregatory policies pursued by the Government remain unchanged.

"Further, this Conference is deeply convinced, especially in view of the Prime Minister's statement that the 'Ghetto' Act in spite of the decision of the N.A.C. is to remain on the Statute Book, that this proposal to set up an Advisory Board is a propaganda measure aimed at making war between the Government of South Africa.

"This Conference, therefore, expresses its strong opposition to the establishment of this Indian Advisory Board and reaffirms its determination to continue relentlessly in the demand for real and equal political rights in the country."

Presence Of C.I.D.

"This Conference condemns the presence, without permission, of a member of the Criminal Investigation Department at this meeting and resolves to inform the C.I.D. that in future if they desire to be present at any meeting called by the Congress, they should first seek the permission of Congress."

GANDHIJI celebrated the Independence Day (Jan. 26) at the village Banaha. The tri-colour national flag was hoisted in front of Gandhiji's cottage. It was, however, not hoisted at the prayer ground, at his express wish. Referring to this he said at the prayer meeting: "If it was the British Government that wanted to prevent me from hoisting the tri-colour flag, I would have paid the maximum price for upholding the honour of the flag." The flag had not been hoisted, he said, in deference to the feelings of his Muslim friends. He would not like to hurt the feelings of his Muslim brothers who would not see the flag being hoisted.

At Banaha, Gandhiji observed the use of opium and fish. On Independence Day he invited by Gandhiji, journalists from different parts of India and overseas now touring with him, went round Muslim and Hindu localities and impressed upon the villagers the urgency of cleaning tanks and looking after the general sanitation. A community dinner, where people of different castes and communities joined, was also arranged at the press camp as part of the day's programme. The gathering included about thirty women (Hindus of the village Pals) decided to abolish untouchability. At Pals Gandhiji advised Muslim women to educate themselves and mix with other women of the village. He also asked them to discard purdah and take to spinning. While going to a Muslim house in the village he had to walk barefoot on difficult pathways through paddy fields. This had pained the Muslim villagers. On his return he found, to his surprise, that the whole pathway had been cleared by the Muslim villagers. Throughout the three-day journey from Pals to Panjabpur he received a warm welcome and had to stop at many places. There was a great rush among the villagers to take dust from his feet. At one Hindu house a large number of Hindu women washed his feet. When he was taken to a Muslim house there was a great rush among the children to take dust from his feet. Covenants were presented to him by the villagers, which he said: "I want your love and nothing else."

Mr. Subramanyam, the Bengal Premier, met at Karaoli on the 26th that Gandhiji's tour in East Bengal had helped in restoring confidence there, though in the beginning his presence there coincided with further attacks of the Hindus. He said he had no intention of removing the police guards and armed escorts from

OUR INDIA LETTER

(FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT)

Bacoda, February 4, 1947

GANDHIJI'S TOUR

about with Gandhiji. At Nabagram on the 30th Gandhiji and his people should distance all fear from their minds and feel safe in the midst of their countrymen, whether Hindus or Muslims. When they learnt to fear their Maker alone, they would cease to fear their fellow-men. Union Hindus and Muslims, he said, could rise above their present political differences and re-embrace their common humanity and common brotherhood, life would become an impossibility.

"I am a missionary who professes to make friends of one another," said Gandhiji at Nabagram in a speech to a Muslim house. There is a violent among missionaries claiming twin-births of the land produce. Giving his blessings to the movement, Gandhiji said: "Only those who toil should have a share in the output." The land, he said, belonged to the landlord but to the Lord of all and therefore to the workers who tilled it. He, however, warned them against the use of compulsion or violence. "There is a great danger in the use of force," he said, "as the force is prepared to be for one's religion. I do not want for an answer even from one's own self if compulsion was involved in the matter of one's religion. About 15 thousand men and women attended the prayer meeting at Anishapure on the 1st night. I am not being Muslim. I am not being Hindu. I am not being a woman at Nabagram. A woman should most certainly take her own life rather than surrender. When it is a question of choice between killing oneself and the assassin, I have no doubt in my mind that the first should be the choice. My heart weeps not to man but to God. I have not come here to make people weep," he said when he visited a ruined house on his way to Bahadur on the 2nd, where the inmates told him they had nothing to offer except ashes, and that they had lost blue members of their family in October. Gandhiji said man could do nothing but surrender himself completely to the will of God, as everything happens by His will. Great empires had crumbled down. Hitler had desired to conquer the world. What became of him? People here are elsewhere sometimes went mad. But on that account there should be no ill-will between Hindus

and Muslims, because they were brothers.

To Amam

In a letter to Mian Muhammad Tysbulla, President of the Amam, Gandhiji said: "I cannot understand the panic on the part of the Amam. It is panic that nothing was, much more so when it poses a large number of people. The resolution passed by the A.L.O.C., if correctly reported in the papers, gives enough if not clear guidance to Amam for it will not compel Amam to act against the wishes of the people, declared through the Legislative Assembly. Naturally, Amam has to watch the future developments and act as occasion requires. It would be wrong to take any precipitate action. Whatever action is taken must always be taken so as not to hurt the feelings of Amam. There is no harm in saying so."

Amam would not take any heavy step which will continue to support the Congress Working Committee and the Constituent Assembly but will not sacrifice itself in the process, said Shri Gopinath Bardoloi, Premier of Amam, in an address to University students at Calcutta. He said it was nobody's wish that the ties between the Congress and Amam, forged through years of common struggle and sacrifice, should be severed but many felt that Amam's difficulties are not fairly appreciated. Shri Bardoloi blamed British trading interests, which had an exceedingly high percentage of investments in Assam. Amam was not a man in a corner. It was not the whole picture. When such interests can find an ally somewhere, they try to stick to that ally and maintain that alliance, he said. He could not say what was going to happen, but he hoped that neither the Congress Working Committee, nor the Muslim League, nor the people of Amam would precipitate a crisis in the internal situation of India. "I hope there will be no more talk about surrender in this matter," he said. If the whole thing failed—and it was possible—they should be prepared for a grim struggle. Freedom could not be given to a people by outsiders, nor could it be given by something written on paper. Freedom had to be lived up to.

Reactions To League's Decision

"They will surely come sooner or later," said Sardar Prasad Singh, the S. Kh. Member of the Congress Working Committee, with reference to the League's resolution not to come into the Indian Union. "The League's delay is made longer with a view to getting the maximum in the bargain. The refusal of the League will raise doubts in the minds of the minorities that the League leaders do not care for their rights in Sections B and C." "It is difficult to understand," said Mr. Ali Jinnah, "how the League wants others to respect the Muslim minority and its wishes while it is not ready to show any consideration for the minorities which will exist in its own dominions."

Premier's Resolution

The following points have been included in the Premier's Resolution: (1) Entry of States into the Union of India to be on no other basis than cession. (2) States to retain all subjects and powers other than those ceded by them to the Union. All rights surrendered by the States to the Parliament shall be subject to the Parliament's power to alter. (3) The constitution of each State not to be interfered with by the Union.

Ferment In Punjab

The Punjab Government have withdrawn the ban against the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh and the Muslim League National Guards and have released all leaders. At several places in the Province Muslim crowds became violent and injured several police officers. Twelve Muslim Leaders, who had announced their intention of defying the Public Safety Ordinances were arrested in Lahore, and several hundred League men in the Mofussil. Sir Khizr Hayat Khan, the Punjab Premier, appealed to members of all communities to support the Punjab Government in maintaining order and communal peace.

Lala Harnam Singh, Finance Minister said: "In order to maintain communal peace and to save the Province from communal disorders we had to impose these restrictions."

"There is no doubt this struggle will bring closer the achievement of the goal of Pakistan," said Begam Akbar Rasul at Lucknow.

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INDIAN OPINION

MAHATMA CANALI

No. 10 - Vol. XLV

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3

Indian Opinion

FRIDAY, 7TH MARCH, 1947

Error Of Judgment

DR DADOO and Dr Naicker have at last been granted passports and they are due to leave for India by air on March 11, to attend the Inter-Asian Conference, which meets in Dehli on March 23. Though grace has undoubtedly been lacking, we offer our hearty congratulations to the Government for having re-traced their step and for doing the right thing. We also record with profound appreciation the fact that not only our sympathisers but our opponents too have treated this matter as one above racial considerations, as one of principle of a democratic right of every human being, and that they have not been sparing in criticising the Government's action. If this was an error of judgment on the part of the Government, as indeed it was, may we suggest that their whole attitude in regard to the Indian question is an error of judgment, the consequences of which we deem to contemplate?

The Natal Indian Congress has drawn the attention of the Prime Minister to the seriousness of the situation and has pointed to the need of some step to be taken to implement the UNO decision.

So much has been said about emotion paying a part at UNO, but at the present moment it appears to be holding sway over South Africa. It seems to have grown to

such an extent that it has left no room for serious or rational consideration. Things are allowed to drift in this manner, with the Government doing nothing and a section of the Press, instead of leading the people in the right direction, misleading them by propaganda, which unbecomes good journalism, we might soon have mob rule instead of democratic rule in South Africa.

Like, for instance, the boycott of Indian traders, which is spreading all over the country. The Government by their silence, have given tacit consent to it. If it were, we would ask: We ask not because Indians are losing the pinch. As so far as that goes this is nothing they will have to be prepared for much greater sufferings and sacrifices, even extinction, if they do not wake up in this respect.

It is not a matter of racial gains. If they do not they should be honest enough to confess it and not leave India and the coloured world who are upon their case, in the dark. If they desire a compromise on those lines the Government and a section of the European Press, which is agitated by the Indian question, will most generously grant them that. But we are not thinking on those narrow lines. Surely we are standing for higher things, in the name of the United Nations. We ask the Government of South Africa to consider the interests of South Africa and the interests of the Indian community in South Africa.

is a sane policy? If India has imposed trade sanctions it is a matter between the two Governments. The people are not therefore, justified in taking the law into their own hands. But we regret to find that very thing being encouraged by the Government.

Then, again, what should one think of the proposed Advisory Board the communal franchise, a separate town for Indians conducted by Indians?

What at Indians, when they have not asked for them. We are not at all sorry that the result of the referendum a week has gone against the proposal of the Natal Administrator to grant Indians municipal franchise on a qualified basis. We have been saved from another human atom. If we are truly South African nationals, are we not justified in asking for full rights as such? If we are not, we have no other course but to seek outside aid. And since India and South Africa both have to live in this world is it not to their mutual advantage to live on friendly terms?

What, after all, have we asked for? We have asked for the simplest thing possible—the calling of a round table conference between representatives of both the Governments to find ways and means for an honourable settlement of the Indian question and the suspension of the maintenance of the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act,

which has been the bone of contention. It is to be noted that Apartheid has not brushed in to the images of such a conference that is all the more reason why South Africa should not do so. She stands to lose nothing thereby. India's representatives will be able to see things for themselves from high angles. No possible harm could be done to South Africa. After all, as a mandate, India cannot impose her will on South Africa. It will be for South Africa to act as wisely as she deems fit.

Does it behove South Africa to be so well connected as not to heed how it sees her? Is South Africa going to ignore the latest indictment of Miss Aitken, who has spent 26 years in this country?

"The colour bar in South Africa" she said "holds up the development of the Africans. Indians and all the coloured peoples."

Will South Africa still persist in her narrow vision or will she take a broader view of things in the light of a changed and fast changing world? Will she choose to go half a century backward or half a century ahead? Will the wise government of South Africa not think before they cap whether they are not committing judgment, which may cause irreparable harm to the country to which we all owe

N.I.C. EXECUTIVE MEETS

RESOLUTION ON IMPLEMENTATION OF UNO DECISION

At a special meeting of the Executive Committee of the Natal Indian Congress held on February 27, a resolution on UNO decision on the Indian question was unanimously adopted and was forwarded to General Smuts.

The letter addressed to the Prime Minister stated:

"Our Congress, representing the Indian community of Natal, is perturbed by the general trend of events in South Africa subsequent to the decision of the United Nations General Assembly and forward this resolution to you in the earnest hope that it will receive the early and sympathetic consideration of your Government.

This resolution, after quoting the text of the UNO decision, goes on to state:

That in terms of section 3 of the said resolution the Governments of both India and the Union of South Africa are enjoined upon to report at the next session the measures taken to implement the said resolution. But a period of almost three months has since elapsed, during which the Natal Indian Congress has not seen any visible signs of efforts aimed at removing the disabilities under which Indians in South Africa suffer.

That as the Union of South Africa is the Government is to rest upon the establishment of an Indian Advisory Board, which will advise the Government on matters connected with health, housing, education and employment of the Provincial and National Government.

That in the form of representation, whether direct or indirect, based on a communal or separate franchise, for purposes of Provincial Government.

That the above proposals are in consonance with and emanate from the racial policies contained in the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act, 1946.

That the submission of the complaint by the Government of India to the United Nations was, specifically, the result of the action of the Government of the Union of South Africa in passing the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act, 1946, and generally, because of the racial discriminatory legislative policy of the Government of the Union of South Africa, especially in respect of its Indian population.

That the implementation of the resolution adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations requires:

(1) That the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act be suspended or repealed.

(2) That measures which are in effect a continuance or consequence of the Act be not advanced by the Central Government, or by any Provincial Government.

(3) That measures be instituted in terms of section 3 of the United Nations General Assembly resolution.

these two countries that their accredited representatives assemble at a Round table Conference at the earliest possible moment in order to implement the resolution of the United Nations.

Letter To S.A.I.C.

The following is a copy of a letter dated February 27 addressed by the Natal Indian Congress to the Joint Hon. Secretaries of the S. A. I. C.

"I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of a resolution passed by the Executive Committee of the Natal Indian Congress on 27th February directed to request you to convene the annual conference of the South African Indian Con-

GANDHIJI ON TRUSTEESHIP

During his Bengal tour the following question was put to Gandhiji.

YOU have asked rich men to be trustees. Is it implied that they should give up private ownership in their property and create out of it a trust valid in the eyes of the law and managed democratically? How will the successor of the present incumbent be determined on his demise?

In answer Gandhiji said that he adhered to the position taken by him years ago that everything belonged to God and was from God. Therefore it was for His people as a whole, not for a particular individual. When an individual had more than his proportionate portion he became a trustee of that portion for God's people.

God who was all-powerful had no need to alarm. He created from day to day, hence man also should live from day to day and not stock things. If this truth was imbibed by the people generally, it would become legalized and trusteeship would become a legalized institution. He wished it became a gift from India to the world. Then there would be no exploitation and no reserves as in Australia and other countries for White men and their posterity. In these distinctions lay the seed of a war more virulent than the last two. As to the successor, the trustee in office would have the right to nominate his successor subject to legal sanction.

That owing to the absence of any provision for the representation of the Indian community in the Union of South Africa, there is a sharp division between the European and Indian communities in South Africa, there is a steady and continuing deterioration in the already strained and unfriendly relations between the Governments of India and the Union of South Africa.

The Executive, therefore, having noted that the General Assembly of the United Nations has placed equal responsibility upon the Governments both of India and the Union of South Africa for measures leading to a satisfactory settlement which will solve the dispute, hereby declares its very deep conviction that it is in the best interests of the people and Governments of

both countries that their accredited representatives assemble at a Round table Conference at the earliest possible moment in order to implement the resolution of the United Nations. In order that reasonable notice may be given to all interested parties, we request that the conference convening be in a period of fourteen days from the date hereof and that the date of the Conference shall be not more than 30 nor less than 14 days after the date of the notice.

In arriving at the decision to make the above mentioned request to you, the Natal Indian Congress unanimously feels that all the present important issues confronting the Indian people in South Africa require urgent consideration and for that reason the holding of the annual conference becomes all the more urgent. Decisions are particularly necessary in regard

to the developments which have taken place arising from and since the UNO decision.

A meeting of the South African Indian Congress Executive will naturally be necessary before the conference and we shall be pleased if you will advise us of the date on which you propose holding the meeting of the Executive.

MR. HOFMEYR'S BUDGET BRINGS RELIEF TO ALL

THE abolition of wartime taxes and taxation relief totalling £15,833,000 were announced by the Minister of Finance, Mr. J. H. Hofmeyr, when he presented his budget in the House of Assembly on Friday, February 28. It is hailed with delight by all sections of the community.

For the first time since the war it has brought to the people a sigh of relief. One thing the Indian community asks, however, is why is mail postage for the United Kingdom has been reduced and a similar reduction has not been made for India? Is that meant as a retaliatory measure against the trade sanctions imposed by India as a protest against the Union Government's policy of racial discrimination? It is an ill-considered punishment if it is.

The main features of the budget are:

Excess Profits Duty and Trade Profits Special Levy withdrawn from June 30, 1946.

Excise Duty on sugar removed from April 1.

Fixed Property Profits Tax is withdrawn with immediate effect.

Income tax allowances of £7 10s. on each child (instead of £5) and £2 for each dependant instead of £1 10s.

Personal and Savings Levy for bachelors reduced from 4 to 2.

Interest reduced by 1/2 a percentage on the consumer.

Internal postage reduced to 1/2d. on ounces with 1d. for each additional half ounce. Overseas letters 1/2d. first half ounce and 1d. for each additional half ounce.

Air mail, from March 19, to United Kingdom, reduced to 9d. a half ounce.

Import duties reduced on a number of articles.

Gold mining taxation reduced.

The Minister of Finance also announced that the Government

VISCOUNT TEMPLEWOOD, who as Sir Samuel Hoare, piloted the India Act in 1935 through Parliament, opened on Monday the debate on the Government's proposal to hand over India to the Indian Government.

He moved that the decision of the Government to hand over India to the Indian Government in June, 1948, "under conditions which appear to be in conflict with the previous declarations of the Government on this subject and without any provision for the protection of the minorities, or the discharge of its other obligations, is likely to imperil the peace and prosperity of India."

Lord Templewood said the Opposition was prepared for the transfer of power to be expected on three conditions: that the transfer was orderly, that it would be based on a substantial measure of agreement between the two sides, and that it would be a transfer of power to the Indian people.

The new Government's statement as "unconditional surrender at the expense of many of whom we have been giving specific pledges for generations."

"The unity of India depends on the question of British influence, and when British influence is withdrawn, that unity will be lost," he declared. "The proposals lead directly, not to unity, but to a division of India in the worst possible circumstances."

He asked to what kind of authorities the Government intended to transfer power and what would happen in the interim period while the transfer was going on.

From now onwards, Lord Templewood said, there should be a transfer of power to Indian Princes, simultaneous with that to British India.

He was followed by Lord Samuel, leader of the Liberal Party in the House of Lords, who said that there had not been a single word in Lord Templewood's speech to indicate what other course he would desire the Government to pursue.

Lord Patrick Lawrence, Secretary of State for India, said that a new stage had been reached in the progress towards the freedom of India "when, as it were, the balance began to tilt and a large share of power and responsibility had already been transferred to Indian hands."

If Britain had attempted for a short while to restore the old position of complete control, it would be necessary to guarantee that she would stay in India for 10 or even more years.

"When we went to bed," Lord Patrick Lawrence said,

LORD'S DEBATE ON BRITISH GOVT'S STATEMENT ON INDIA

we succeeded in the dispersal of the element of suspicion that was in Indian minds against the British Government."

The Government had fixed a date for the transfer of power to impress on the Indian parties, the Government's sincerity and also the sense of urgency on their finding solutions to their differences.

"I think it may well be true that when, after all these troublesome hours, which are going on now, India attains the kind of freedom for which she asks and to which she is entitled," Lord Patrick Lawrence said, "we may find we have a closer bond of affection, friendship and mutual advantage, than we had in the days gone by."

I feel that if you should decide to carry this motion to a divi-

Lord Halifax Speaks

There was no solution for India which was not fraught with the gravest objection and danger said Lord Halifax, a member of the House of Lords.

He was not prepared to condemn what the Government was doing unless he could recommend a better solution.

He would find it difficult to support Lord Templewood were he to proceed to a division and hoped it would be possible to avoid this course.

"If this chapter of Indian history has to come to a close, there is no better way of closing it than by offering to assist India's passage into the New Order, and that would be the

MAHATMA GANDHI ENDORSES BOYCOTT

MAHATMA GANDHI endorsed the boycott by the Natal Indian Congress of celebrations in connection with the Royal tour of South Africa.

Responding to a request sent by Congress, he said at Harmon, East Bengal, "I take this opportunity of publicly endorsing this abstention as national and dignified."

"Indians in South Africa feel that in view of the disabilities imposed upon Asiatics, Africans and other coloured peoples, it would be improper on their part to share the rejoicings of the white people of South Africa."

sion, and the division goes against the Government, (the Conservative Peers outnumber those of Labour by about 10 to one) it would considerably weaken our means of effecting our desires in India, and very likely weaken the very purpose of which Lord Templewood spoke."

Most of the Conservative speakers during the debate thought that the fixing of a definite date for leaving India would not bring an agreement between Hindus and Moslems.

The Earl of Selbourn thought that instead of progress, there would be a civil war and slaughter and, after that, famine and disease among millions.

Replying to the debate, Lord Eustace, Postmaster-General and former Under-Secretary for India, said that there was no satisfactory alternative to the Government's policy.

Any alternative that postponed transfer of power in India, until the parties reached an agreement and the constitution was prepared, would be impracticable and dangerous.

spirit of the message I would like to see this House send to India," Lord Halifax said.

Making an interim reply for the Government, the Lord Chancellor, Lord Jowitt said, "I would like to say this to what I said at the time."

He knew the Government was taking a very grave risk, but the true path of statesmanship today was not to attempt to avoid risks. The Government had come to the conclusion that it was the right risk to take.

He did not regard this as the breaking up of the British Commonwealth, "the Commonwealth would survive not as force but as reason, not as violence but as persuasion."

Viscount Simon (Liberal) said the granting of self-government to the Boers and Eiro had nothing to do with "the terribly difficult problem which faces us all today."

With South Africa and Eiro, he said, they were dealing with homogeneous peoples. "I think it a grave mistake to think we are doing something similar to what was done in those cases."

The meeting of "certum casu Hinduus" now going on in Delhi was not really the Constituent Assembly. What would the Government's method of approach be if no settlement had been reached by June 1948? "Would they dream of handing the Government over to Pandit Nehru?"

Winding up the debate for the Opposition, Viscount Cranborne said when it became clear that the differences persisted between Moslems and Hindus, the Government ought to have stated there would be no further constitutional advances without an agreement.

All parties were pledged to grant a progressive self-government to India, leading to Dominion Status and, if they wished,

independence. The Conservatives stood by those pledges, but there was always an essential prerequisite which there must be prior to the agreement between the main communities.

He thought the Government was taking the helpless and hopeless line of least resistance.

Viscount Cranborne said he felt impelled to divide the House and make the Opposition view known in no uncertain fashion, but he was impressed by appeals that a vote against the Government might be misunderstood in India and be taken to mean a difference in the ultimate objective which Britain has sought to obtain. It would be deplorable he said. He therefore decided that there should be no vote.

Replying to the debate, Viscount Addison, the Dominion Secretary said some of the Opposition found it difficult to forget their past.

Labour believed in self-government in the same way as the great Statesman, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, when he carried out "one of the greatest acts in history" by giving self-government to South Africa.

MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING

THE British Prime Minister said that the United Nations Association in London, every person who thinks seriously of the destructiveness of modern weapons must realize the danger of the age we live in, but even this may not prevent war.

"What the world needs today is a mutual understanding of peoples, and not merely good relationships between Governments."

ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE.

MR. S. R. NAIDOO ON
MARITZBURG MEETING

To THE EDITOR "INDIAN OPINION"

Since it is not an unusual thing for the editor of the **INDIAN OPINION** to report of public activities in such a manner as to give bad character to those who hold different views from yours. Your paper will persist in giving to the general public half-truths and garbled reports of activities of people who differ from you. In your report of a public meeting held at Maritzburg on Sunday, February 16, published in **INDIAN OPINION** of February 21, there are a number of items of news which have been mis-reported. In the report you published your paper has not followed the rule of fair reporting of what had happened but had introduced matters which were personal views of the reporter, or his own pet criticisms directed against people who do not see eye to eye with you.

Now let us examine the veracity in certain respects of your report of the meeting.

G. M. Naicker was not present at the meeting. You repeat he was. The convenors of the meeting excused their right in appointing a chairman and a secretary to preside at the meeting convened by them. Rules of meeting allow such a procedure. Your paper misreports that Mr. S. R. Naidoo took the chair without having been elected by the meeting.

Emphasis was laid by me at the opening of the meeting that it was a public meeting confined to Indians of Maritzburg and District only. Few views were to be heard and not the views of outsiders like Dr. Goonam, Messrs. M. D. Naidoo, P. B. Singh, J. N. Singh and Mahomed Ali. The convenors never invited these people to attend the meeting nor was the meeting in a mood to hear them.

Long before the hall was opened to the public a group of 'opposition' forced the door open and took seats at vantage points in the hall. When I entered I had at 3.30 p.m. a group of young Indians who belonged to the 'opposition' offered insults to me and others.

When I opened the meeting I made it clear that the meeting was to decide one simple and one question, namely, whether the 'boycott move' should be supported or repudiated. I said it was a non-political meeting. Now then does the question of 'misrepresentation' as reported in your paper arise, and what is the explanation of the presence of the people from Durban at the meeting who wanted to impose upon the meeting and were clamorous to be heard? Who invited them? After Dr. Goonam was refused the right to speak, did all the kind of

meeting of her own in the body of the hall, screaming and shouting? Did not her companions support her in her attitude to wreck the meeting? Can it be denied that the people from Durban with a combination of a group of about fifty men actually tried to wreck the meeting and indulge in a despicable form of rowdism?

Mr. M. G. Naidoo who moved the resolution condemning the 'boycott move' made statements to regard to unauthorized acts of a Joint Secretary of the Local Congress. This has been conveniently omitted from your report.

The reporters of all the newspapers present at the meeting gave prominence to the fact that a group of people led by Durban Congress leaders, created all the trouble and rowdism and tried to break up the meeting. Of course this rowdism was met by heckling and this is not unusual in an audience whose purpose of meeting to decide upon an issue peacefully was on the point of being frustrated by a gang of

It is untrue that Dr. Goonam was under police protection.

The plain clothes police had difficulty in quietening her.

Can you or your paper explain a message from Pandit Nehru conveyed to the Congress that boycott of Kanya was a mistake was not discussed or even now the receipt of the message is denied by the Congress.

It is clear that after the closing of the meeting, the unfortunate incident of some foolish youth burning a Gandhi cap took place, as other papers have done? Why have you failed to report that after the meeting was concluded, and the people were asked to disperse, the 'opposition' was waiting to capture the

peaceful holding of a meeting of the 'opposition' outside the hall. The truth of the matter is that a vast majority of Indians, although increased at the behaviour of the 'opposition,' showed a generous feeling not to disturb the meeting of the people, handful as they were, who held different views from

their own. This would be expected from a sensible section of our people but not from the group who were out to break or wreck our meeting. I need say no more, excepting to point out that unfortunately for the Indian community the policy of your paper when people differ from you is to 'demon' them and that, too, at the sacrifice of truth.

Note We gladly publish Mr. S. R. Naidoo's letter though it hardly merits the space it has taken up. We will first deal with the charge of misreporting. If there have been slips in reporting the proceedings of the meeting, we conscientiously say that they were not deliberately made. The misreported presence of Mr. Naicker among the speakers from Durban was a slip. In so far as the audience at the meeting was concerned, it was a fact that "Mr. S. R. Naidoo took the chair without having been elected by the meeting." That was not misreported.

The meeting was a public meeting of Indians of Maritzburg and district. The issue involved was quite obviously a very important one to the whole Indian community. So important was it that people who had never taken any part in public affairs,

the Natal Indian Congress were deeply involved and it was their duty to be present to hear criticism levelled against them, and it would have been only fair to them and to the public to give them an opportunity to explain the position and clear whatever misunderstandings may have been created.

To say the least it was a fair and wise on the part of Mr. S. R. Naidoo to term responsible Congress officials like Dr. Goonam, Messrs. M. D. Naidoo, P. B. Singh, J. N. Singh and Mahomed Ali.

It was a public meeting and these officials had to our humble opinion every right as such, indeed it was their duty to be present. They did not require to be invited. In fairness to them and to the public it was the duty of the convenors to ask them to attend.

Mr. Naidoo complains of insults offered to him by a group of young Indians who belonged to the 'opposition.' That group belonged to Maritzburg, they were not from Durban. But Mr. Naidoo has nothing to say about the insults, the abuse, the brick bats, the

hose pipe the "uninvited" guest from Durban were greeted with, and all these greetings, with the exception of the hose pipe, went to them from a rowdy and most abusive crowd, many of whom were under the influence of liquor, from a corner nearest to the platform and not from the body of the hall, and the burning of the passive resister's Gandhi cap, which Mr. Naidoo very lightly brushes aside, as an "incident" after the meeting had been closed.

With due deference to Mr. Naidoo, it cannot be said that the meeting was not in a mood to hear Congress officials from Durban. The chairman did not test the feelings of the meeting in that respect. He point blank refused to allow them to speak. The question of misrepresentation comes in this way: People were terror-stricken. It was not because they were afraid of them that they did not participate in the meeting. They were not invited to the meeting and they would be thrown out of employment by their European employers. The merchants were already terror-stricken by the boycott campaign against them and they were afraid lest the heavens may fall on them.

We do not deny that the people from Durban could have behaved better but the chairman's refusal to allow them a hearing was a stirring enough provocation to them and it was they who subjected the speakers to a heckling and the hecklers in return were subjected to indignation to gag them and they refused to be gagged.

Mr. Naidoo, who has with very careful scrutiny pointed out the slip about the presence of Dr. Naicker, evidently did not think it as important to correct those papers that came out with bold headlines stating "hundreds" had come from Durban to wreck the meeting, whereas, in fact, not one more than those named by Mr. S. R. Naidoo in his letter had been present at the meeting and it would be well to remember too that they came to the meeting long after the meeting commenced.

Lastly about the message from Pandit Nehru. We have carefully investigated the matter and discovered the facts: Pandit Nehru's message was not addressed to the Congress, nor was it received at the time of the Maritzburg meeting. The message was sent through the High Commissioner's office personally to Dr. G. M. Naicker, who received the sealed document from Capetown two days after the meeting.

If, as Mr. Naidoo puts it, "a vast majority of Indians, although incensed at the behaviour of the 'opposition,' showed a generous feeling not to disturb the meeting of the

people, ("handful" in the eyes of Mr. Naidoo who was not present), who held different views from their own," and we fully believe Mr. Naidoo, doesn't not then follow that the "small" section of our people would have been sensible enough to hear Congress officials, to acquaint themselves with the other side if the chairman would have

only been sensible enough to allow them a hearing?

Whatever be the opinion of Mr. K. Naidoo it has always been the policy of this journal to stand for the truth at all costs. It is not our duty to deviate from that path and we hope, by the grace of God, it shall always be its endeavour not to do so. (Ed. L.O.)

BRITISH PREMIER'S SISTER CRITICISES S.A. COLOUR POLICY

MISS MARY ATTLEE, sister of Mr. Clement Attlee, has not only visited the Student Labour Federation on organising a petition, a petition to the King drawing attention to conditions of "racial discrimination and injustice in South Africa."

More than 4,000 signatures to the petition have already been received in this country. Miss Attlee, who returned to England from South Africa less than a year ago, said, "I went to South Africa 46 years ago to work in a mission for Europeans. But I remained and spent the last 17 years championing the cause of the coloured peoples there."

"The colour bar in South Africa holds up the development of the Africans, Indians and all the Coloured peoples."

"It is very difficult for our Europeans to obtain education and if they do receive education it is even more difficult for them to obtain employment for which that education has fitted them."

"I therefore congratulate the Student Labour Federation for the initiative it has taken in organising a campaign drawing attention to this problem and in launching a petition to be sent from the Students of Britain to the King asking him while a King of Africa to declare in favour of equal opportunities for all his subjects—black and white."

"All students, who want to see a more Christian policy being adopted by the South African Government, will, I am sure, sign the petition. I hope that others of the same mind will help the students with all the support in their power."

"It is high time that the South African Government took steps to raise the standard of living of the non-European section of the community and open to them all the fields of public and professional life."

The collecting of signatures will continue until the middle of March, when the petition will be presented at Buckingham Palace for dispatch to the King.

The student labour Federation said that its views were based "on first-hand evidence of South African students in Britain and of British students who spent years of war service in South Africa, as well as on Press reports and other documents."

"We realize that South Africa is not the only country in which large sections of the population suffer oppression and inequality because of the colour of their skin. But recent debates at the United Nations, together with the visit of the Royal Family, have combined to focus public attention on South Africa."

The Federation further pointed out that

"The National Union of South African Students has encountered violent opposition for opening its membership to African students at Fort Hare, the Native College. We believe that they have acted rightly."

"Our object is to suggest to the King that he should publicly proclaim in South Africa that the discrimination and injustice existing there is not in accordance with his subjects, black and white alike."

Membership of the federation is drawn from students of the principal universities in this country. Among the speakers at their meetings have been Mr. Denis du Plessis and Mr. H. A. Naidoo, the South African representative attending the Empire Commonwealth Party's conference in London.

Officials of South African House have lately been addressing anti-very meetings, setting out South Africa's problems and pointing out the harm being done by the discrimination and distribution of half-truths about South Africa. They have also spoken to members of the Student Labour Federation at some of their meetings.

BOYCOTT OF INDIAN TRADERS

UNANIMOUS RESOLUTION BY VRYBURG MEETING

ON Friday, February 21, cars assembled at the back of the Town Hall, Vryburg, to start a protest parade through the Vryburg streets against the Indian Government in resistance to their breaking of trade relations with South Africa.

Led by a huge forty cars with jute bags hanging from their windows, sounding hooters, and making themselves heard generally, rode up and down the streets at intervals during the whole afternoon.

By 8 p.m., a sweltering evening, the Town Hall was packed to overflowing, between 500 and 700 people having assembled to attend the meeting.

Mr. H. Taute, M.P.C., as chairman, explained that a resolution was passed by the Farmers' Union in December that something should be done about the Indian Government boycott. It was then decided to call this meeting. Mr. Taute said that the Indians who had become South Africans were not satisfied with the ruling of the South African Government and had complained to the Indian Government who then saw fit to boycott South African trade, and by boycotting the most essential need of South Africa, jute bags, not only from India but when they could be obtained from Ceylon and America. This boycott meant extreme hardships not only to the farmers and others but to the 75 million natives in this country who were dependent on the grain storage for their existence.

The only way Africa could survive the approval of the all-Indian Government was to all trade with this country. It was a sacrifice and a certain amount of hardship for many of the people at first, but by holding out they would gain the goal for which they were fighting. They would not tolerate interference by foreign governments in the administration of domestic affairs.

Mr. Taute then introduced Mr. Viviers from Mafeking, Mr. Rood from Swarzewski, and Mr. Schwaner from Renekwe.

Mr. Viviers said that for the boycott to be successful it would have to be a hundred per cent effort. Lawyers who were approached by Indians should refuse their business and refuse to obtain their legal advice from India. It would entail great sacrifice to carry out the boycott and anyone who was not prepared to make this sacrifice was to leave the meeting.

He said that a sure way of making the boycott successful was to see that the names of Europeans who bought from Indians were blacklisted. They in turn should be ostracised.

Mr. Rood said he fully agreed with Mr. Viviers and the boycott which he was sure would be a complete success. It had been put up in the business places; a sharp look-out was kept for any European buying from an Indian and his or her name placed on the list. They were then completely ostracised, to the extent of not even greeting them in the street. No business would be used at any time, the policy was one of passive resistance and gradually depriving the Indians of all European trade.

Mr. Musmann spoke at great length, corroborating the other speakers.

Questions were asked, one Janyana wanting to know what the position was in regard to their Indian customers. Mr. Taute replied that the matter was a delicate one and would have to be gone into carefully. Mr. P. J. du Plessis proposed

that the Farmers' Union, the Nationalist Party, the United Party, the Reddingsdorp Board, the Order, be appointed to see that the boycott was carried out.

The resolutions were then adopted and the meeting closed.

The resolutions were adopted and the meeting closed.

GANDHI ON PASSPORT REFUSAL

THE action of the South African in refusing passports to Dr. Y. M. Dadoo and Dr. G. M. Naicker and impounding their certificates of identity was wholly unwarranted and arbitrary, said Gandhi, on February 21, at a village during his walking tour in Bengal.

"The Union Government will not be able to sustain their anti-African policy by such action," he said.

He hoped either there were some justifying pretexts for the action or that second thoughts would cause the action to be cancelled, therefore it would be cancelled.

OUR INDIA LETTER

(FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT)

Baroda, February 12, 1947.

'REPRESENT INDIA'S CULTURE'

IN a letter to Mr. Asaf Ali on the eve of his departure for America, Gandhiji said: "You are an old and seasoned Congressman. I know how you stood in the estimation of the late lamented Hakim Sahib Ajmal Khan and Dr. Ambedkar, and what value Mahatma Abdul Kalam Aali puts upon you, not to mention the many important Hindus and other friends you have. It is well, therefore, that the Interim Government of India has chosen you as its first Ambassador in America. India has a right to expect you to represent the combined culture India's many religions represent. What is perhaps more, you will represent simple living and high thinking for which the national Congress stands and of which you are a distinguished member."

At Sardarkhail on February 3 Gandhiji said he would plead with the League that they should go to the Constituent Assembly and state their case and influence the proceedings. He would advise them to test the sincerity of the Assembly and see how it dealt with the Muslim problem. It was due to themselves and the rest of the country, unless they wanted to rely upon the law of the sword, which he was sure they did not wish to do. He submitted that the British Government was bound to act according to the State Paper even if a few provisions were to establish their independence according to the paper. He hoped that the British would not forget all credit for honest dealing with India.

Mr. Gandhi said that "the provinces should frame their own constitution and enforce it," and that the British declared work of even a single province.

Maintaining that the British State Paper was an answer to the non-violent strength that India had developed so far, Gandhiji said that the British would not be driven away by the sword, but only by non-violence.

On the 6th he said that for him, this last was a plan in which he could find it as no other and if God willed it he would allow him to go through it.

On the 8th he said that boycott of one community by another was wrong and it could do no good to either community. He flattered himself with the belief that the Hindus, at least for the time being, were not moving towards a new extent.

Gandhiji said he was "vain enough to believe" that his presence in Newkhal had influenced some Muslim friends too.

Interim Government In Crisis

The Congress members of the

to have written to the Viceroy asking him either to persuade the League to accept the Plan and to participate in the Constituent Assembly or leave the Government.

The issue raised would appear to be whether the British Government and the Viceroy stand by the basic conception of the Cabinet Mission plan that membership of the Interim Government is inseparable from participation in the Constituent Assembly and that no party could remain in one and keep aloof from the other body, says the Associated Press of India. "The other issue, which in Congress view is equally vital and urgent, is whether the assurance conveyed to Congress by the Viceroy that Mr. Jinnah had agreed to enter both the Interim Government and the Constituent Assembly in a spirit of co-operation is to be carried in its entirety."

The League members, in their reply to the Viceroy, have set forth the plea that Congress has not accepted the Plan, and that they have therefore no cabinet right as Congress to remain in the Interim Government. Reactions of the British Government are awaited with interest.

States And The C.A.

The following joint statement has been issued by the Nawab of Bhopal, Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes, and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru - "The States' Negotiating Committee set up by the Chamber of Princes and the corresponding committee of the Constituent Assembly held joint meetings. In the course of the discussions, reference was made to the Cabinet delegation's statement of the 14th May, the resolutions of the Constituent Assembly and the resolution passed by the Conference of Rulers. The discussions were friendly and satisfactory. On the basis of a general understanding arrived at it was decided to take up the question of the representation of the States in the Constituent Assembly. The Secretaries of the Assembly and the Chamber of Princes were accordingly asked together to draw up detailed proposals for the allocation of the ninety-three seats allotted to the States and to place them for consideration before the next joint meeting of the two Committees which will consider the proposed allocation as well as the method of selection of the

States' representatives. The next joint meeting will be held on March 1.

Army And Sterling Debt

Arrangements have been made with the War Office for transfer of so many officers of the Indian Army as British service is in a position to absorb, said Mr. Arthur Henderson, Under Secretary for India, in the House of Commons on the 2nd.

Replying to the criticism published in Delhi of India's case to repayment of sterling debt as presented by Government, Mr. Manu Sabharwal, M.L.A. (Central) stated that, when British interests represented that 13 years for the repayment is too small and "not practicable," it is clear that they are forgetting that India, whose economy never was, nor is now, comparable to that of Great Britain, was made to put with goods and services amounting to 1,700 crores of rupees in the course of five years. "India, he says, suffered inconvenience and privations, and of course the decline to do so. An attempt is being made also to build up Britain a case around the plea of inability to pay."

K whose economy is sounder than that of any other country in the world except U.S.A., whose export is twice what it was before the war, the topmost country was 1,200,000 tons which is far more than India from U.S.A. and Canada and which is itself lending out to countries like Greece, Austria and others, can hardly plead lack of 'ability to pay.' This is an absurd argument in view of considerable British assets in India itself and large assets in the form of ships, consignments, factories and other properties in the United Kingdom, which may be either transferred to India or pledged.

Who will believe that a country, which exported 800 million pounds worth of stuff in a year, cannot give 87 crores (85 million pounds) to India for repayment of what is essentially the currency reserve of the country and obligations of the Reserve Bank, which have to be returned. It is hoped that the position taken by official representatives of Britain will not incline to the oft repeated selfish plea of lack of 'ability to pay.'"

Communal Affairs

The Bombay Government have attempted to make punishable

with death and providing for trial by a special jury.

A League representative in the Punjab is dying out. Mr. Ghansharan, Member for Ferozepur in the Interim Government, said at a public meeting at Karachi: "Mahomed Rind, Rind and Mahomed of Gharni invaded India with armies composed of only a few thousands and yet were able to overpower lakhs of Hindus. God willing, a few lakhs of Muslims will yet overwhelm armies of Hindus."

The recent export of gunny bags from Ceylon to South Africa was referred to in a question put by Seth Govind Das and Mr. Manu Sabharwal in the Central Assembly.

America's Industrialisation A Menace To World

AMERICA'S industrialisation had become a menace to the world, said Mahatma Gandhi at a meeting on March 1, says a Sapa Reuter's message from New Delhi. Although the United States was the richest country in the world it had not banished poverty and degradation, because industry was concentrated in a few hands and the rest of the population was left to poverty and miseries. "The United States is a country which has imitated what was best in American and other Western countries but leave aside their 'attractive-looking but destructive policies.'"

Mahatma Gandhi said India should plan for the best possible utilisation of its whole manpower and the distribution of raw products inside India instead of exporting them and then re-buying the finished articles at high prices.

Pandit Nehru said that necessary representations were made by the Government of India through their representative in Ceylon, and at least about 311,000 gunny bags were shipped from Ceylon to South Africa while the representations of the Government of India were under consideration of the Government of Ceylon, the Government subsequently cancelled all outstanding business and prohibited the export of about 1,50,000 gunny bags to South Africa.

Seth Govind Das: How were these gunny bags exported in spite of our representative being in Ceylon?

Pandit Nehru: How can Mr. Das be expected to sit at the desk watching every shipment?

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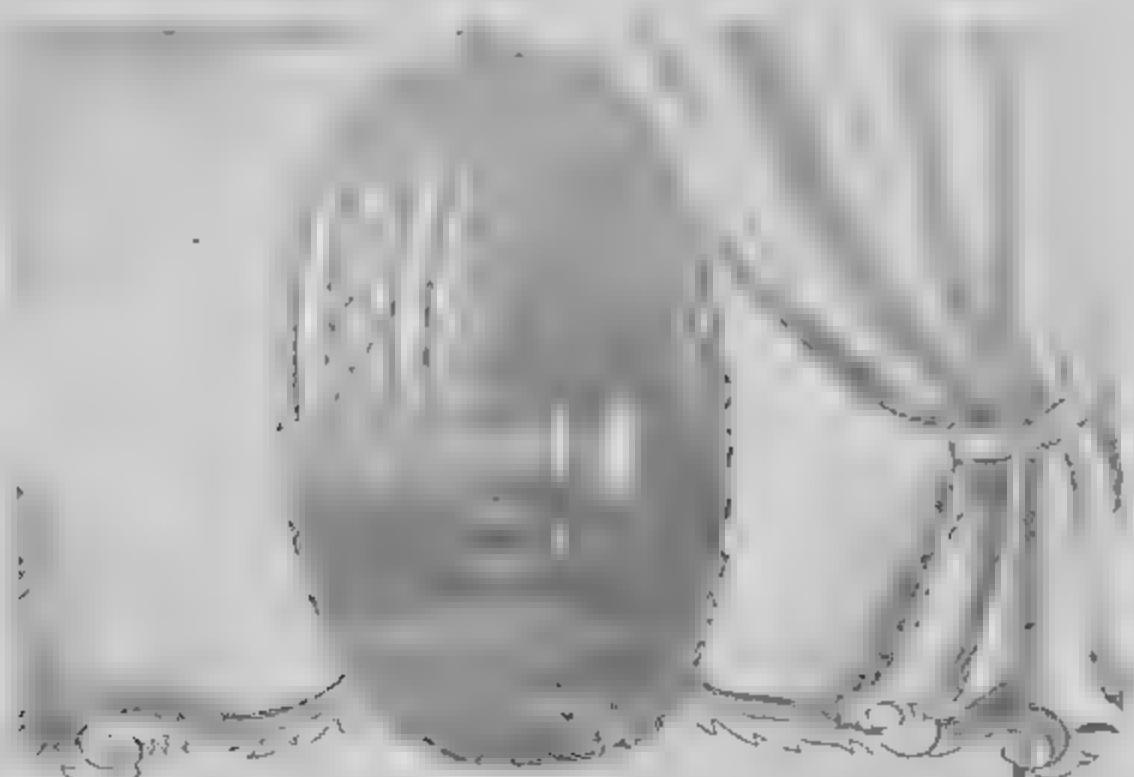
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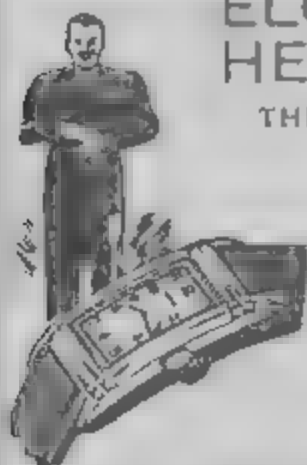
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INDIAN OPINION

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Indian Opinion

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Indian Education In Natal

AT the opening of the Natal Provincial Council on Thursday, March 6, the Administrator, Mr. D. E. Mitchell said that the educational facilities offered to Natal Indians were very much higher than in India itself. No fewer than 33,872 Indians had benefited under the school meals service during the financial year as compared with 2,515 in India. He said, "One would conclude from the Administrator's statement that because the educational facilities offered to Natal Indians are very much higher than in India, Indians should have no cause for complaint. Such an attitude seems far from correct. It may not South Africa be making comparisons with India today. Will she dare to do so tomorrow when India is free and will start making strides by leaps and bounds? We doubt if she will be able to keep pace with her. It is the boast of South Africa that she has reached the highest standard of civilisation. Natal, in particular is vociferous these days in the matter of preserving Western civilisation. Education is the basis of civilisation. Now will the Administrator say that the standard of Indian education in Natal is as it should be? Thanks to the authorities, it has improved a great deal since 1927, but, to put it in the mildest possible term, it is far from satisfactory."

"No fewer than 33,872 Indians had benefited under the school meals service during the financial year," said the Administrator. What a staggering figure! But the reply to that is that Indians attend schools not to satisfy the belly but for the development of the brain, and is it not more staggering to know that not less than 20,000

Indian children of school-going age have no schooling facilities and the number is augmenting year by year?

And when we speak comparatively why need we seek comparison with India? Why not compare the high standard with the low in South Africa? In doing so it will be seen that in the Natal Province where there are 155 Government schools for Europeans there are only 21 for Indians. Then while education for European children is compulsory up to standard VI and free up to standard X, for Indian children it has been made free only from this year up to standard IV, but even this, books are not free and that becomes a costly item for a poor family.

It will be interesting to note further that according to 1945 figures 32,037 European children were in Government schools as against only 5,453 Indian children. In Government-aided schools, on the other hand, there were 4,741 European children as against 25,718 Indian children, and it should be remembered, lest it might be asked what are Indians themselves doing for their own education, that most of the aided schools are provided by Indians, and the parents of the children attending those schools, besides having to pay school fees and for books, are constantly burdened with demands for small contributions for the maintenance of these schools.

If one were to compare what the Government has done for Indian education with what Indians have themselves done, the Government will have very little reason to be proud of its own achievement. To quote just a few glaring instances in the city of Durban alone, the Sastri College was built by Indians, the Hindu Tamil Institute was built by Indians and now the

new spacious two storey building of the Kathiawad Hindu Seva Samaj has been built by Indians. How very great the need for schools for Indian children is can well be judged from the fact that hundreds of children of school-going age had to be turned away for want of space even from the newly built Kathiawad Hindu Seva Samaj school.

Yet another fact that should be remembered is that 13.5 per cent of the Indian children who go to school reach only standard IV, which is the minimum standard of literacy. The chief reason for this is economic, viz., the increased cost of fees and books in the upper standards. Another reason is that several schools go as far as standard VI, and children passing out of these schools are unable to find place in schools which go further. Then there are the evil effects of the absence of compulsion on Indian children to attend school at 6 years of age and the overcrowding conditions of all Indian schools.

This woeful tale of Indian education in Natal does not end there. While there is a shocking lack of facilities for primary education for Indian children and hundreds are being turned away, the plight of those who have passed through the primary course is no better. They are knocking at the door in vain for admission for higher education. As will appear from the touching letter written by the Natal Indian Congress to the Director of Education. To be told, in the face of all this, that we are being treated better than in India, is the height of unkindness.

Welcome To The Royal Family

BEFORE our next week's issue is published Their Majesties the King and the Queen and Their Royal Highnesses the Princesses will have graced the past of Natal with their presence.

We take this opportunity according them a very warm and hearty welcome. It is a matter of deep pain to us that circumstances do not permit us to participate in the joyous celebrations of the great occasion. That does not, however, mean that we are not in sympathy with the Royal Family. If we are not true to ourselves we cannot be true to others. Our quarrel is with His Majesty's Ministers in South Africa. We are treated by them like step-children. The colour bar in this country keeps us ever conscious of our inferior status. Because of the pigment of our skin we are in law denied equality with the white man. It is a humiliation which our sense of self respect forbids us to put up with.

Placed as we are in this position of degradation, our natural appeal, firstly, is to His Majesty to bring home to His Majesty's Ministers the great injustice inflicted on us and the wisdom of removing it. Failing that, we can only beg our lot and pray to God Almighty for help and guidance. Their Majesties will no doubt realise that step-children if they are ill treated by their guardians, can feel no joy in life. That is the feeling that oppresses us and thousands of human beings in South Africa.

His Majesty's Ministers adamant that the colour bar must exist in this country. It is not in keeping with the principles of human freedom and human brotherhood, for which the last two Great Wars were fought. The colour bar is indefensible. That it may exist in practice by voluntary acceptance is understandable. In the eyes of the law it cannot exist. We have no quarrel with South Africa in its desire to safeguard Western civilisation. Far be it from us to think of turning,

South Africa into an Eastern country. Given the opportunity we have not lagged behind in adopting the Western standard of life. We have done so willingly and we shall continue to do so. But just as South Africa asserts its right to maintain Western civilisation, so have the coloured people in India their national self-respect, which is the fundamental right of every human being.

This is a controversy between South Africa and India, more Indians in South Africa are not South African nationals in the true sense of the term. The dispute can be settled by both sides meeting and discussing the matter. We have asked a very simple thing: the suspension of the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act, which is the immediate subject of controversy, and the calling of a round table conference between the representatives of South Africa and India.

If His Majesty can persuade the Ministers in South Africa to come to this comparatively insignificant request of the Indian community, Indians will ever gratefully remember His Majesty's act of kindness.

INDIAN EDUCATION IN NATAL

THE following is a copy of a letter addressed by the Indian Congress to the Director of Education, Pietermaritzburg.

Dear Sir,—As you are aware there are nearly 300 Indian students in Durban who have passed their Standard VI and for whom Sastri College has no accommodation.

This has presented a problem which has engaged the urgent and serious attention of Congress. We fully realise that the plight of these students is bound up with the problem of inadequate educational facilities for the Indian community, to overcome which long range planning is necessary. In this connection we intend submitting to you a report in the very near future.

However, we are strongly of the opinion that something should be done immediately for the students who did not gain admission whereby the position may be relieved. We are fully prepared to assist the Education Department in this matter and have already made earnest attempts, some with success, to obtain buildings where classes

If His Majesty graciously responds to the petition of the students of Britain by publicly proclaiming that the discrimination and injustice existing in this country is not in accordance with His Majesty's desire for freedom and equal rights for all his subjects, black and white alike, His Majesty's visit to South Africa will have been worthwhile and if South Africa is big enough to take the big step of eliminating the colour bar from the Union Statute Book, she will have done a unique honour to Their Majesties the King and Queen and Their Royal Highnesses the Princes. It will gladden the hearts of millions of people throughout the world, it will be a day of real and genuine rejoicing. Their Majesties' visit to South Africa will go down in the world history in golden letters and the blessings of all the oppressed people of the world will be showered upon them. To expect that this prayer of ours will be accepted is a forlorn hope. We shall, however, continue to pray and to bear the Cross until it is heard. We bear ill-will towards none, the least of all towards the Royal Family. May God be with them. May their brief sojourn be blessed with peace and happiness.

could be started for these students. Consequently, we place the following propositions before you for your immediate consideration and execution.

In response to our request the Coronation Krishna Sentinil Society has agreed to make available the K. K. Pillay Memorial Hall at Umgam, 60 pupils may be accommodated at the Umgam Government Indian School if certain of the infant classes are transferred to the K. K. Pillay Memorial Hall, which can be used as an annex. We suggest that at the Umgam School you begin as soon as possible a Standard VII class which would cater for those pupils who passed Standard VI at the Umgam and other schools in the vicinity.

We have been informed that accommodation is available for 40 pupils at the A. A. S. Moyes School, Sydenham. We suggest that another Standard VII class be started at this school.

We are also trying to obtain suitable premises in Clairwood. As soon as we succeed we shall inform you.

We would like to point out,

that we are ignorant of the number and perhaps grave difficulties with which your already over-burdened Depart-

General Sastri's Warning To Cape Indians

THE Prime Minister, replying to Dr V. L. Sbeerer (U. P., Durban Point), in the Union House of Assembly said that his attention had not been drawn to purchases of property by Indians from Europeans in the Cape Peninsula. He had not warned the Indian community that the land tenure provisions of the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act would be applied to the Cape when they made unfair purchases of property in predominantly European areas in the Cape Province.

He had, however, warned them against provoking the Government in this aspect by purchasing land in European areas.

ment will have to cope in order to comply with our request, but we feel that the situation facing us is an extraordinary one and

calls for extraordinary action in order that at least some of these pupils who have been turned away from Sastri College are not denied education to which they are legitimately entitled. We are confident that you will not hesitate to make these efforts.

As dozens of parents are daily enquiring us to what we are doing about the students concerned, an early reply from you will be very greatly appreciated by us.

A CORRECTION

We regret there was a stupid typographical error left in our last week's issue in the news appearing under the caption "British Premier's Sister Criticises S.A. Colour Bar." The words in brackets were left out from the following paragraph:

Our object is to suggest to the King that he should publicly proclaim in South Africa that the discrimination and injustice existing there is not in accordance with (his desire for freedom and equal rights for all) his subjects, black and white, alike.

JOINT DECLARATION OF RIGHTS OF AFRICANS AND INDIANS

At a joint meeting of the representatives of the African National Congress, the Natal Indian Congress and the Transvaal Indian Congress, held in Johannesburg on Sunday, March 9, a resolution was passed, calling for full franchise, equal economic and industrial rights, the removal of non-European land restrictions, free and compulsory education, freedom of movement and the abolition of the pass laws.

The statement is signed by Dr. A. B. Xuma, president of the African National Congress, Dr. G. M. Nkomo, president of the Natal Indian Congress, and Dr. F. M. Dadoo, president of the Transvaal Indian Congress.

The following is the text of the resolution: "This joint meeting between the representatives of the African National Congress and the Natal and Transvaal Indian Congresses, having fully realised the urgency of co-operation between the non-European peoples and other democratic forces, for the attainment of basic human rights and full citizenship for all sections of the South African people, has resolved that a joint declaration of co-operation is imperative for the working out of a practical basis of co-operation between the national organisations of the non-European peoples.

"This joint meeting declares its sincerest conviction that for the future progress, goodwill, good race relations and for the building of a united, greater and free South Africa, full franchise rights must be extended to all sections of the South African people, and to this end, this joint meeting pledges the fullest co-operation between the African and Indian peoples and appeals to all democratic and freedom loving citizens of South Africa to support fully and co-operate in this struggle for: (1) full franchise, (2) equal economic and industrial rights and opportunities and the recognition of African Trade Unions under the Industrial Coordination Act, (3) the removal of all land restrictions against non-Europeans and the provision of adequate housing facilities for all non-Europeans, (4) guaranteeing freedom of movement and the abolition of pass laws against the African people, and the Provincial barriers against the Indians and (5) the removal of all discriminatory and oppressive legislations from the Statute Book."

BRITISH PROPOSAL TO TRANSFER POWER TO INDIA

DEBATE IN HOUSE OF COMMONS

A Cardinal Error

The House of Commons, declining to accept the British Government's policy of transferring power from Britain to India by June, 1948, was divided in the House of Commons on Thursday, March 7, by 137 votes to 195 votes.

The Government's motion approving its policy was carried with 195 votes.

Sir Stafford Cripps, President of the Board of Trade, and a member of the Cabinet Mission to India, moved the Government resolution on India in the House of Commons.

In moving "that this House takes note of the statement on India made on February 20, by the Prime Minister, and approves the policy set out therein," Sir Stafford said that the Government was committed by accumulated influences and facts to give freedom to India as soon as Indians were able to decide upon the new constitution.

"The British people have, by precept and example, done much to inspire Indians to go forward to achieve their own self governing democracy," Sir Stafford added.

The early part of his address recapitulated the history of British rule in India.

While he was doing so, Mr. Winston Churchill commented loudly to his colleagues on the front bench.

Sir Stafford said that the fixing of a time limit, would give the various Indian parties an opportunity to sink their differences and come together.

"We have now reached the final and most critical stage. We will have to take risks as to the effect of our action upon our own country, upon India, and upon the rest of the world.

We must not let fear of differences prevent us from doing what we believe right. We must not fail, either ourselves, or India, through lack of decision at this critical time.

"We are convinced that if the Indian parties at once set themselves the task, they can arrive at a decision upon their new constitution by the date named."

Sir Stafford went on to say that continued friendship with India could not grow in an atmosphere of restraint. "The only basis for our future friendship is absolute freedom of choice on both sides."

He told the House that as long as Britain remained in India, they would do all they could to assist.

"We believe this latest statement we made of our intentions, will do something to help bring Indian communities and their leaders face to face with reality."

The chief speaker for the Conservative Opposition was Sir John Anderson, a former Governor of Bengal. He said that the Government had made a cardinal error in handing over, for all practical purposes, executive powers to representative bodies without being first assured that steady progress had been made towards a satisfactory constitutional settlement. He said that the Government was making an even greater blunder now.

As he saw it, the argument for a fixed date being set, was that it would jolt people into a sense of reality. He thought, however, that it would have just the opposite effect.

"It holds a definite prospect to a party, that if they can only dig in their toes and stand fast, a point of time will be reached at which they will be free to pursue their own course."

Another objection cited by Sir John was that Britain by fixing a date, had thrown away her bargaining powers for the discharge of certain solemn obligations.

"I say we are not at all going to do a thing which will make us weaker than we are to-day," he said.

After dealing with the various Government organizations that would have to be transferred to the Government of India, Sir John said, "there is the whole question of defence, with which, of course, communications are vitally bound up. In 1948, defence, after we go, not to be provided for."

"If we are to transfer to a single authority, that is a comparatively simple matter. But how are we to ensure, if India is to be broken up, that each unit shall be provided by the fixed date with adequate defence services?"

Sir John concluded by expressing the fear that "what should stand out as a great act of magnanimity and self-angstion may go down in history as a surrender and a betrayal."

He moved the Opposition amendment to the Government's proposal.

A Liberal member, Mr. Clement Davies, said that to remove power from British hands was not to take it to the Indians. The Government's declaration would bring about unity rather than division.

The Government had not yet considered to whom power

should be handed, he said. It was short and a poor substitute placed before the people of Britain and India at the earliest possible moment.

Opposition's Dissent

The leader of the Opposition, Mr. Churchill, opened the second day of the debate on India in the House of Commons.

He said this was the first time the official Opposition had expressed its dissent from the Government on India policy by a formal vote.

He recalled that after the refusal of the Cripps offer in 1942 he had stated that this offer still stands in its full scope and integrity. "That is where I stand now," he said.

Before its latest pronouncement, the Government had already departed from Sir Stafford's offer in three major aspects.

"It is the Government which has broken away from the agreement between the parties, which had an long substance," he said.

"It is not the Conservative Party who have in anyway gone back upon our faithful undertaking."

Complete Disaster

"The Government of Pandit Nehru had been a complete disaster," Mr. Churchill said. Freedom had been restricted in India since the Government had come into power. It was a mistake to entrust the Government of India to the leader of the Hinduas. "Pandit Nehru has good reason to be most bitter of any connection between India and the British Commonwealth."

Regretting that no statement had been made as to the reasons for the resignation of the Viceroy, Lord Wavell, Mr. Churchill said, "It is an unwholesome way of conducting public affairs in time of peace, that a Minister or a Viceroy, should be dismissed or should resign and not feel it necessary to self-respect, to explain to the nation the reason of the departure."

"I do not think that the time limit, June, 1948, gives the new Viceroy, Admiral Lord Mountbatten, a fair chance."

Is it not merely "operation scuttle" that this distinguished officer has been dispatched?"

Contrasting the Government's policy in India with that in Palestine, Mr. Churchill said two bottles of powerful medicine are being prepared, but they are being kept in the hands of the Government.

Recalling that the Government had headed the Palestine

to the United Nations, it is difficult to resist the feeling that the same train of reasoning applied on a far greater scale and with a greater force, to India?

Having failed in its Indian policy, was not the Government bound in honour, decency and common sense to seek the aid of a wider instrument and authority?

It was certain that the last chance of agreement in India had been extinguished by the Government's action in a time limit, Mr. Churchill said.

"This is inviting the Indian leaders to take advantage of the time limit that is fit to peg out their claims."

Men Of Straw

The political parties in India did not represent the great Indian people.

Handing over the Government of India to these so-called political classes, you are handing over to men of straw, of whom, in a few years, no trace will remain."

"It is with deep grief that I watch the clattering down of the British Empire with all its glories and all the services it has rendered to mankind."

The Minister of Defence, Mr. A. V. Alexander, said "It may seem that Mr. Churchill's speech this afternoon has been the principal factor in preventing the sides coming together."

Referring to Mr. Churchill's attack on Pandit Nehru, Mr. Alexander said if Pandit Nehru and his colleagues were given a fair opportunity to co-operate with the other parties, they would bring India through her present difficulties to power, prosperity and peace.

What the British people wanted was a long term standing friendship with the Indian people.

For one in a position of responsibility and authority get up in the House and talk this way of leaders of this kind, was fatal.

Mr. Alexander, who broke off to complain of constant interruption from the Opposition, said that it was said that if Britain had the number of troops in India, it would have been a threat of force. That was what was intended to be conveyed.

"I am as certain as I stand at this bar, that if we had followed a procedure like that, we would certainly have been on the road to ruin."

"The possibility could always be canvassed by those who did not want an immediate full and

free selling movement of trying to hold it in down."

The desire of the Government was that the two Indian parties should still come together, Mr. Alexander said.

We have been doing our best since December 1945, at least to see whether they will come together.

In the meantime, the services of the Indian National Congress and the Muslim League have been in touch.

Indian Question Exploited By Nationalist Candidate

Dr. R. G. Jansoo, the Nationalist candidate in the election for the Punjab Legislative Assembly at Wolaranwala, pays particular attention to the Indian problem in his election manifesto published in *Die Transvaal*.

The manifesto calls for, among other things:

(1) Repeal of the Indian Amato Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act, passed by Parliament in 1940 and the passing of legislation which will separate Europeans and Indians.

(2) No franchise for Indians. An inquiry into all possible means such as registration to decrease "the fast growing Indian population even if it does mean the spending of a sum of money."

(3) A drastic revision of the tariff of commodities supplied to Indian traders and an increase of quotas to European traders.

Effective propaganda in

(4) Withdrawal from the United Nations. "If they continue to meddle in our domestic

(5) The appointment of a combined Select Committee of the Senate and the House of Assembly to draft a scheme for South Africa's whole colored problem, based on the principle of separation and the separate development of the different races.

difficult. If we do not take this action now, the position is bound to deteriorate.

"I hope and pray, that we shall all in this country, do our best to see that this action is received and acted upon in such a spirit as to bring the two great nations in India together.

"I so, I can promise them that it will always be the intention and, I think, practice of whatever government is in power.

ultimate goal is, to deal with them as all the world's people.

almost consideration, and to give them whatever help it is within our resources to give."

On the question of Defence, Mr. Alexander said, "After June 1948, we shall be glad if, in the course of the treaty we hope to make on the transfer of power, they will agree with us to co-operate in that respect subject to limitations imposed on each party by membership of the United Nations.

Referring to Mr. Churchill's comparison of Palestine and India and his remark about a time limit being set for India and not for Palestine, Mr. Alexander said "I find it difficult to understand why he asked the question that way.

"One would think the circumstances were exactly the same. Are they?"

He said that with regard to Palestine, the reference to the next United Nations Assembly was, in one respect, a warning and that was in effect a time limit when the United Nations made their decision upon matters laid before them.

Press Comment In India

The *Times of India*, commenting on Mr. Churchill's suggestion in the House of Commons during the debate on India, that the issue should be referred to the United Nations, said "It is obviously an issue which India has to decide for herself and it is no longer a subject for British initiative or representation."

The *Indian Express* said "The India policy of the Indian Government once and for all."

The *Bombay Chronicle* said an important feature of the debate was the anxiety to see the Government's policy on the immediate settlement with India as early before June 1948, as possible.

The British-owned *Statesman* said, "The Government has to get the information they had been seeking. Mr. Churchill said 'What is going to happen between now and June 1948, is no clearer than it was.'

India's First Ambassador To China

MR. K. P. S. MENON, the first Indian Ambassador to China, was appointed today. He will be brought the greetings of the Indian people and the Government of India. His appointment is a landmark in the development of India's foreign policy, which is now being moulded into shape by Pandit Nehru.

ANTI-INDIAN MEETING AT POTCHEFSTROOM

One of the speakers at a meeting at Potchefstroom on Wednesday, March 5, when the Branch of the European Consumers' Association was formed, was Mr. Hubert Van Der Merwe, M.P. for the Transvaal.

Mr. Van Der Merwe said the world was awakening to the great truth that it was not only South Africa which was being threatened by the Indians. There was a great movement in the Orient which was trying to deprive Europe of its lead in cultural and economic world influence.

Mr. Van Der Merwe added that any elements in any country which tried to undermine the Government of that country would not be tolerated.

The meeting was held in the Potchefstroom Town Hall, which was crowded with people. It was held in a room which was given over to the purpose.

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At Klerksdorp

At Klerksdorp, a meeting of the European Consumers' Association was held on Saturday, March 5, when the Branch of the European Consumers' Association was formed. The meeting was held in a room which was given over to the purpose.

Nineteen towns and villages were represented, including Schweizer Reneke, Klerksdorp, Potchefstroom, Van der Merwe, Christiaan, and others.

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Professor F. J. Labuschagne, of the Potchefstroom University College, said that the problem was of national significance. They had adopted a policy which was not to resort to violence, but to keep within the law.

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UP Farmers

The following resolution was passed by the farmers' group of the United Party has no quarrel with the Government.

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SOME IMPORTANT QUESTIONS

THE following are some important questions answered by Gandhiji during his Bengal tour

Q. It has been our experience that a worker becomes powerful after some time, how are the rest of his co-workers to keep him in check? In other words, how are we to preserve the democratic character of the

same human frailty and so long as we do not know a single completely non-violent organisation in the world, we cannot know the utterly democratic character of an organisation because, as can be definitely proved, no perfect democracy is possible without perfect non-violence at the back of it. The question would be proper if non-cooperation was violent as it often, if not invariably, is. Claiming to know somewhat from experience the non-violent character of non-cooperation, I suggest that given a good cause, non-violent non-cooperation must succeed and an organisation can suffer through offering non-violent non-cooperation. The questioner labours under the difficulty of having experience of non-cooperation, at best partially non-violent, at its worst barefaced violence sailing under the name of non-violence. The pages of the *Hindustan* and *Young India* are full of evidence to the contrary.

Q. If non-violence is a policy, non-violence being partial or totally absent. During my long experience, I also noticed that those who complain of others being ambitious of holding power are no less ambitious themselves, and when it is a question of disarming between half a dozen and six, it becomes a thankless task.

Q. In almost all villages there are parties and factions. When we want to do anything, whether we wish it or not, we become involved in local power politics. How can we steer clear of this difficulty? Should we try to bypass such parties and carry on work with the help of outside workers? Our experience has been that such work becomes entirely contingent upon outside aid and crumbles down as soon as the latter is withdrawn. What should we do then to develop local initiative and foster local co-operation?

A. As for India that parties and factions are to be found in the villages as they are to be found in our cities. And when power politics enters our villages with less thought of the welfare of the villages and more of using them for increasing the parties' own power, this becomes a hindrance to the progress of the villages rather than a help. I would say that whatever be the consequence, we must make use as much as possible of local help and if we are free from the taint of power politics, we are not likely to go wrong. Let us educate our men and women from the village level upwards.

which are the backbone of the country. The process of remembering our neglect will induce patience. I have never gone to a single village which is devoid of an honest worker. We fail to find one in a village of 1000 people. In our villages, of course, we are to steer clear of local politics and thus we shall learn to do what we accept help from all parties and no parties, wherever it is really good. I would regard it as fatal for success to by-pass villagers. As I knew this very difficulty, I have tried rigidly to observe the rule of our village, one worker, except that where he or she does not know Bengali, an interpreter's help has been given. I can only say that this system has so far answered the purpose. I must, therefore discount your experience. I would further suggest that we have got into the vicious

habit of coming to hasty conclusions. Before pronouncing such a sweeping condemnation as is implied in the sentence that 'work becomes entirely contingent upon outside aid and crumbles down as soon as the latter is withdrawn,' I would go so far as to say that even a few years' experience of residence in a single village, trying to work through local workers, should not be regarded as conclusive proof that work could not be done through and by local workers. The contrary is obviously true. It now becomes unnecessary for me to examine the last sentence in detail. I can categorically say to the principal worker: 'If you have any outside help, get rid of it. Work singly, courageously, intelligently with all the local help you can get and, if you do not succeed, blame only yourself and no one else and nothing else.'

PLEA FOR JUSTICE TO INDIANS

After by the right Rev. Bishop D. J. Ferguson Davis, which appeared in the *Mental Mercury* a little before the referendum on granting Indians qualified Municipal franchise was taken in Durban:

Some Indians have an exaggerated language as to have some extent. It is up to us that we must act justly.

I do not regard Indians as faultless either here or in India, but in addition to our desire to deal justly we have to consider the changed condition of the world at the present time—not as it was 50 or 20 or even 10 years ago.

I happen to have been in contact with the change, particularly in Asia.

The great problem of the present world is known by the majority of those who will vote in the referendum on Friday. I would therefore like to draw their attention to the following facts:

- (a) The present world war in its related about nine times the amount that the whole of South Africa did from all sides. Although we South Africans did all we South African Indians to be in the fighting part of the Army (which I believe to be the main reason why more did not join up) Indians in India were allowed in fighting parts of the Army, Navy and Air Force, from Brigadier downwards. South Africans who were near them in the war told me that they were fine fighting men. Two and a half million Indians were enlisted.
- (b) There were 6,000,000 Indians employed on war production work.

(c) India is the world's largest producer of goods in America. The second largest are in India.

(d) India already builds cargo vessels. She has entered into an agreement with one of the best ship building firms on the Clyde to send men to India to build vessels of 20,000 tons there. Is she likely to stop at cargo and passenger vessels?

(e) India was not used to build aeroplanes during the war. She has now begun a scheme by which in 19 years she will have all the aeroplanes she needs for civil and military work.

It is fairly easy to stir up race hatred, it is not so easy to calm it down again. The lesson of the last 100 years is that race hatred is a very great force in producing war.

Any lack of justice in our dealings with Indians in this can try make war ultimately more probable. Whoever else wins, war is always a disaster to the countries engaged in it.

It is because of our desire to deal justly that we want to give Indians something to make up for what we took from them. We are not going to give them more than they are entitled to. We are going to give them what they are entitled to. We are going to give them what they are entitled to. We are going to give them what they are entitled to.

India League Of America

Premises Continued
Support To S.A. Indians

MR Richard J. Walsh, chairman of the India League of America, said on March 6, according to Renter's message from Delhi: "The League continues to support the case of the Indians of South Africa in accordance with the spirit of the resolution adopted by the United Assembly. As the organization consists largely of Americans long devoted to the cause of Indian independence the India League is also committed to equality for Indians everywhere." "The League successfully seeks to win citizenship and equality for Indians in the United States. It leads its aid at long distances equally to the South African Indian communities in their struggle for their rights. The League will support any and all non-violent measures."

"It is unhappily apparent that the Government of South Africa is not yet disposed to resolve the dispute between India and South Africa in the spirit of the resolution adopted by the United Nations," says the India League of America in a statement issued at New York on March 3. The League executive committee met on March 3, to discuss the resolution submitted by the Natal Indian Congress to General Smuts requesting that a round table conference between the Indian and South African Governments should be held to implement the United Nations General Assembly's decision on South Africa.

organization? We have found that non-cooperation with the party in question does not help. The work of the organisation itself suffers.

A. This is not your experience alone but it is almost universal. Love of power is usual in man and it often only dies with his death. Therefore, it is difficult for co-workers to keep him in check, if only because they are more likely to be the same.

ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE

A EUROPEAN VIEW OF
BOYCOTT OF ROYAL VISIT

TO THE EDITOR "INDIAN OPINION"

SIR,—Believing that your readers will not object to hearing the views of a European who has supported the resistance movement, I would like to make known through your columns what I think about boycotting the Royal visit. In expressing these views I represent no organized body of European opinion, but merely myself; and it is only the desire to foster good feeling between the different sections of Indians that make me write, for it is with sorrow that I observe this comparatively unimportant event being as a divisive force in the Indian community at a time when South African Indians should be strongly united.

My own opinions are: (i) That if a deputation of Indians were to be allowed to put their disabilities before the King there would be no need to boycott the celebrations.

(2) That, as such a deputation is not likely to be allowed, Indians would do well to refrain from attending all functions not on account of any disrespect to Their Majesties, but because thousands of smiling, flag-waving

Indians will give them the impression that all is well with the Indian community.

(3) That it is in accordance with human nature to desire to join in joyful celebrations and that therefore some Indians may not be sufficiently self sacrificing to refrain from taking part—and some may even believe it right to do so.

(4) That those of us who think that the Royal visit should be boycotted must allow others to hold the opposite view, and while taking every opportunity to place our opinions before them, we must in no way attempt to coerce them. Any violence perpetrated by any section or individual of the Indian community against anyone at all will bring more disgrace upon Indians than the recent franchise referendum must eventually bring upon South African Europeans.

I earnestly hope that those who read these words may not only be lawless themselves but vigilant to prevent the spread of ill-will and to foster the spirit of truth and non-violence.

F. M. BARR

Things In General

India League On S.A. Legislation

A special delegate conference of the India League, organized by the South African Committee of the League, will be held in London on March 16 to consider the South African Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act. An invitation to the delegates says "The Union of South Africa is a self-governing Dominion entitled to pass legislation without let or hindrance from outside. But the people of Britain and the world are equally entitled to declare their opposition towards legislation which violates the law of civilized nations embodied in the Charter of the United Nations."

Gandhiji Repudiates News Agency Report

Gandhiji, who is at present in Patna (Bihar) denied a news agency report carried by some Indian newspapers, that he would "fast unto death" if he did not find a change of heart among the Hindus of Bihar, where widespread Hindu-Muslim riots occurred last November.

Gandhiji said he had no intention of fasting now, but added that circumstances might arise of which he had no knowledge as yet, in which he might be compelled to undertake a fast.

Congress Working Committee Meets In New Delhi

The Congress Working Committee which met in New Delhi last week passed a resolution inviting the Muslim League to nominate representatives to meet Congress representatives and consider the situation which has arisen from the British decision to transfer power to Indian hands by June 1948 and devise means of meeting the situation.

In its resolution the committee declared that if the transfer of power is to be smooth, it should be preceded by the recognition in practice of the Interim Government as a Dominion Government with effective control over the services and administration, and with the Viceroy functioning as its constitutional head.

The Central Government must consequently function as a unit with full authority and responsibility," said the resolution.

bilily," said the resolution.

"In view of the tragic events in the Punjab it is necessary to find a way out which involves the least amount of compulsion," the resolution continues.

"This would necessitate the division of the Punjab into two provinces so that the predominantly Moslem party may be separated from the predominantly non-Moslem party."

The Committee also welcomed the British decision to transfer power by June 1948.

Congress Volunteer Corps

The Congress Working Committee has passed a resolution inviting all provincial Congress Committees to take immediate steps to re-organise their volunteer organisations. The Committee appointed Shah Nawaz Khan, who held the rank of Major-General in the Japanese-sponsored Indian National Army during the war, to a Provincial Committee to organise and train volunteers who will be known as "Congress Sava Dal."

First Public Relations Officer

Mr. Andler, who arrived in London to take up his appointment as the first Public Relations Officer in London for the Government of India.

Dr. Naicker And Dr. Dadoo Leave For India

Dr. G. M. Naicker, president of the Natal Indian Congress, and Dr. Y. M. Dadoo, president of the Transvaal Indian Congress, left by air on Wednesday from Johannesburg for India to attend the All-Asia Conference which meets in Delhi on March 26.

Questions In Parliament On Indians In The Union

In the House of Assembly, the Acting Minister Of The Interior, told Mr. J. S. Marwick (Doms. Pietermaritzburg) that the tabulation of the 1946 census was not yet complete and he could not, therefore, say definitely the total number of Indians residing in the Union. Preliminary population figures showed there were 2,825,341 Asians in the Union, including Indians, Chinese and other Asiatic races.

The number of Indians who may at present be residing illegally in the Union cannot be estimated, said the Acting Minister of the Interior in reply to another question. Under various condensation schemes 1,518 Indians who entered the country illegally had been allowed to remain in the Union. Of this number 1,033 were living in Natal.

The Late Mr. M. Khandaria

The sad and sudden death, through heart failure, of Mr. Mohanlal Khandaria, an old and respected resident of Louis Trichardt, took place on Tuesday morning at his residence. The late Mr. Khandaria, who was about 68 years of age, had come to this country over forty-five years ago. He commenced his career as a book-keeper and ended it as a very successful businessman. He was the founder of the very old and well-known firm of Messrs. Mahla and Khandaria in Louis Trichardt, which is now known as Messrs. M. Khandaria & Co. He took a keen interest in public affairs and played a prominent part in the social, political and educational activities in that district. He was, in fact, the live wire in all those activities until he breathed his last. He was keenly interested also in the struggle for India's independence and was watching the trend of events most enthusiastically. The late Mr. Khandaria was of a very happy and congenial disposition and had won the hearts of all who came in touch with him. He has left a gap in the life of Louis Trichardt district, which will be very difficult to fill. He leaves behind his two grown-up sons, who have been successfully conducting the business establishment of their father, and a married daughter and a number of relatives. We extend to them our deepest sympathy in the irreparable loss sustained by them.

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No. — VOL. XLV

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INDIAN OPINION

MAMATHA GANUHI
IN 1947

Indian Opinion

FRIDAY, 15th MARCH, 1947

'Mercury' On Pandit Nehru's Gesture

LOSTING Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru, the *Natal Mercury*, in the course of a lead-in article in its issue of March 15, reminds the Indian in South Africa once again that in this country "he can choose either to be an Indian national subject to all the disabilities of the alien, or he can declare himself a Union national with all the potential advantages of that status." What the *Natal Mercury* fails to see is that the Indian in South Africa has had no choice of his own. Whether he asked it or not he had to accept what was chosen for him and the right to choose for him was vested in the White rulers. This is a fact which cannot be refuted. Had the Indian been treated as a Union national, which was one of the main points in the Capetown Agreement, there would have been no cause for complaint. The actual fact is that the Indian in South Africa is not only not treated as a Union national but he is treated worse than an alien. An alien can at least after a time become naturalised and then he becomes a full fledged Union national enjoying all the advantages of that status. Not so with the Indian. He remains just what he is. "Potential advantages" is a dream never to be realised in his case. More than a half a century ago the Indian cherished that dream but what has happened? No sooner was he seen making the slightest progress than his wings were clipped in the shape of restrictive legislation, which has culminated in the passing of the Asiatic Act, a measure which aims at reducing him to the status of a helot. It is a matter of painful surprise to us that the White rulers of this country, at whose mercy we are placed, do not, or rather, do not want to appreciate this simple fact. The *Natal Mercury* and those who think like it do not

seem to realise that Indians have the same feelings and the same sense of self respect as they have.

India has undergone sufficient travail to require a homily preached to her on the simple truth, that it is better to have friends than to make enemies in the world. If any body is in dire need of learning that lesson South Africa undoubtedly is. She will be making a fatal mistake in treating India with contempt as she is doing instead of befriending her. Let it not be regarded as a threat when we say that it is not wise for South Africa to ride a high horse. We say it in the friendliest spirit because we feel for South Africa as any South African can claim to feel. For, after all, she is to thousands of Indians the land of their birth and to as many the land of their adoption.

India Not At Fault

It is not right for the *Natal Mercury* to accuse India of imposing sanctions and recasting the High Commissioner for India long before the South African Indian problem was discussed at U.N.O. It should not be forgotten that before the Asiatic Act was passed both Indian and Indians in South Africa begged the Union Government on bended knees to call a round table conference and to postpone the passing of the legislation until after the conference. It was only when all our importunities were treated with contempt and the legislation was rushed through in the teeth of the strongest opposition of the whole of India that India was obliged to take the most painful step of recalling the High Commissioner and of terminating trade relations with South Africa. That was the least she could do to demonstrate her strong feeling of resentment against the great insult so callously hurled at the

whole Indian nation. She did so fully conscious of the consequences Indians in South Africa would have to suffer. If India has imposed sanctions South Africa is infuriated by a boycott of Indian traders. If Indians are frightened of the boycott South Africa has felt the pinch of the sanctions much more than she wishes to admit. The move to boycott Indian traders and the feeling of unrestrained anger on the part of a section of the Europeans of South Africa is the reaction to that pinch. It is a hopeful sign if South Africa realises that neither of the countries concerned can benefit from the methods that are being employed. But one further fact will have to be realised by South Africa, and that is, that it will not pay South Africa to callously trample under her foot the sentiments of a whole nation of four hundred millions people.

Hand Of Friendship

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has now stretched the hand of friendship to South Africa, which fact, we are glad to note, the *Natal Mercury* has appreciated. "Such that has happened in South Africa since the U.N.O. resolution was passed," Pandit Nehru has said, "has irritated Indian public opinion." To this the *Natal Mercury* retorts: "Has he (Pandit Nehru) ever paused to consider the embarrassment that has been caused to the Union Government by the speeches and actions of extremists in both India and the Union?" The Union Government has no doubt suffered embarrassment for what the civilised world has proclaimed and what enlightened South Africa feels to be an unjust and undemocratic act. But as against that, is the outraged feelings of the whole Indian community in South Africa and India, and the mental, physical and economic sufferings the Indians in South Africa, both men and women, have undergone to be discounted? In so far as

sufferings go, admittedly, the balance is in our favour. But will any useful purpose be served by recounting those things?

We agree with the *Natal Mercury* that some means of discussing the Indian problem in an atmosphere different from that which now exists has to be found. "It will never be found," says the *Natal Mercury*, so long as India retains sanctions and refuses to allow her High Commissioner to return to this country." The question is how is the Union Government going to respond? It surely does not expect India to fall prostrate at her feet before it condescends to speak. The least it is expected to do is to suspend the Asiatic Act and simultaneously with that and with the calling of a round table conference, which must be between representatives of both the Governments, sanctions are bound to be withdrawn and we will revert to the position as it existed before the legislation was passed. These, in our opinion, are the minimum terms which require to be fulfilled for the calling of a round table conference. India has already climbed down, no matter what may be said by the *Natal Mercury*, as to South Africa, we do not think South Africa ought to suffer any loss of prestige by adopting measures to remedy a wrong done by her. She will doubtless lose her prestige by trying to justify that wrong and the more she tries to justify it the more damage she will cause to her prestige. But prestige should not be allowed to hinder the performing of any good, just and righteous act.

A Ray Of Hope

The atmosphere in South Africa is becoming gloomier as days go by. God alone knows where it will end. If it is allowed to continue in its present course the end will be disastrous not only to South Africa but to the whole world. There is, however, still a ray of hope in the dark and gloomy horizon when we have God-fearing friends of humanity like the Bishop of Natal, the Right Rev. Dr. L. M. Fisher, whose speech at the Maritzburg Rotary Club comes to us as a God-send. We commend the speech to both Europeans and Indians

Press Boycott Of Royal Garden Party

THE following is culled from the Natal Daily News Star column dated March 18.

...on Royal the Royal ... of the ... authorities ...

The Natal Indian Congress has been rebuked from all sides for their resolution to refrain from participating in the celebrations of the Royal Visit. Now here we have an instance where journalists have boycotted the Royal Garden Party given

THE INDIAN OUTSIDE INDIA

THE Natal Mercury in its issue of March 18, writes in the above caption.

They (the Indians) cannot have it

... ..

There are not the words of General Smuts or the South African Government. They are the words of the Indian High Commissioner in London.

In a speech Pandit Nehru said that an intervention in the South African problem sprang from humanitarian standards and prestige. This new approach of India to the problem of the Indian outside India, if it is sincere, may well be followed by important developments, particularly as Pandit Nehru is a member of the Union Government. The Indian Government's refusal to discuss the South African problem without any consideration of prestige. That can only mean that Pandit Nehru has abandoned the position he took up last year, when he said the Indian Government would refuse to negotiate with South Africa unless the Indian Act passed by the Union Parliament was repealed.

The economic sanctions imposed by India against South Africa even if they have done the Union some small harm, is a very small price to pay for good. And the Indian trading community in South Africa are

by the Administrator, because they took offence over the treatment meted out to them. Can it be possible to be magnified and applied to Indians? How would it look? Does it not appear that Indians, who have been insulted by the Union Government by inflicting on them an obnoxious piece of legislation and by crushing their national self-respect, have far more weightier grounds to boycott the Royal Visit than these journalists? We have much to learn yet as to the value and the preservation of self-respect and national honour. Europeans look down upon Indians in South Africa because they deserve to be looked down upon. If they wish them to look up to them they will have to show by their deeds that they value self-respect above all else.

becoming frightened at the spread of the boycott movement against them. In the end neither of the countries concerned can benefit from the methods that are being employed. It is all very well for Pandit Nehru to say that much that has happened in South Africa since the U.N.O. resolution was passed has lifted Indian public opinion. Has he ever paused to consider the embarrassment that has been caused to the Union Government by the speeches and actions of extremists in both India and the Union? Some means of discussing the Indian problem in an atmosphere different from that which now exists has to be found. It will never be found so long as India retains sanctions and refuses to allow her High Commissioner to return to this country. Sanctions were imposed, it should be remembered, long before the South African Indian problem was discussed in the U.N.O. and Mr. A. B. Xuma, the Indian High Commissioner, was sent to India and India as a protest against the Union Act. If a South African really means what he says about the restoration of prestige not being allowed to interfere with discussions, surely his first step should be to suspend sanctions and ask Mr. Deshmukh to go back to South Africa.

If this was done India could not be accused of climbing down. What might be said is that the course of events inside and outside India had compelled India to take a more realistic view of the whole position. If South Africa cannot afford to quarrel with the rest of the world neither can

India, who in the trying years that are ahead of her will need all the support and sympathy she can find. The longer discussions between India and South Africa are postponed the more difficult the situation will become. Pandit Nehru is, apparently, prepared to be accommodating and if he is he will find General Smuts not unreasonable. It might, for instance, be possible to call a conference between representative South African Indians and the Union Government, with the Indian Government sending observers. "Representative Indians" does not necessarily mean taking the local Indian

Congress as the sole voice. In South Africa Indian Indians for anything nearer than to do it was I be necessary for India to suspend sanctions and send her High Commissioner back. The alternative is for the South African Government to press on with the programme of Indian education to which they are pledged and allow the South African Indians to accept the position as Pandit Nehru has plainly stated. The Indian in a country can choose to be a citizen or a foreigner, but not to be a citizen and a foreigner at the same time. I am at all times an Indian because I am a national with all the political advantages of the status.

See The above article in our leading article.—Ed.,

THOUGHTFUL SPEECH BY BISHOP OF NATAL

ON RACE RELATIONS

"SOUTH AFRICA cannot have it both ways with regard to its Indian population. Either they are Union Nationals with a right to fair representation, or they are not Union Nationals, in which case they have every right to appeal to the Indian Government or any other nation which will lend them support."

This was one of the main points in a speech on race relations made by the Bishop of Natal, the Right Rev. Dr. L. N. ... when he addressed Wartburg Rotarians at their weekly luncheon on March 15.

Dr. Fisher said that race relations were not only a national question, they were a world problem. Unfortunately widespread bitterness on all sides clouded men's minds and prevented it from being solved.

It was often claimed that South Africa was a White man country. If the phrase meant a country where Europeans could make their permanent homes and maintain a European standard of life it was true.

But nothing could alter the fact that South Africa had never been, and never could be exclusively, a European country.

South Africa was a land of different races, each with its own rights and the only hope was in harmonious co-operation.

Much had been heard of trusteeship. Clearly the more advanced Europeans had vast responsibilities for the backward peoples. Our trusteeship involved a moral obligation to assist the Native people to develop to the utmost limit of their capabilities.

Many people favoured some form of separation between the various races. Partition would mean a European and a non-European race living side by side and both self-governing, which would result in conflict and ultimately war. Segregation in any real sense was desired by few.

He urged for franchise, Dr. Fisher said. "A non-voting vote may be the first step, especially for the Africans, but it cannot be a final solution. It leads to racial rivalry, and it places the responsibility of elected representatives to members of one race."

"We have safeguarded Western civilisation so that the vote must be confined to responsible people with an adequate education. But there is no sound reason why Africans and Indians could not be represented by men of their own race as they are so much assimilated. To exclude them is illogical and makes the representation a fiction."

"All this applies to Municipalities as well as to Parliament and Provincial Councils. There must, in justice, be representation on a carefully devised basis for without it the unprivileged races will not secure fairplay."

"I, South Africa we have to face these matters at the bar of world opinion. We must be led by principles and not by prejudices."

"If men people have their way we shall sow the seeds of conflict and leave a legacy of bitterness and strife to those who follow us. We need not be unduly moved by unfair or ignorant criticism at U.N."

Dr. Fisher said that a sound public opinion must be created in South Africa which would enable the country to solve the problems which were at present aggravated by unreasonable prejudices on one side or the other.—Sapa-Reuters.

A DECISION to institute an Indian boycott movement was made at an Indian boycott Congress attended by about 1,000 people in the Vereeniging Town Hall on March 12.

Representatives of farmers associations from all towns in the Transvaal were present.

Mr. I. Lombard, Chairman of the Transvaal Agricultural Union, was elected chairman of the Congress, Mr. F. C. Els and Colonel Roope as joint vice-chairmen and Dr. J. Looch, secretary. An Action Committee consisting of the following members was then elected: Professor G. Cronje, Mr. J. Jaquis, Professor F. J. Labuschagne, Dr. J. Looch and Mrs. D. C. Malan.

Mr. Lombard said, white civilisation was threatened by Asiatic elements. He called on consumers to join in organising against Asiatics.

Other resolutions passed by the Congress were: "It is the ultimate aim to encourage all Indians to return to the East, that the organised action of Europeans and indigent non-Europeans must be directed to the achievement of that aim since the Indians of this country sought to embarrass and degrade South Africa, by appealing to India and UNO to interfere, and by spreading false impressions throughout the world, Congress has decided to take up the challenge which has been flung at Europeans and to appeal to all Europeans not to trade with Indians, to take no Indian into their service and to give no support to those undertakings which employ Indians or in which they have invested."

"Congress appeals to the European population to reveal the Indian danger to non-Europeans in their service and to persuade them not to buy from Indians. Congress draws the attention of Europeans to the attempt by Indians to form an anti-European Front with the object of creating the leadership of the non-Europeans from the European population in order to maintain that plan, in the interests of Europeans as well as those of the Natives and Coloureds, proper enlightenment should be given to indigent non-Europeans."

"It is the opinion of Congress that the marketing of agricultural products, especially vegetables and fruit, should be made more effective and that Indians be excluded from this activity."

It was further resolved that "since Indians must go back to the East, Congress considers 1. That they should not be allowed to buy any other big fixed property. 2. That the property now in their possession

INDIAN BOYCOTT CONGRESS HELD BY ANTI-INDIANS IN VEREENIGING

should systematically be taken over from them. 3. That no further trading licences be issued to Indians. 4. As Indians of companies in which Europeans and other non-Asiatics are shareholders, used these companies to evade legislation on fixed property, Congress is of the opinion that Indians should be shareholders only in companies where Indians are exclusively the shareholders.

"Owing to the irregularity caused by the present quota system, Congress urges that it should be abolished or that registration should be introduced."

An addendum was then moved to the effect that a telegram be sent to General Smuts, concerning this matter and that a Commission be set up to investigate the matter and to receive a deputation from the Congress.

The following were elected members of the delegation: Dr. J. Looch of Vereeniging, Mr. S. Lombard, Chairman of the Transvaal Agricultural Society, Professor G. Cronje, Chairman of the Central European Study Committee of the Federation of Afrikaans Culture, Professor S. J. Labuschagne of Potchefstroom, Dr. Jan Pienaar, of Pretoria and Colonel Roope.

"As Indians use wives that are not Indians in order to evade legislation on fixed property, Congress is of the opinion that the wives of Indians, whatever their racial extraction, should be declared 'Indians'."

"Congress further declares that it is its view that Indians should in future be prohibited from playing Europeans."

"Congress appeals to European employers to employ Europeans at present working for Indians."

"Congress is of the opinion that necessary attention should be devoted to the further studying of the Indian question, so as to bring the facts to the attention of Europeans and indigent non-Europeans, by way of enlightenment."

It was further resolved "that in order to organise and coordinate future action and to carry out the decisions of Congress, Congress should appoint a Central European Action Committee as well as an executive and urges that for every town and district a local European Action Committee be appointed."

"Congress instructs the Action Committee to call a Transvaal European Action Congress as soon as possible."

"Congress firmly views that the European Action Committee

should in the connection, be kept outside of party politics, because the continued existence of the European race is at stake and because South Africa can only remain a white man's country if it remains so."

Congress then elected a Council, supporting its decision to refuse to allow Indians to sit on the Council.

Mr. G. J. Viviers, who was elected at a public meeting at Mafeking to represent all Mafeking public bodies, said that Insurance Companies should be approached with a view to their refusing to insure Indian homes and shops. This was adopted as a recommendation.

Representatives of all the Congresses, delegates were asked to contribute funds to a Congress Committee. The secretary stated that advertisements would be published in the Press asking for contributions.

A Public Meeting

A public meeting was held at the Vereeniging Town Hall on the same night. There were more than 1,000 people present, including one or two Indians.

The meeting was opened by the Chairman, Mr. F. C. Els, who said that they would go ahead with their anti-Asiatic movement despite all opposition and even if the Government opposed them.

The next speaker was Professor Labuschagne of the University who said they were tackling the greatest problem in South Africa—the Indian question—which was not only of local importance, but of international importance.

The Professor said that the Indians were a danger and a threat not only to the country, but to everyone personally.

Indians is the country originated from a nation of millions and this gives one an idea of the great danger. They were not just a number of Indians, but they remained an integral part of the Indian nation. They belonged to a great culture and to a great religion and it was in this that the danger lay.

A large number of them belonged to the Mohammedan religion which was a friend of Christianity and which aimed at the annihilation of Christianity. Religiously, the Indian remained oriental.

Dealing with the economic side of the question, he said that the Indians obtained much of their goods from India and because of the low cost of pro-

duction there, and because of the lower cost of living in South Africa for the Indian than for the European, they could undersell European traders.

Economically the Indians were through and through Oriental. They were mostly concerned with commerce and it was to a large extent the Afrikaner who provided their capital.

The Indian had always opposed South African legislation when he found that it was not to his liking. He ran to his Mother country, India, to obtain satisfaction. He has thus always shown that he was a foreigner in South Africa. "The Indian is the full sense of the word is a parasite in this country."

He said that they were not opposed to the Indian simply because he was an Indian, but because he was a parasite. He was a parasite on the South African hospitality and because of his commercial methods. In India he would have to protect himself and his property, but in South Africa South African Police and soldiers protect his interests.

They were not going to persecute the Indian, but would ignore and leave him to his own devices.

Referring to the South African nationality of Indians, Professor Labuschagne said that at the moment it appeared that the Indian was a guest and a parasite.

"We cannot give the Indian what he asks for much less what he demands because of his position."

He said that because the Indians demand had not been met, he was trying to turn the non-Europeans against the Euro-

BOYCOTT NEWS

The Transvaal Indian Congress is doing its very best to meet the situation arising from the boycott of Indian traders launched in the Transvaal.

The Congress hereby requests all Indians throughout the Transvaal to give the Congress offices the full and accurate information on their areas.

Information should be communicated to

Mr. YUSUF CACHALIA,
Jt. Hon. Secretary, T.I.C.,
18, Barkley Arcade,
38, Market Street,
Johannesburg.

Phone 33 40 19 or 33 37 13

CONGRESSMEN MUST BE DISCIPLINED

GANDHIJI CONDEMNS VIOLENCE IN BIHAR

Patna, March 6.
REMEMBER since long you have pledged yourself to achieve India's independence with the help of ahimsa. It is the duty of every citizen of the country to carry that pledge in full to achieve independence and place before the outside world the lesson of ahimsa," said Mahatma Gandhi in a meeting of about 1000 members of the Congress at Patna on March 6. He said that the Congressmen must be disciplined and must not allow themselves to be misled by the communal leaders.

Gandhiji referred to the partition which had brought him to Bihar and said that he had gathered himself with the belief that it would be unnecessary for him to visit Bihar but Dr. Mahmud's letter led him to think that all was not as well as it should have been.

He knew that what the Hindus of Bihar have done to their Muslim brethren was infinitely worse than what had happened at Noakhali. He had hoped that they had made or were making all the reparations that were possible and that was in magnitude as great as the crime.

Gandhiji hoped that the Bihar Hindus would not be guilty of self-righteousness by saying that the Biharis who had forgotten to a fit of insanity that they were human beings, were drawn from the goonda element and for whom the Congressmen of Bihar could not be held responsible. If they adopted the attitude of self-righteousness they would reduce the Congress to a miserable party, whereas the Congress claimed that of all the organisations in India it was the only organisation which represented the whole of India whether it was called French India or Portuguese India or the States India.

The Congress claimed by right of service to represent not only nominal Congressmen or its sympathisers but also its enemies. For this reason it had to make itself responsible for the misdeeds of all communities and all classes. It should be its proud privilege to better and improve the moral, material and physical condition of the whole of India to entitle it to this claim.

Serious Crimes

That many Congressmen Mahatma Gandhi said, had staked their lives in order to save their

Muslim friends and brethren was no answer to the charges justly heaped against the Bihar Hindus by indigenous and injured Muslims. If he was so minded he would be able to show that there were to be found in history examples of human monsters having done crimes even worse than those of the Hindus in Bihar, but he did not want to be guilty of making comparisons and weigh greatness of crimes on golden scales. On the contrary, a truly repentant man would never want to flatter himself by even thinking that he was not as bad as his predecessors.

Gandhiji was grieved to find that there were thoughtless Hindus in all parts of India who firmly hugged the belief that Bihar had arrested the growth of lawlessness that was to be witnessed in Noakhali. He wished to remind them in forcible terms that that way of thinking and doing was the way to partition and slavery, never to freedom and bravery. It was a cowardly thing for a man to believe that barbarity such as he exhibited could ever protect a civilisation or a religion or defend freedom. He was able from recent firsthand knowledge to say that where there was cowardice on the one hand there was cruelty on the other.

The way therefore, to take reprisals upon Noakhali was to learn how not to copy the barbarous deeds such as Noakhali had proved itself capable of, but to return barbarism by barbarism which consisted in learning to be without a thought of revenge and without in any way compromising one's honour. He warned the audience that through them the whole of India that they really wished to see India independent in every sense of the term they must not imitate barbarous methods. Those who resorted to such methods would find that they were retarding the day of India's deliverance.

Holi Message

Gandhiji gave a message for the Holi to the people of Bihar in his post prayer speech this evening. He told the Hindus to act in such a manner as to ally all apprehensions of the Muslims.

He asked them to treat the Muslims as their own kith and kin and entertain them in all possible manner and win them through love. He wanted the Hindus to make a start in this direction on the occasion of the Holi.

Gandhiji Meets League Leaders

Gandhiji, who was the guest of Dr. Syed Mahmud, met Mr. Syed Abdul Aziz, a former pre-

sident of the Muslim League, Mr. Jaffer Imam, M.L.A., and president of the Bihar Provincial Muslim League and other Muslim League leaders and discussed with them the situation in Bihar. He also had talks with the Minister of the Bihar Provincial Muslim League and expressed great concern over the riot violence of Bihar. He is reported to have asked them to proceed with the maximum possible speed in this matter.

STATEMENT BY DRS NAICKER AND DADOO IN KARACHI

In a statement issued in Karachi on March 15 on their way to New Delhi, to attend the All-Asian Conference, they said, General Smuts, by his attitude towards the Indian community in South Africa, was attempting to divide the Indian community by offering £2,000,000 for civic amenities.

They also alleged that General Smuts was attempting to divide the Indian community by offering £2,000,000 for civic amenities. They said that General Smuts hoped to secure the co-operation of a handful of reactionary and opportunistic Indians and to go to the United Nations and tell the Assembly that he had implemented its decision and that the Indians were co-operating with the Union Government.

They said that General Smuts hoped to secure the co-operation of a handful of reactionary and opportunistic Indians and to go to the United Nations and tell the Assembly that he had implemented its decision and that the Indians were co-operating with the Union Government.

"But an overwhelming majority of the Indian community in South Africa refused to fall into this trap," they said. They believed that to submit to the "present dishonourable offer" would mean not only the betrayal of their cause, but also to the dignity and honour of their Mother country.

South African Indians hoped the United Nations would take all possible steps, including sanctions, to bring South Africa to book if the Union Government failed to carry out its decision. They added that the South African Indians would continue their passive resistance campaign.

Dr. Dadoo and Naicker received an enthusiastic reception in Nairobi by the local Indians. After a press conference they addressed one of the largest mass meetings ever held in Nairobi. They were the guests of honour at a public dinner given by the Indian Association.

In Cairo Dr. Dadoo and Naicker received an audience by His Excellency Asim Pasha, Secretary General, League of Arab States. They conveyed to him the views of the South African Indians on the situation in India.

In reply to the question asked by the press, they said that they were nothing more than fulfil their duty by their stand at U.N.O in support of the principles for which they stood, and which are the principles of equality, human brotherhood, co-operation and eternal peace. Nothing will divert the Arab States from this attitude and stand.

When Dr. Dadoo and Naicker were in Cairo they were handed a cable which the Arab League had received from Johannesburg. This cable is purported to have been sent by Dr. Mahmud Munshi and Mr. Ebrahim Dadabhai, president and secretary respectively of the South African Muslim League. The cable reads:

To Arab League, Cairo: "Doctors Yusuf Dadoo and Naicker are Communists and are supporters of Zionists' demands for a Jewish State of Palestine and are against Arab League. They are leaving for India this Tuesday. Please beware. Personally we have nothing against them but Muslim interests demand that we should caution you."

In a statement issued by the Transvaal Passive Resistance Council, the Council states that no such organisation as the South African Muslim League exists. "This malicious cable full of blatant lies, was completely disavowed by the Arab League. Instead, Dr. Dadoo and Naicker were received in audience by His Excellency, Asim Pasha, who has sent an encouraging message to South African Indians through them," says the statement.

"THE decision of the British Government is a wise one," said Pandit Nehru, in a statement. "The clear and definite declaration that the final transfer of power will take place by a date not later than June, 1948, not only removes illusion but also brings reality and a certain dynamic quality to the present situation in India. That decision will undoubtedly have far-reaching consequences, and puts a burden and responsibility on all concerned. It is a challenge to all of us, and we shall try to meet it bravely in the spirit of that challenge. I trust that we shall all endeavour to get out of the rut and end the internal conditions that have frustrated our efforts and delayed our advance, and accept this burden and responsibility, keeping only the independence and advancement of India in view."

The work of the Constituent Assembly will not now be delayed by the present speed, says Pandit Nehru. It is a great relief, he says, "all to be partners in this joint and historic undertaking, casting aside fear and suspicion, which has become a great people on the eve of freedom." "The moment British rule goes, the responsibility for the governance of India must inevitably rest on her people and their representatives alone. They will have to shoulder that responsibility. Why then should we not accept this responsibility now and work together to find integrated solutions of our problems? No external authority is going to help or hinder us in future. We look forward to a peaceful and co-operative transition and to the establishment of close and friendly relations with the British people for the mutual advancement of both countries and for the advancement of the cause of peace and freedom all over the world."

"Will Not Yield An Inch"

"The Muslim League will not yield an inch in their demand for Pakistan," said Mr. Jinnah, addressing a group of Bihar Muslims in a refugee camp at Karachi on the 23rd. "Whatever the future may be, we shall never retreat from our demand. It is the only way to liberate the ten crores of Muslims in India. The sufferings that the Muslims have undergone in Bihar and elsewhere only show more clearly that we should have a separate State of Pakistan."

Reactions in States

Dr. Pattabhi Sastri appealed to the Indian Princes to adopt for themselves the position of British Indian Governors and

OUR INDIA LETTER

(FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT)

Baroda, February 25, 1947.

NEHRU WELCOMES ANNOUNCEMENT

making. He said the Princes had now practically joined the Indian Union.

Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer, the Dewan of Travancore, characterised Mr. Attlee's statement as "a tremendous announcement," and said it was important "for all Indian parties to come together at least now" and avoid what he described as the fragmentation of India. He asked Indian States to re-organise their internal and external relations in such a way that there might be ten or twelve entities to negotiate with British India, the predominant partner. No Indian State could afford to take sides in the Hindu Muslim controversies of British India. He felt that the Congress had made a mistake in not insisting on an extensive and powerful central Government.

If the Nawab of Bhopal, welcoming the statement, said, "The States have now their chance of playing a vital part in helping to construct the new India, strong, happy and contented, looking out for her people the pattern of a federate and more prosperous life and helping to maintain and inspire the peace and progress of the world." He added: "Once more I am glad to say that a proposition has been formally made that paramountcy will disappear when Great Britain withdraws itself from the Indian administrative scene, and that the States will resume their independence."

Mixed Reactions

Reactions to the statement among other parties are of a mixed nature. While welcoming Mr. Attlee's statement "taken as a whole," as a move in the right direction, Dr. Bhanu Prasad Mookerjee, the Hindu Mahasabha leader, in a statement said, "we shall demand with one voice that the transfer of power must be made to a strong Central Government in respect of the whole of British India. Hindus will resist with their life-blood any scheme for the perpetuation of slavery which will be inevitable if Bengal, as she is constituted and administered today, is allowed to become a separate independent unit cut off from the rest of India. Nothing can justify the transfer of nearly five million persons belonging to one community to the perpetual domination of any artificial majority which refuses to identify itself with the rising aspirations of the

entire people. This voluntary and peaceful liquidation of a vast and rich Empire such as India, will undoubtedly be a proud achievement on the part of Britain.

"Non-Muslims in the Punjab have been left to the wolves,"—this seems to be the reaction among non-Muslims in the Punjab, according to a *Free Press* message from Lahore.

"The Sikhs are unanimous in their opposition to Pakistan," said an Akali spokesman. "We look to the Congress to give us aid," said a Nationalist Sikh. "The Sikhs will never agree to a subordinate position in the Punjab, and will never tolerate Muslim rule in this province. If this province is being prepared to be handed over to the League, and if Pakistan is foisted on us, the Sikhs will mobilise all the forces and resist."

A Canard Denied

In a statement contradicting a canard Pandit Nehru says. "There have been differences of opinion during the past months, but I have never doubted Lord Wavell's sincerity and desire to serve the interests of India. He has carried a heavy burden and has worked hard. I have a high regard for him, and I shall be sorry in many ways to part with him. I met Lord Mountbatten during my brief visit to Singapore last year, and he was very courteous to me. I met him once again, as he was passing through Delhi to discuss certain matters relating to the transport of goods from Java to India. These are the only two meetings I have had with him so far."

"Wavell Did Not Favour The Idea"

The Australian statesman, Mr. Richard G. Casey, a former Governor of Bengal, says in a newspaper article: "None could have done more for India in the last few years' London than Lord Wavell, but I agree that for the final 15 months of British rule it may be better to have a Viceroy who has no Indian history. "It is an open secret that Lord Wavell did not favour the idea of Britain fixing a precise date for withdrawal. He believed it would make a compromise between Hindus and Muslims more difficult."

The British Government has not taken an irresponsible and unnecessary step, Mr. Wavell is

that the sooner we hand over power to our Indians the better. We have responsibility there without power. No doubt the situation contains the seeds of a civil war, but now that everyone knows that British bayonets are not available for either side, I believe the rift is diminished. Presumably India will not become a dominion. I never believed this was workable."

"Hand Over Power To Congress"

"The British Government should not hesitate to hand over power to the Congress, as the granting of the same to the League would mean helping to bring about partition of India, damaging India's moral and strategic position, and harming the underlying unity of most of Indians," says the *Manchester Guardian*.

"If the Muslim League and the Congress do not unhesitatingly compose their differences, the only practical policy is to choose between them and to hand over power to one or the other. Can there be any hesitation about the choice? If we choose the Muslim League, we commit ourselves to Pakistan, the partition of India and recognition of religious differences as a basis for nationality. We shall thereby earn the nodding enmity of most Indians and damage the national sentiment besides fatally damaging to its economic and strategic position."

"If we choose the Congress, we choose an organisation which stands for Indians for Indian unity. It is, of course, predominantly Hindu, but so is the land of India. Its leaders have been men of great ability and high character. Like any other nationalist movement it has been to the alien government. Not few nationalist organisations have conducted their campaigns with less brutality. For that we may thank not only Mahatma Gandhi, but also the intelligence and high character of the Nehru family."

The *Manchester Guardian* continues: "If we hand over power to Congress, we hand over to a nationalist organisation which dominates the scene by far the largest single party in India."

India And South Africa

A question was asked in the Bombay Legislative Assembly if the Government proposed to take any retaliatory action and if so whether Government had considered the advisability of directing the embassies of hotels, restaurants, clubs, and public gardens to refuse to allow the entry of the South Africans into those places.

The Minister replied that the Government had decided

certain crime therefor. It was for that Government to take any action.

The premier was asked if the Government of Bombay would recommend to the Central Government that action such as was suggested in the question should be taken. He said: "No, The Government of India knows its business and discharges it so well that it will be impertinent on the part of this Government to remind it of its duty."

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Member for Commonwealth Relations said in the Central Assembly in reply to Sardar Mangal Singh that it was natural to expect that the Government of the Union of South Africa would now be forced to take action to remove the grievances of the Indians in South Africa in pursuance of the General Assembly's decision.

Any such action will be welcomed by the Government of India and will have their co-operation. Government are now waiting to see what action the Union Government take, and it would be premature and will not serve any useful purpose to have a discussion of this question in the House at the present."

Sardar Mangal Singh had asked whether Government proposed to fix a day for the discussion of the South African question by the House at an early date.

"Pandit Nehru said in reply to Sardar Mangal Singh that recently the Government of Ceylon issued licenses for the export of about 8,00,000 seed and surplus gunny bags from Ceylon to South Africa. Immediately on receipt of information in this respect, the Government of India, through their representatives in Ceylon, made representations to the Government of Ceylon for prohibiting the export of gunny bags to South Africa. While the Government of India's representation was under the consideration of the Government of Ceylon, 3,27,376 gunny bags were shipped from Ceylon to South Africa. On further representations made by the Government of India, the Government of Ceylon had cancelled all outstanding licenses for the export of gunny bags to South Africa.

The Government of India, he assured Sardar Mangal Singh, would not desist from taking such steps as were necessary to ensure that their sanctions against South Africa were not set at naught.

Mr. I. I. Chundrigar, Commerce Member, said in reply to Mr. Jaffer that a special watch was kept over exports to destinations and territories through which goods of Indian origin were likely to pass into South Africa.

"The aim of my life is not this office but the achievement of free

dom for my country and the Pathans," said Dr. Khan Bahi, Premier, N. W. F. P., addressing from the balcony of his residence a rosy crowd of Muslims who had crowded down in a procession to his residence after attending a public meeting in the City.

"I thank you for the abuses that you have heaped at me. Let me tell you that I am anxious to stick to my present office. I will quit it the moment the Pathans elect a moderate who entrusted the office to me ask me to go. Also remember that these empty threats cannot do me any harm."

Punjab And N.W.F.P.

In a statement dealing with the League movement in the Punjab, Master Tara Singh, the Sikh leader says: The reply is plain. The purpose of the movement is to install the Muslim League upon the ruins of the Provincial rule by force and thus establish Muslim domination. We Sikhs must and shall resist Muslim domination at all costs.

"We are pledged to fight against Muslim rule. I wish to awaken the Sikhs in this regard and be prepared to face the coming Muslim League onslaught. It will be a great misfortune if we are caught napping. We must gear up our minds at once to resist the coming danger and to protect our persons and our honour."

The Akali Order was organised under my command according to the decision of the Shromani. Akali Dal; but its various branches called the Akali Regiments were dissolved due to certain circumstances. But the present situation demands immediate revival of the movement, and I, in my capacity as the Chief Commander of the 'Akali Force' order all the Akali Regiments to reorganise themselves. They must meet and review their membership and put things in order. But they should not take out processions till they receive further instructions from me."

Gandhiji's Tour

"The minority should evacuate if adequate compensation was paid to them," said Gandhiji on the 19th. He said that he had supported the proposition from a non-violent standpoint. It was applicable to all provinces, whether the majority was Hindu or Muslim, he added. What could the Government do? Mahatma Gandhi asked, if the majority had become so hostile that they could not tolerate the presence of the minority community. In his opinion it would be improper for them to force the majority into submission nor should they undertake to protect the minority at the point of the bayonet.

On the 22nd Gandhiji said: "Even if I fall, truth will not

have failed. I must strive and carry this work to the end. I live or perish in the attempt. Noakhali and Tipperah are not an isolated problem but it is a problem which India must solve for herself and for humanity. Fortunately or unfortunately I have had success in the most difficult ventures of my life, but I do not know what will happen this time.

"Truth," Gandhiji said, "is God. And He is discoverable only to non-violence and all it means. Here will be decided the clear issues. Those who think of separation must know where we stand. Let the facts be faced. If boycott is the policy of the Government we must know about it. A community cannot take action by itself. Bengal as well as other Provinces must understand this."

Once, as it was understood must go if Hinduism was to survive, said Gandhiji. He was certainly in favour of intercaste marriages. The question did not arise when all become casteless. When this happy event took place, the monopoly of occupations would go.

Question: "If there is only one God, should there not be one religion?"

Gandhiji said that it was a strange question. Just as a tree had a million leaves, similarly though God was one, there were as many religions as men and women though rooted in one God. They did not see this plain truth because they are flowers of different prophets and claimed as many religions as prophets. As a matter of fact whilst he believed himself to be a Hindu, he knew that he did not worship God in the same manner as one or all of them.

Protection To Minorities

The Minorities Sub-Committee of the Constitutional Assembly's Advisory Committee has prepared a six point questionnaire for circulation to elicit opinion of individuals and institutions on the protection of minorities in the Union constitution.

The questionnaire has been prepared by Mr. K. M. Munshi, a member of the sub-committee.

The questions to be answered are:

(1) What should be the nature and scope of safeguards for the minorities in the new constitution?

(2) What political safeguards are needed for the minorities in the Union and the provincial constitutions?

(3) What economic safeguards are necessary for the minorities in the Union and the provincial constitutions?

(4) What religious, educational and cultural safeguards should be provided for the minorities at the Centre and in the provinces?

(5) What machinery should be set up to ensure the effective enforcement of minority rights?

(6) How is it proposed to finally eliminate these safeguards, at what stage and under what circumstances?

Members of the sub-committee are reported to be of the view that safeguards for the minorities should not be a permanent or a temporary feature of the new constitution. Minorities should in course of time, shed no special constitutional provisions for the protection of their rights. The fundamental rights granted to citizens of the Union should ultimately suffice for affording sufficient protection to the minorities. This view however, is not shared by representatives of the minority castes on the sub-committee.

The sub-committee, it is learnt, has agreed that political minorities in the provinces should also enjoy minority safeguards to be provided in the new constitution. The terms of reference of the sub-committee in the opinion of the majority of the members, do not exclude the study of special problems relating to social and cultural minorities.

The next meeting of the sub-committee will be held on April 17 in New Delhi. It is expected that at this meeting conscious to the questionnaire issued by the sub-committee will be studied and a clear distinction made between fundamental rights and minority rights.

Film Produced By Sardar Patel

Produced by Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, "Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose," an 8,000 foot film, was screened in New Delhi for a preview. When Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and some members of the Central Assembly were present.

Beginning from the Haripura Congress, the film is a cascade of events in the life of Subhas Bose—the story began four years, his disappearance from India, stay in Berlin, his arrival in Singapore where he was received by Col. Hennesley, Naib Bahadur Bose and a big gathering of Indians, L.N.A. parades, his visit to Shanghai, Tokyo and Amsterdam, and the action in Imphal.

Many of the shots were obtained from South East Asia and filmed in India. Most of the production work was done by Mr. Nathulal Parekh, a close associate of Subhas Chandra Bose in India. It is understood that Sardar Patel has applied for the necessary licence for the exhibition of this documentary film to the public.

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The closing date for applications is 1st April 1947. Applications should be sent to the Secretary, Indian National Congress, 10, St. George's Road, Madras. Full particulars concerning the appointment may be obtained from the undersigned.

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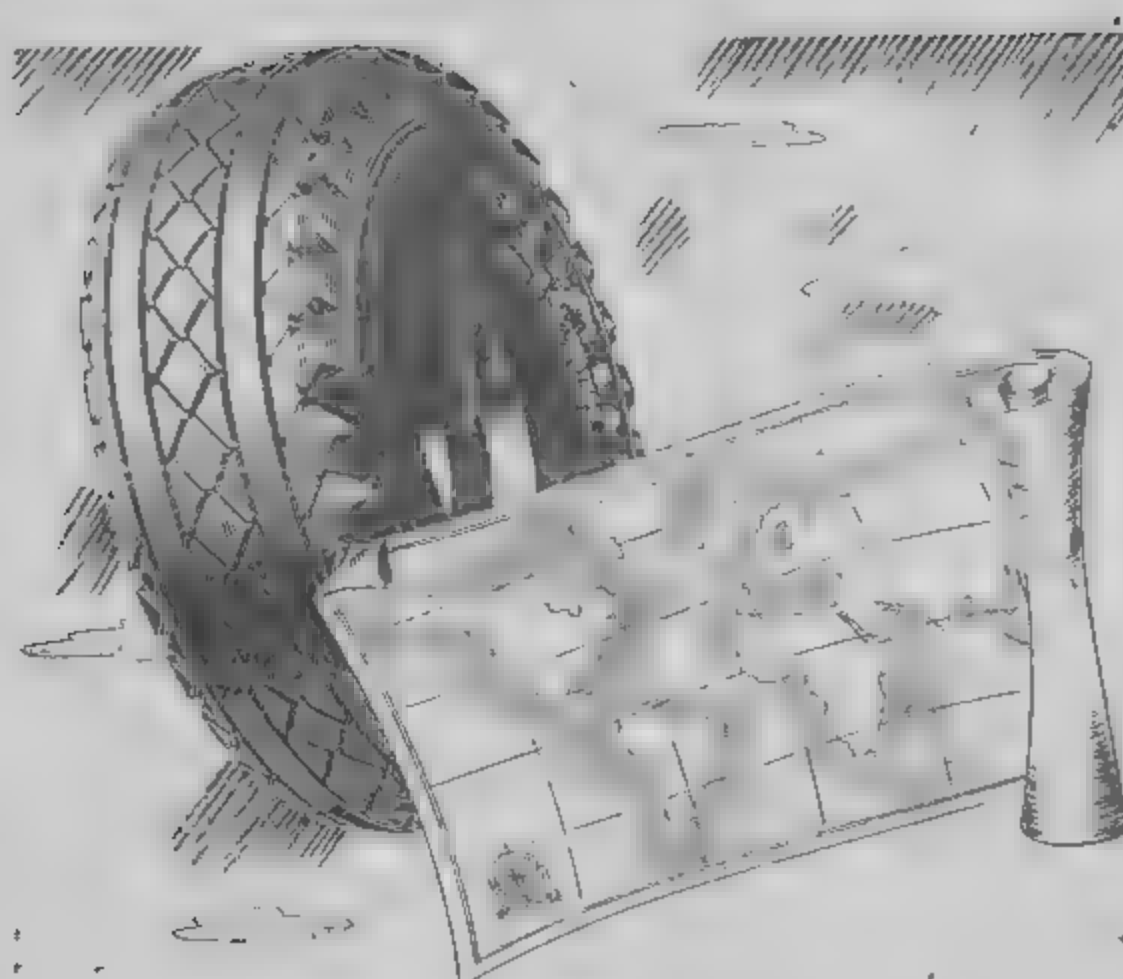
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Founded by
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No. 13.—Vol. XLV

FRIDAY, 20TH MARCH 1947

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Indian Opinion

FRIDAY, 20TH MARCH 1947

Future Of White South Africa

MR WARD PRICE'S article should set every South African to think deeply whether the country is drifting. There is not the least doubt that South Africa is to-day the happiest country in the world. Even during the grimmest period of both the Great Wars South Africa had suffered the least. It is a land of plenty, so much so, that the world is today looking to it for help. It is not over-populated. If it were, the Government would not have decided to introduce immigrants from Europe in their thousands. There is room enough for all within its borders and for many more from without. With all that South Africa puts up a appearance as though it were the unhappiest land in the whole world. The unhappiest land in the world today is undoubtedly England. The courage and fortitude with which she is facing calamities after calamities cannot but meet the stoniest heart and win for her the deepest admiration and sympathy. She has reason to weep over her woes. But, instead, the one country which appears to be in dire agony is South Africa. She is frightened out of her wits at the thought that the land will be submerged by ten million blacks and the white civilisation will come to an end. Thank God South Africa is not yet bankrupt of state

men. It is not that that saves the country from reverting to the age of barbarity. When one has one's reasoning on high principles laid down by prophets and urges one is accused of indulging in idealism. Mr. Ward Price has put things bluntly and realistically. They need deep thought and reflection.

There is no denying the fact that the darker races owe a great debt to the white race. But that surely does not mean that they must remain eternally under slavery of the white race and that the latter must dominate till eternity. It is an entirely wrong conception and must be removed. One thing that is so vividly noticed ever since the War ended is that the whole atmosphere throughout the world is clouded with fear and suspicion. Imperialistic designs is its breeding place. Britain, America, Russia the three Great Powers are suspecting and fearing one another. South Africa sees a sinister motive behind the Pan-Asian Congress which is in session in Delhi. Why should there be this suspicion if our aim and object is to do away with wars and to establish peace and harmony in the world. Pandit Nehru has made it clear beyond the shadow of a doubt what India stands for.

"In this age," he says, "Asia will have to function

effectively in the maintenance of peace. . . . We have no designs against anybody. Ours is a great design for promoting peace and progress all over the world. . . . We support the United Nations structure. We seek no narrow nationalism. Nationalism has a place in each country and should be fostered, but it must not be allowed to become aggressive or to come in the way of international development. The conference must work towards the ideal of "one world."

If this lofty aim is cherished by all alike there can be no room for suspicion. But South Africa seems more concerned about its existing white supremacy and protecting white civilisation even at the cost of world peace. White supremacy and white civilisation will survive if they are based on moral principles. To-day, it is most regrettable to have to say, they are fast losing the respect of a vast majority of the people, simply because they seem to have lost their moral character.

The laws affecting those over whom white supremacy prevails are based not on moral principles. They are instruments to persecute people. Take for instance the Pass Laws affecting the Bantu people. They have inflicted untold hardships on them. The Colour Bar itself has caused a great deal of unpleasantness. There is nothing realistic in perpetuating it. Mr. Ward Price has pointed out the repercussions it is having. Nothing is real which is not based on Truth. Colour Bar there is and it will remain of its own accord until there is a leveling up of all the people, white and black. But it should not be established in law and it need not be if

there is honesty and sincerity in the aim of leveling up. Can white South Africa honestly say that it has been its aim to raise the black man to the level of the white man? History proves it otherwise. It has been to keep the black man perpetually at a lower level than the white man. What is behind the Union Government's move to flood this country with white immigrants, when the sons of the soil are not provided with housing and other amenities of life? Can the black man view this as anything but a challenge to him?

Take the simple instance of the relations between master and his servant. A master who treats his servant kindly and humanely will be liked by the servant. He will be prepared to lay down his life for him. But if the master is cruel and if a slave driver the servant will have no respect for him and if he finds the treatment of his master intolerable not only will he not wish him well but will be in search for an opportunity to put an end to the tyrant. The same rule applies in regard to the relations between the rulers and the ruled in South Africa. If it is desired that there should be respect for white supremacy and white civilisation, there will have to be a radical change in the white man's whole outlook and in his treatment of those over whom he rules. The sullenness of the black man, for which there has been ample justification, should not cause anger. It should, on the contrary, evoke deep reflection and an earnest desire to make amends, if for nothing else, for the sake of world peace.

S.A.'S. SELF-CONFIDENCE CALM ATTITUDE TOWARDS MENACE OF RACIALISM

By G. WARD PRICE

RELUCTANT to face unpleasant prospects is one of the characteristics that Britons and South Africans have in common. No proverb was more popular with the British of a generation ago than the proverb: "Don't worry, it may never happen."

Such a staid outlook has been considerably disturbed by the events of the last 10 years. Wars, plagues and crises of various kinds from economic to climatic have combined to convince most present-day Britons that it not only may happen, but probably will.

One of the first contrasts that impresses a visitor from England is the contrast of South African self-confidence. The prevailing mood of the public in this country may be compared to that of Britain about the times of Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee—when it was a constant source of pride in the past, welcoming the future with full faith in the future.

South Africa is believed to have this infectious, and, in the most active of her citizens, to produce the confidence that it possesses. It is helpful to make the point that what Britain used to be a refuge for the world was a refuge for other countries.

Now that most of the financial centres of Europe have degenerated into pauper ghettos of UNRRA with the black market as the only means of activity, Johannesburg has come to rank after New York and London as the world's third most important stock exchange. Investors who have never seen within 500 miles of Johannesburg are holding for share holdings in the prosperity of the new South Africa for which Johannesburg, even years ago, had a reputation as a wild West Chicago wheat character. In more than 100 South African money markets as a financial South Africa and the world in which the affairs of so many European countries are foundering.

The position of the Union is not free from clouds, but there is a general feeling to ignore them. Even during the present Royal visit which is being an important step to build up South Africa's reputation for soundness and stability, two significant pieces of news have been heard: the world.

On the South African point of view, the graver of these developments would seem to be the creation in this present week of a new committee in Nigeria which has a majority of native members and is officially declared to be a step towards granting responsibility to the native population to deal with its progress.

The position is the appearance of a second White Paper going into the details of the new plans for the gradual development of the Union, Kenya and Tanganyika into a federation in which the native population of Kenya to keep that country a state of predominant white settlement would inevitably be lost.

These developments seem to be the end of a long and difficult process for South Africa. A moderate proposal for the conversion of a former West African colony into an autonomous state is a step forward to have a more autonomous the numerically predominant native population.

It is a further setback to those conceptions of existence on which the British and present-day South Africa depend, and which is to be replaced by a new one in Kenya, which is to be a new African territory that the white race has a claim for its own, with a power which may be a step towards putting political power in the hands of the native population.

Yet these developments have attracted no particular attention in the Union, but does one hear South Africa discussing them? To a visitor from England, such racial questions appear to be an unhealthy rash brought with Africa's independence. For the last 10 years the European world has been on the verge of a great crisis, the white race of Asia and Africa are being driven to the verge of a great crisis, and the world is being driven to the verge of a great crisis, and the world is being driven to the verge of a great crisis.

The European stake in Asia is deep for the past 20 years, and the world is in a state of great crisis, and the world is being driven to the verge of a great crisis, and the world is being driven to the verge of a great crisis.

One of the chiefest of a continuing answer to the question, for the world is in a state of great crisis, and the world is being driven to the verge of a great crisis, and the world is being driven to the verge of a great crisis.

There is a danger of the world's attitude towards the world is in a state of great crisis, and the world is being driven to the verge of a great crisis, and the world is being driven to the verge of a great crisis.

INDIA'S NEW VICEROY

VISCOUNT MOUNTBATTEN, the new Viceroy of India, with Lady Mountbatten and their daughter, arrived in New Delhi on Saturday, March 23.

Hitherto it has been the custom for incoming and outgoing Viceroys not to meet, and that when the Viceroy Designate arrives in the country, his predecessor is already on his way home.

On this occasion however it was arranged for Lord Mountbatten to meet the outgoing Viceroy at New Delhi.

Lord Wavell, the retiring Viceroy, left New Delhi on Sunday, and on Monday the new Viceroy took the oath of office.

Speaking from the Throne, Lord Mountbatten said: "This is not a normal Viceregency on which I am embarking. His Majesty's Government is resolved to transfer power by June, 1948, and since the new constitutional arrangements must be made and many complicated questions of administration settled—all of which will take time to put into effect—this means that a solution must be reached within the next few months."

"I believe," he said, "that every political leader in India feels as I do the urgency of the task before us."

I hope soon to be in close consultation with them and I will give them all the help I can. Meanwhile everyone of us must do what we can to avoid any word or action which might lead to further bitterness or add to the toll of innocent victims.

Lord Mountbatten, who is the sixth and last Viceroy, added: "I know how very many there are who are determined to work to that end, and I shall do everything I can to support them."

Paying a tribute to Lord Wavell, whom he succeeded, he said that it would be no easy matter to succeed Lord Wavell, who had done so much to take India along the path of self-government.

"I have always had great admiration for him, and I will devote myself to finishing the work he began. I am under no illusion about the difficulty of my task."

Lord Wavell's Farewell Speech

Lord Wavell, the retiring Viceroy, said in his farewell speech in New Delhi: "I am conscious of the mistakes I have made. But I hope you will know that I have always tried to work for the welfare of India's inhabitants and for the advance of India towards self-rule."

I am a soldier and my first words of farewell must be to the

soldiers of India, in admiration and in deep gratitude. I believe that the stability of the Indian army may perhaps be the deciding factor in the future of India.

"It has shown how all communities may work together to meet the common danger with comradeship and self-devotion. I would say a special word of gratitude to the men of the services in the provinces. I know and sympathise with their difficulty in these times of stress."

"I know, too, what strains they have been subjected to and I know with what courage and hard work they have met them. They have been very devoted servants of India."

"My successor is known to many of you personally, and to all by reputation as a leader in war and an ardent supporter of progress. I can assure you of my goodwill towards India and his vigour in showing it."

Lord Wavell's speech was broadcast in full by the All India radio.

WHY PASSPORTS WERE GRANTED

REPLYING to Mr F. I. Louw, Nat. Unionist, West, Mr Lawrence said that the decision to grant passports to two Indian leaders to go to India was not taken by him on his own initiative—it was a government decision.

Mr Louw asked on what grounds the previous decision not to grant passports had been reversed and whether representations had been made to the Minister for the Interior to grant the passports.

The Acting Minister, Mr. Lawrence, said that such representations were made, and under a review of all the circumstances it was thought right to reconsider the decision made in the first instance.

Mr Louw, in a supplementary question, asked the Minister whether he was aware that immediately they had arrived in India the two Indians concerned had made an attack on the Government and whether therefore the decision to grant them passports had been justified.

The Acting Minister, Mr. Lawrence, said that he had no knowledge of that. Nationalist members of the Government had not said so.

BOYCOTTS ARE DANGEROUS COUNCIL FOR ASIATIC RIGHTS

THE *Rand Daily Mail* writes as follows in its issue of March 18:

If Parliament imagines that it has the exclusive right to decide what shall and what shall not be done for the Indians in South Africa, it had better think again. Quite a number of other people, with, so far as we are aware, no special authority to decide such matters, have their own ideas on the subject and have not hesitated to put them into practice.

Durban, it will be recalled, recently insisted that the Indians must not leave the limited franchise proposed by the Administrator under the authority of Parliament. In the Transvaal a section of the people is most displeased with the way South African-born Indian citizens persist in staying here instead of going to live in India. It has therefore decided to take matters into its own hands by stirring the Indians into submission. This movement appears to have attained fairly considerable dimensions, if one is to judge from the large number of representatives who attended the "boycott congress" at Vereeniging last week.

All these developments are extremely interesting, and if they are fostered still further, many people will wonder why Parliament ever bothered to pass an Indian Act at all. Yet, because that law has been placed on the Statute Book, there is not the slightest doubt that the boycott in Transvaal is most embarrassing to the Union as a whole. The Indian question is no longer a matter of local politics; it occupies a place on the world stage, and South Africa will in due course be called on to give some account of the conditions that exist here. We hardly imagine that a boycott will provide the best kind of evidence of how well we treat our Indian citizens.

But the fact that the boycott is likely to do the Union harm in the eyes of the world is the least part of this altogether unpleasant affair. We are just as much concerned with its effects inside the country, for it seems clear that the boycott is bringing to the surface the worst characteristics of racialism. It is hard to believe, for example, that in freedom-loving democratic South Africa it would be possible for responsible citizens of a large country town to make an "earnest appeal" to every European parent "to deem it his personal duty to instil an anti-Asiatic sentiment into his children, and to emphasise to them that it is a downright dis-

grace to trade with, or to be seen in or near an Indian store.

Yet that is precisely what has happened. It is a movement of this kind, aimed at completely innocent people whose chief offence appears to be that they have dark skins, which the European citizens of the Transvaal are now being asked to join. Piquantly enough, they are being asked to "encourage" the Indians in the Union to go to India because the latter "sought to embarrass and degrade South Africa by appealing to India and U.N.O. to interfere, and by spreading false impressions throughout the world." But is it not even more embarrassing for the Union when a section of its citizens deliberately sets out to persecute a defenceless group?

Apart from these humanitarian considerations, however, it seems more than likely that many people joining the boycott scarcely realise how dangerous an instrument it is, nor do they appear to appreciate the full implications of its use. When people resort to a boycott of this kind, it means that the normal processes of law, order and justice are forsaken; the boycotters assume the role of judge, jury and prosecutor, and their victims are denied the privilege of a defence. That, surely, is not consistent with the democratic way of life.

Nor should it be forgotten that a boycott, once it can succeed as a coercive instrument, places great power in hands where it should not exist. There are many racial groups in South Africa, and if those who boycott to-day find themselves boycotted tomorrow, they will have no cause for complaint.

But a far better way out is not to take part in any boycotts at all.

Travellers Oppose Boycott Of Indians

A resolution condemning the boycott movement at present being organised against Indian traders, and asking the Government to take immediate steps to counteract it, was unanimously adopted by the Johannesburg branch of the National Union of Commercial Travellers at a general meeting. The resolution says that the union is in no way concerned with the political aims and objects of the organisers of this boycott movement, and expresses the fear that the boycott might upset ordinary and established trade relations. It also deplores the fact that apparently no steps are being taken to stop the boycott.

STATEMENT ON BOYCOTT MOVEMENT

THE following statement by the Council for Asiatic Rights—the boycott movement appears in the *Rand Daily Mail* dated March 24: "We the undersigned members of the Council for Asiatic Rights, an organization comprising Europeans drawn from all walks of life and shades of opinion, condemn in the most emphatic terms the attempts now being made by certain sectional interests to stage a boycott of the Indian trading community. The boycott is un-Christian, unethical, undemocratic, and in every way contrary to the best national political and economic interests of South Africa.

The boycott is a weapon which is illegal under Roman-Dutch Law, and this law has never been regarded as obsolete; where, too, the boycott is being used to incite hatred between European and non-European, an offence is being committed under the Riotous Assemblies Act.

The boycott cannot possibly achieve the aim originally envisaged, of bringing pressure on the Indian Government to release grain bags, because this is a matter for negotiation between the two Governments concerned. The only effect will be to increase race hatred and render the eventual solution even more difficult. So far as the farmers are concerned, the boycott will postpone a solution of the grain-bag shortage since the Indian Government can only thus be further antagonized.

Investigations conducted on the spot by our Council prove that the boycott has been taken out of the farmers' hands and is now being exploited by certain European trade interests who admit openly that they "seek to capture the trade of their Indian competitors and drive them out of business," and by political interests anxious to capitalise on the resultant mob hysteria and inflamed emotions for election purposes.

The proceedings at the recent Vereeniging boycott conference clearly show that this movement aims to interfere also with other aspects of South African economic life and must inevitably result in a completely chaotic and unworkable pattern of economic disruption.

Thus, far from helping to secure a satisfactory solution of South Africa's dispute with India, the boycott can only result in further discrediting the fair name of South Africa abroad and lead to greater embarrassment of our country at the next session of U.N.O. We therefore call on every citizen mindful of South Africa's welfare to refrain from any participation in this boycott and to dissuade others who are being misled by the hysterical propaganda now being disseminated.—V. O. Berrange (chairman); Dr. John B. Robertson (vice-chairman); Edgar Bernstein (treasurer); Rev. Michael Scott, Dr. Wolf Sachs, Th. Pieterse, E. Lobinsky, E. J. Barford, Leonard Berman, G. Maeyer, David Gossyn, L. Ploos, A. Fischer, H. Sueby (secretary).

PAN-ASIAN CONGRESS

REPRESENTATIVES of more than one-half of the world's population have assembled in Delhi for the Pan Asian Congress, which was opened by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru on March 23, in the old fort Delhi.

Some 200 delegates from every country in the Near, Middle and Far East are attending the conference. They have all come from 30 countries with an estimated aggregate population of more than 1,200,000,000 people in response to an invitation from the Indian Council of World Affairs to discuss "economic, social and cultural problems common to all Asiatic countries. An official statement on the conference says "it will not consider the controversial political problems of any country."

Pandit Nehru said: "In this atomic age Asia will have to function effectively in the maintenance of peace. Old imperialism are fading away—as dominating goes, the walls that surround us fall down."

"We have no designs against anybody. Ours is a great dream for prompting peace and progress all over the world. We propose to stand on our own feet with all others prepared to co-operate with us."

"We support the United Nations structure. We seek no narrow nationalism. Nationalism has a place in each country and should be fostered, but it must not be allowed to become aggressive and come in the way of international development."

The conference, he said, should walk towards the ideal of "one world."

"I HAVE found Lord Wavell a rugged, straightforward older sort of courage and direct both in approach and statement," said Maulana Azad in an interview. He made an "impression of great sincerity" on the Maulana who felt it his duty "to advise the country to adopt a constructive method for achieving its political objective." "To Lord Wavell must belong the credit for opening the closed door," said the Maulana. "I am confident that India will never forget this service of Lord Wavell."

Further Reactions

Mr. Jinnah and the Muslim League must realise that obstruction now will do even more harm to their own cause than it will to the interests of India," says the London Times, welcoming Pandit Nehru's statement.

The Governor of Bengal, addressing Europeans in Calcutta, said they should make their future plans on the definite assumption that by the end of next summer there may be no British troops in India, no British civil servants, and no British Governor. In sixteen short months the British political power in this sub-continent will come to an end.

"I am one of those who believe that the British intend to transfer power to Indian hands next year," said Sardar Baldev Singh, the Defence Minister in the Interim Government. We are going to be free next year. The Indian people should think that the Indian army is our own army, and the army should think that it belongs to the Indian nation. We in the Interim Government are endeavouring to wrest independence at the earliest possible moment—as early as tomorrow, if it is possible—so that the reins of the administration are completely in Indian hands. We cannot forget the services of British officers who have trained the Indian army. We may avail of their services in order to take advantage of their experience."

Indian Ambassador in U.S.A.

Mr. Asaf Ali, the Indian Ambassador to the U.S.A. and leading representative of the Indian view in America, appeared to them to look upon the country as their home in future and said that, although technically he was Ambassador, none of the Indians should conduct himself as an official or as an ambassador of India. Mr. Ali told them to look upon themselves as citizens of a Free Republic and conduct themselves with dignity and honour but not with arrogance. They should "forget their feud with Britain which is dead and past. After Britain has acquiesced in the principle of full freedom within a year, they

OUR INDIA LETTER

(FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT)

Harode, March 11, 1947.

SERVICE OF LORD WAVELL

should look upon Britain as a friendly country.

Referring to the internal situation in India, Mr. Ali advised them not to be unduly alarmed and expressed his conviction that a fair and amicable agreement between Congress and the Muslims will soon be forthcoming. He said they should treat their leaders on the spot to find a solution and not import differences into America. He said the power is with Congress and the Muslims.

Gandhiji On Attlee's Speech

Referring to Mr. Attlee's statement, Gandhiji said that the statement was a good one. He said that the various parties of doing what they thought best. He added that the statement declared that British rule would end before or during the month of June, 1948. He thought that it was up to the parties to make or mar the situation. Nothing on earth could overturn their settled wish. And so far as he was concerned he was emphatically of the opinion that if the Hindus and the Muslims closed their ranks and came together without external pressure they would not only better their political condition but they would affect the whole of India and probably the world.

Princes' Attitude

Discussions in New Delhi indicate that the Princes' Chamber will not regard the British Government's statement of February 20 as an occasion for any immediate change in their declared attitude to the all India constitutional problem, says an A.P.I. report.

An A.P.I. report from New Delhi dated March 3, says a split in the Maharajahs' ranks over whether to join Congress immediately in the constitution-making or to wait and see whether agreement is reached with the Muslim League emerged in a vigorous debate at a meeting of the States Constitutional Advisory Committee.

An official report issued by the Chamber of Princes said that the Chairman of the Chamber, the Nawab of Bhopal, won his argument in favour of a waiting policy.

The States Negotiating Committee of the Chamber of Princes and the States Committee of the Constituent Assembly as a result of joint deliberations, agreed that not less than 50 per cent. of the total representatives of the States shall be elected by the elected

members of Legislatures, or, where such Legislatures do not exist, of other electoral colleges. This agreement will be referred for approval by a general conference of rulers to be called early next month.

Punjab Situation

Mr. Attlee is nobody to concede Pakistan when the British are quitting India. What right and power have they got to concede it?" said Master Tara Singh the Sikh leader at Lahore on the 25th. A civil war alone can decide this issue. Actual power can never be handed over to the Muslims; it can only be handed over on paper. We shall do or die. If Mr. Jinnah is not going to yield even an inch, we are going to fight every inch of the Punjab.

An Akali leader told the Free Press Of India Correspondent "We are not afraid of the Muslims. We are ready to meet the situation if it takes a commotion in the Province. We are tired of their boot-heelism. Every day they are terrorising law courts and pulling chains in trains. Where is administration and justice? Either the Government must rule with a strong hand or let the Sikhs protect the citizens."

The Punjab Premier submitted the resignation of his Cabinet on the 3rd. Announcing the resignation he said "His Majesty's Government has made it imperative that parties in the Province must be brought face to face with stark realities and must come to grips direct with the problems of the country. I am now bent on the course that will clear for the Muslim League to come to such an agreement with the other parties as might consider it best in the interests of the Muslims and the Province."

Communal Affairs

The Muslim League is anxious to have its own Ministry in the N.W.F. Mr. Jinnah asked Dr. Khan Sahib to follow the lead given by the Punjab Premier and resign. Refusing to charge against his Government, Dr. Khan Sahib said: "Every individual of this party has always stood for the rights of the people. Indeed to secure these rights for the common man, we have made many sacrifices. But the Hindus for loot and violence cannot come within the definition of civil liberties. Everyone knows that

the Frontier Ministry have never interfered with the speeches, elegies, and demonstrations and will withhold action when abusive and provocative language was used. But when violent and aggressive attacks were made on peaceful citizens and their shops were looted, the Government could not just be a spectator. Prompt action had to be taken. No Government worth the name can tolerate such deplorable incidents as happened in Peshawar on February 28 or in Mardan on February 16."

All-India Harijan League

The All-India Harijan League, at a session held in New Delhi, declared that Harijans in India were with the Congress, and that they were not prepared to accept 'Pakistan', 'Akhilistan' or 'Khalistan'. The League also urged the Government of India to declare the Harijans Hindus, and leave the Harijans to work as individuals, 'depressed' and 'scheduled' should not be used in official papers.

Gandhiji in Tipperah

On the 24th Gandhiji expressed his views against child marriage and the system of dowry which, he said, was nothing but the sale of girls. He reiterated his opinion that all caste distinctions should be abolished. He advocated widow re-marriage for all young widows. He believed in equality of the sexes, and could only think of the same rights for women as for men. On the 31st he completed the second part of his tour. He has visited 40 villages in Noakhali and 7 in Tipperah since the beginning of the walking tour. On the whole he has covered on foot a lot of village-to-village distance of 116 miles, besides his usual constituency work of a mile every evening. He did not wear any footwear during the tour which he can assure a photograph. In a letter to a friend he wrote that he was walking over unfurrowed tracks in stormy weather refusing to the proposals for planning his mail.

Amaria was the most Indian trampled country in the world and yet it had not benefited poverty and degradation. That was because it neglected the universal manpower, but concentrated in the hands of a few men who rose to power and amassed fortunes at the expense of many. The result was that its industrialisation had become a menace to America's poor and to the rest of the world. If India was to escape such a disaster it had to imitate what was best in America and other western countries, and leave aside its attractive looking but destructive economic policies. Therefore real planning consisted in the best utilisation of the whole manpower of India. And

distribution of raw products of India in her numerous villages instead of sending them outside and re-buying Scotch articles at fabulous prices.

On March 1 Gandhi announced his decision to resume his work here, after a short visit to Bihar. He had made this decision in response to a letter from Dr. Muhammad, Development Minister of Bihar. He said there was no occasion for women to consider themselves subordinate or inferior to men. He advised women to resort to civil rebellion against all undesirable and unworthy restraints. He expressed his opposition to the proposed partition of Bengal.

A Dignified Step

Gandhi has issued the following statement to the press:

I have received a telegram from the Natal Indian Congress which said that this Congress, the Transvaal Indian Congress, the Coloured Peoples' Organisation and the African National Congress have decided to refrain from taking part in any manner of celebration in honour of the Royal visit to the Union of South Africa. They feel that in view of the disabilities imposed upon Asiatic and Africans and other coloured people, it would be improper on their part to share the rejoicing of the white people of South Africa. The only action which was suggested by the name 'boycott.' I take the opportunity of publicly endorsing this abstention as a national and dignified step by any self-respecting body of people."

In The Central Assembly

In the Central Assembly, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Member for Commonwealth Relations, said in a written reply that there were about 277,000 Indians in the Union of South Africa. About 16,500 Indians residing in the Cape Province were not subjected to any serious statutory disabilities and hardships. All the remaining Indians, who resided in the Transvaal and Natal provinces, were, however, subjected to segregation and other discriminatory measures causing hardships. The segregation laws had been strictly enforced in areas which had an Indian population of about 143,500 and this population might be said to have been subjected to segregation.

Pandit Nehru said in reply to Pandit Sri Krishna Das Pathak that 1,545 Indians were arrested and 40,000 confined in connection with the passive resistance campaign in South Africa till the end of 1946.

According to information received by the Government of India, complaints had been made by passive resisters of undue

strictness in enforcing jail discipline. There was stated to be no communication with African prisoners between political offenders and criminal prisoners.

The passive resistance movement was still continuing, and the leaders of the passive resistance in a statement had declared their intention of continuing this movement until discriminatory laws were repealed.

Congress Resolution

The Congress Working Committee, meeting at New Delhi, has passed a resolution regarding Mr. Attlee's statement. It pleads for immediate "recognition in practice of the Interior Government as a Dominant Government." "The Central Government must necessarily function as a Cabinet with full authority and responsibility." "It has become all the more necessary to expedite the work of the Constituent Assembly." "The Working Committee welcomes the decision of a number of States to join the Constituent Assembly." "I have no objection to the Muslim League joining the Constituent Assembly to join in this historic undertaking. The committee calls upon all parties and groups, and all Indians generally, to discard violent and coercive methods, and cooperate peacefully and democratically in the making of a constitution."

Division Of Punjab

Referring to the widespread riots in the Punjab the Congress Working Committee, in a special resolution says: "The tragic events have demonstrated that there can be no settlement of the problem in the Punjab by violence and coercion, and that no arrangement based on coercion can last. Therefore it is necessary to find a way out which involves the least amount of compulsion. This would necessitate a division of the Punjab into two provinces, so that the predominantly Muslim part may be separated from the predominantly non-Muslim part. The Working Committee commends the solution, which should work to the advantage of all the communities concerned, and lessen friction and fear and suspicion of each other."

Acharya Kripalani, the Congress President, in an interview in Madras said a copy of the main resolution had already been sent to the Muslim League. On the resolution on Punjab he said: "The resolution does not recommend the division of the Punjab. It wants a united India. If that is not possible and if people must murder each other, then the Working Committee recommends the division of the Punjab into two provinces."

Referring to a question whether the same thing would hold good for Bengal also, the President said: "I should think so if the conditions are the same in Bengal."

To a further question, the Congress President said that they would not wish the establishment of a sovereign Pakistan State as such.

Punjab Affairs

The resignation of the Coalition Ministry and the establishment of the Governor's (or) has thrown the Punjab into a veritable confusion. The Sikhs turned down the offer of the League leader in the Punjab of cooperation with the League in forming a Government. Members of the Panjabi Akali Party declared "their firm resolve that they will oppose with all their strength inside and outside the Assembly the establishment of Muslim domination in the Punjab—the home of the Sikhs." The Punjab Assembly Congress Party declared "its firm determination not to submit to any Government based on communal or sectarian domination." Is this matter the Congress and the Sikhs in the Punjab are cooperating wholeheartedly. Only on the corpse of the Sikhs could the Muslim rule in this province and Master Tara Singh. "We shall never allow Pakistan in the Punjab. Every Sikh shall sacrifice his life to see that there is no League Ministry in the Punjab." "The Nationalist Sikhs will fight every inch with the Akalis in this holy war. This is going to be a fight between nationalism and communalism."

The Lahore correspondent of the *Hindustan Chronicle* gives a story in connection with the Punjab Premier's resignation, which he learnt from "very responsible spokesman of the Coalition Party." "Premier was brought upon the Punjab Premier by Sir Kren Jenkins, the Governor, to join the Muslim League and then form a Government. The Governor, it is stated, noted at the instance of Lord Wavell who was feeling annoyed since the Congress demanded his recall. Sir Khizar refused to join the League. He was, however, forced by circumstances to tender resignation of his Premiership."

"It is," said a Congress M.L.A. at Lahore, "Wavell's parting kick through Jenkins." "We do not want to undermine the strength of the majority or reduce it to the status of a minority," said Laik Bhimson Bacher, the Congress leader. "But the fact still remained that the Hindus and Sikhs of the province cannot allow the installation of a purely communal Ministry." I do hereby refrain from giving the gruesome details of the orgy of

mob violence, looting, murder and wife-rape which raged in Lahore, Amritsar, Multan, Taxila, Mullan and other places. The campaign that the Muslim League started some months ago has culminated in these events.

Opposition To Pakistan

A statement, issued over the signatures of Sikh and Congress leaders on the 8th, says: "It is a most extraordinary event that an administration supported by a Nationalist Coalition which is still in a majority should be dissolved and attempts should be made to set up an administration of a purely communal character which by itself does not command a majority."

"Having witnessed the tragic occurrences which are now taking place when, by communal divisions, a Government has been dissolved and attempts are being made to set up a purely communal administration, we are willing to give the slightest assurance or support to the Muslim League in the formation of a Ministry as we are opposed to Pakistan in any shape or form."

"We are ready to guarantee and protect every just right and privilege of each community—even at the cost of our lives, but any attempt to establish a system of administration in the Punjab with the direct or indirect object of establishing communal domination will be resisted by us with all the means in our power."

N.W.F.P.

Dr. Khan Sahib, Premier of the North West Frontier Province, said the question of his resignation did not arise as the majority of the Pathans were with him. "I shall resign only when those who voted me to power wish it." On the 10th he issued a statement in which he said a very satisfactory settlement had been reached with the border tribes, making it possible to release the hostages which were willingly given by the Tribes.

The Government have always been and remain conscious that every party should have full opportunity to express its view in a constitutional manner. But no democratically elected majority Government can tolerate unbridled communal passions resulting in violence, and all those who have defied law individually or collectively will be dealt with in accordance with law, said Dr. Khan Sahib.

Gandhi In Bihar

"My journey to Bihar," said Gandhi at Chandpur on the 3rd, "is a part of the great experiment of non-violence through which we

work in Nookhall was by no means over, he said on the 4th, but there was a call from Bihar which he dare not resist without abandoning his aim in life. For him there was no distinction between a Hindu and a Muslim.

There was a surprise. Gandhiji said in Patna on the 7th, when Hindus and Mussalmans lived side by side as peaceful neighbours. If things had today come to such a pass that they could not look one another as friends, let them at least not behave as enemies. He would venture to say to his Muslim brethren in Bihar what he had said to the Hindus in Nookhall, viz. that they should shed all fear of man and trust God. But he knew that it was a counsel of perfection. This terrorisation of brother by brother, if it were true, was unbearable for him. Were they really going to retain one sort of madness by another? In that event India could only be drowned in a sea of blood. His hope lay more in women who, he had ever maintained, were the living embodiment of non-violence.

Referring to the Punjab disturbances, Gandhiji said that those who acted in this manner in any part of the country, did not serve either their religion, God or country. They simply helped to retard the cause of independence through their own fault.

No Fast Now

Contradicting a report Gandhiji said on the 9th that he had no intention of fasting at present, but circumstances might arise of which he had no knowledge at present, when he might

be compelled to undertake a fast. On the 10th he said it should be the first duty of Congressmen to explain clearly to miscreants who took part in recent disturbances the full consequences of their misdeeds and to induce them to come forward and own their guilt publicly. He also suggested to his audience that they should observe an hour's silence every day to purify their souls. On the 11th he said he spoke as a Hindu having a living faith in his own religion, and he claimed to be a better Hindu for claiming to be a good Muslim, Christian, Parsi or

Jain to exploit it for the benefit of his politics, including the White policy towards the coloured races. Considering the treatment to which the White Government of the Union has subjected Indians by law and considering how that Government has been defying the United Nations Indians could participate in Gandhi's sponsored fasts only at the expense of their racial self-respect and honour. That is why representative Indian bodies as also the coloured people's Organisation have decided to abstain from celebrations in honour of

In Free India

Hardar Vallabhbhai Patel, in a message to the (Singapore) Conference said: "Next year India will be free. In Free India there should be no difference between community and community and between the rich and the poor. Though we are on the verge of freedom we have not got the full power of digest. Farmers should produce enough cloth for themselves, enough foodgrains for themselves, should never drink, forget all intestine quarrels and should not go to the new law courts. Then only will they be able to administer their country for their benefit and enjoy real freedom."

Nehru On Planning

In the course of the inaugural address to the annual session of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry, held at New Delhi on the 3rd, Pandit Nehru said: "It is entirely wrong if you imagine that this Government or any member of this Government is out to injure industry. That will be folly on our part. We want to provide facilities for industry and facilities for production—technique, materials, power resources, and all that."

Government were pursuing numerous schemes of development at the present moment some of them bigger in extent at any rate than the T. V. A. scheme. Government had been held up by various difficulties but they wanted to go ahead. Government wanted to produce power in India, because power was the basis of industry, and Government wanted basic industries, without which they would always be dependent on others for industrial growth.

"The whole policy of Government is so far as I can speak for Government, is to encourage the industrialisation of India to encourage the use of India's manpower in every possible way. When I talk about industrialisation, I do not see any essential conflict between the development of cottage industries in India and the industrialisation of India. If we want to use all our man power, it is quite impossible for us to absorb it in big industries for a very long time to come. Even if you have millions and millions coming into big industry, yet tens of millions remain. Therefore, there is no essential conflict, though there may be a little difficulty and overlapping which can be adjusted. Mahatma Gandhi has laid stress again, as he has often done, on using India's manpower to the best advantage. That ought to be eternally with us." He

RACE DISCRIMINATION ABOLISHED IN NIGERIA

RACIAL discrimination was attacked by the Governor of Nigeria, Sir Arthur Richards, in his opening speech at the first meeting of the Legislative Council, under the new constitution.

"Let me state in most unequivocal terms that the Nigerian Government is entirely opposed to racial discrimination in any shape or form, that in matters within its own sphere, it views racial discrimination with complete disapproval."

The private life of the private citizen is not a matter for Government regulation or interference, unless or until it passes from a purely private concern to public significance.

"Divisions which have their origin in different social and economic standards are inevitable, but divisions based on race, cannot be supported."

The Governor then gave reasons for the founding of European reservations and hospitals as being mainly for reasons of health, and because of widely diverging social conditions.

He said: "The Government's policy in the future is that all new hospitals will be general hospitals, with three classes of wards based on the ability to pay and the difference in customary diet."

"There will be no racial discrimination. Present accommodation reserved for Europeans, will in future be open to persons of any race, whose social and economic standards are similar, and who are able to pay."

Talking of the licensing of hotels and bars, the Governor said again there would be no discrimination. He said that the standard of conduct would be the guiding factor.

He went on to say "I have spoken frankly. I trust that you will accept my assurances in the spirit in which they have been offered. It takes two sides to make for friendly co-operation."

Three elected Lagos members absented themselves from meeting, protesting against the new constitution. All other 43 members attended the Council, which has a native non-official majority.

Jew as he was a Hindu. And he invited every one of his audience to feel likewise. He would forfeit his claim to be a Hindu if he bolstered up the wrong doing of his fellow Hindus or any other fellow being.

'Deplorable Betrayal'

In an editorial with this heading, the *Sunday Chronicle* writes:

The boycott by Indians in South Africa of the Royal visit has, it has been repeatedly pointed out by all responsible leaders, nothing personal to it, much less is it intended as a discourtesy to the visitors. The visit has to be boycotted because of the undoubted intention of General

the Royal visit, a decision which Mahatma Gandhi had endorsed as "a national and dignified step by any self-respecting body of people." In the circumstances it is most deplorable and shocking that a number of Indians in Natal should have decided to go against the will of their fellow Indians and other coloured people and thus given an exhibition of an ignominious lack of all sense of self-respect and national dignity. They have humiliated themselves and their people and it is difficult to characterize their conduct in mild language. Those men have ill-served both the cause of Indians in South Africa and the honour of the motherland."

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thought that in future there was no reason why there should not be a place in India for industrialists businessmen from outside, provided they fitted into the picture we produced in India. Our structure would necessarily be based on considerations of India's progress so that it may benefit the hundreds of millions who inhabited India.

'Centre Of Asia'

Referring to the recent statement made by the British Prime Minister in regard to "the imminent withdrawal of British power from India," Pandit Nehru said, "Obviously, that statement, or rather the facts which made that statement inevitable made many

be situated geographically and economically, is going to be the centre of Asia. India inevitably becomes in sense a hub of the future working of western, southern and south western Asia. We cannot escape that. It is inevitable, and we have to live up to it.

Famous For Tolerance

Speaking at the Doon High School at Dehra Dun on the 9th, Pandit Nehru said: "We may belong to this religion or that, but the first thing we have to learn is that we are human beings and Indians and that each one of us has the honour of India in his keeping."

India has been famous in the past for its tolerance when people in other countries were quarrelling with each other over trivial

matters. Today there are many foolish people in India who have forgotten this old traditional tolerance. It is for our schools to train our youth in the practice of tolerance and co-operation. I am glad that the Doon School encourages this."

India's Foreign Policy

"Government pursues an independent foreign policy, which, while seeking co-operation with the great powers, avoids entanglement in what is known as power politics," said Pandit Nehru in reply Prof. Hanga in the Assembly. "It is the function of our Ambassador in Washington and his staff to make known the general lines of Government's foreign policy to the people of the United States of America," he added.

BOYCOTTING OF INDIAN TRADERS—NOT A MATTER WHICH CONCERNS GOVT.

THE boycotting of Indian traders in South Africa is not a matter with which the Government are concerned, said the Acting Minister of Economic Development, replying to Mr. J. Klopper, M.P. (Nat., Vrededorst), in the Union House of Assembly.

The Minister said it had not been brought to his notice that the turnover of Indian traders was decreasing owing to there being boycotted.

Asked whether he would take steps to ensure that surplus commodities in the possession of Indian traders as a result of the boycott were not dumped on the Black Market, the Minister said "Price control regulations provide for measures to be taken where a trader has larger stocks on hand than is considered necessary for his reasonable business turnover. Where such cases are brought to notice they will be dealt with severely."

people who had been moving in small grooves and not paying attention to these major factors, etc. The fact is that behind that statement, generous as it is—because it is certainly a brave act to recognize facts occasionally and many people try to avoid recognizing the most obvious facts—there is a certain dynamic quality about the Indian situation whether you consider it political or economic, which cannot be ignored and which cannot be stopped. India is going ahead and in spite of all manner of setbacks, you cannot stop India. On the political side of it, the British Government recognizes that, and we must appreciate their wisdom and courage in doing so. But the fact remains, and from that fact flow the facts, that India is the

MOLVI ISMAIL CACHALIA LEADS BATCH OF 20 RESISTERS

A GROUP of twenty passive resisters, all from the Transvaal including four women, were sentenced to the Durban Magistrate's Court on Monday, March 24, to one month's imprisonment or £3 fine. All went to prison.

The group consisted of Indians, Malays and Coloureds, and was led by Molvi Ismail Ahmed Cachalia, executive member of the Transvaal Indian Congress, and son of the late Mr. A. I. Cachalia who was President of the Transvaal British Indian Association in Mahatma Gandhi's time and had ruined his whole career in fighting for the rights of the community. Not long ago Mrs. Cachalia served a term of a month's imprisonment as a passive resister.

In a statement to Court Molvi Cachalia said: "It was wrong for the privileged ruling class to deprive a voteless minority of its elementary rights. We shall never submit to degradation or accept slavery. We are conscious that the path before us is one of suffering, but, armed as we are with the weapon of Truth, we shall endure trials with calm dignity."

Things In General

Indian Immigrants

The Acting Minister of the Interior gave Mr. O. Ntse (Dom., South Coast), in the Union House of Assembly details of Indian immigrants who entered the Union for the first time for permanent residence in the last three years. There were 91 in 1944, 535 in 1945 and 695 in 1946. All of these Indians were women or children under 16 years old and had been admitted as the wives or minor children of domiciled Indians under the Immigrant Regulation Act of 1913.

To All Indian Employers

The following has been issued by the Unemployment Bureau of the Natal Indian Congress to all Indian employers:—The Natal Indian Congress has now opened a special department for the unemployed Indian workers of Natal. It has in its books hundreds of such workers who are seeking various types of employment. There is need of any

workers for their establishment immediately or at any future date are requested to apply to the bureau.

Dr. Dadoo And Naicker Meet Gandhi

Dr. Y. M. Dadoo and Dr. G. M. Naicker met Gandhiji on March 21 in a town in the Bihar province, where they discussed with him problems relating to Indians in South Africa. They are reported to have sought Gandhiji's advice in connection with the passive resistance movement. Dr. Dadoo told Rector's correspondent that he and Dr. Naicker will meet Gandhiji again to continue their talks, after they have attended the Asian Relations Conference in Delhi. Both Dr. Dadoo and Naicker have already met Pandit Nehru, Vice-President of the Interim Government, and they expect to have a second

meeting with him. They also hope to meet Mr. Mahatma A. J. K. R. at the end of the Moscow League.

Removal Of Indians From S. A. Economic Life

Action to remove Indians from South Africa's economic life is the first of the aims and objects of the newly-formed "Sold-Africans Boeremings-Beweging" set out in the organization's constitution. The organization will "encourage the ultimate departure of all Indians

DEPRIVED OF WAR PENSION

MRS. ELLAPEN NAICKER has been deprived of her war pension, which was her only source of income.

Mrs. Naicker's husband was killed in action up north, for which she received a monthly pension of £8 15s. When she called at the local pay office last month an official informed Mrs. Naicker that on instructions from the paymaster her pension had been cancelled while she was serving a term of imprisonment for resisting.

In reply to her question as to how she was to live, the official is reported to have told her to go to the Congress for help, since she chose to get involved in the resistance movement. Mrs. Naicker received no written notification of the cessation of her pension.

The legal advisers of the Natal Indian Congress are investigating the matter.

Mrs. Naicker was one of two first women to volunteer as a resister. With the first batch of resisters she served a sentence of four months in prison with hard labour. A few weeks later a letter released her resister again and was sent to prison for another three months.

from South Africa, after proper compensation for their fixed property." Other objects are the immediate cessation of Indian immigration; the setting of commercial undertakings of "Europeans, Natives and Coloureds" to replace Indian business and the "enlightening of the population, European and non-European, of the threat represented by Indians in South Africa as an advance part of the Asiatic movement towards domination over Europeans." The constitution is issued by the Action Committee of the organization, in terms of its mandate from the recent Verveninge congress of the movement.

First Step Towards Burma's Independence

To prevent disorders when Burma goes to the polls next month, the Burma Government is taking special precautions including police protection for voters. The election is for the formation of a constituent assembly—the first step on Burma's way to independence.

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MEDICAL SCHOOLS' CURIOUS RULE

A CORRESPONDENT over the non-de-plains "Student" writes in the *Round Daily Mail*:

Sir,—The University of the Witwatersrand has a well deserved reputation for liberalism and rationalism in non-European affairs. It is at this University, however, that I have come across one of the most fantastic examples of racial discrimination which our unhappy country has yet produced. I refer to the rule that non-European medical students may not conduct, or be present at, a post mortem examination on the corpse of a European.

There seems to be some doubt whether the University authorities or the Hospital Board are responsible for the rule. Whichever it is, it seems almost incredible that a body of educated adults should pass such a rule.

For the general public the matter may be regarded as having merely an academic importance. For the non-European medical student, it is rather more serious. Deprived of a considerable part of the practical experience of the syllabus, it is not only very difficult to pass pathology examinations. The annual output of desperate needed non-European doctors is thus substantially reduced by the race theories of those in authority. Under these circumstances, I would suggest that some sort of official examination is definitely

estimated that about 4,000 Hindus and Sikhs were killed in the township attacks and Hindu districts of western Punjab during the recent communal rioting. Remind that the Sikhs were determined not to join any Hindu Minority Council by the Muslim League. He agreed with the scheme for the partition of the Punjab suggested recently by the Congress Party Working Committee, but said that he was anxious that the Sikhs should not be divided by a partition scheme.

Mr. Jinnah, president of the All India Muslim League, sent a message to the Punjab Muslims, calling on them to assist in restoring peace and order in the Punjab.

Yugoslav Support To S.A. Indians' Cause

Pandit Nehru has sent a telegram to Mr. Stjepan Simich, the Yugoslav Foreign Minister, thanking the Yugoslav delegation to the United Nations General Assembly for its attitude on the question of Indians in South Africa.

Indians Refused Admission In Zorust Town Hall

The Town Council of Zorust has decided that Indians are not to be admitted to the Town Hall and resolved that a site would be allocated in the Asiatic Bazaar for the erection of a community hall for Amulies for entertainment purposes. This proposal has been rejected by the Indians, who feel that as taxpayers of Zorust they should not be debarred from the Town Hall and should be allowed entertainment in it.

S.A. Hindu Maha Sabha

The biennial meeting of South African Hindu Maha Sabha was held at the Great Hindu Amulies, 101 Victoria Street, Durban on Saturday and Sunday the 17th and 18th March, with representatives of institutions and officials present in good numbers to take part in the deliberations and to appoint new officials for the coming two years.

The secretarial report, outlining the activities of the Sabha was accepted without comment. The following officials were elected: President Dr. N. P. Doss, Chairman of Council: Mr. S. L. Singh. Vice Presidents: Messrs. R. B. Chetty, T. M. Nicker, J. S. Roopnarain, M. K. Lodhia, V. M. Naidu, S. R. Pathe, Nalhuo Tabba, P. B. Singh, B. R. Singh, S. R. Naidoo (P.M. hon.) A. J. Naidoo and M. O. Varman. Joint Treasurer: Messrs. G. B. Chetty and M. Manjes. General Secretary: B. Raghunath, sec. secretary: G. E. Palla. Council Members: Messrs. S. M. Govender, D. G.

Batra Dava, L. B. Patel, T. S. Pillay, R. Gopalsingh K. P. Doss, D. S. Chetty, Ramnathar Mohabier, Bhagoo Ramjee, A. S. Pathe, Pt. Jagmohan Singh, V. S. V. Pillay, S. R. Naidoo (Hon.), L. Kris Naidoo, D. V. Nanton, H. G. Thallab, Pt. Ramavathar Shakti, P. Abhay Naidoo, R. P. Soni, Govan Mool.

Chamber Of South African Indian Merchants

A move, initiated by Mr. M. A. Dinath, a leading Indian business man of Johannesburg, resulted in discussions being held between other Indian merchants to decide upon the formation of a Chamber of South African Indian Merchants, with the prime object of fostering better and more friendly trade relations between European consumers and Indian traders throughout the country.

Membership of the Chamber will be open to all wholesale and retail Indian traders throughout the Union. All members of the Chamber will be protected under various clauses relating to legal aspects associated with the trade, and members connected with both wholesale and retail trade, will benefit under many aid and reform clauses which fall under the aims and objects of the Chamber.

The Chamber which will be a non-political body, will have its headquarters in Johannesburg, and will employ the services of several European and Indian experts who will guide the Chamber along the various channels connected with wholesale and retail trade.

The immediate task of the Chamber will be to assist the Indian Retailer in obtaining a greater supply of commodities and will also undertake to secure his members financially.

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Communal Riots In Punjab

Thirteen shops were burnt out through arson inside the New Diligat in Lahore. The loss is reported to be about 30,000 rupees (about £2,500). This was the first case of arson since March 13, when a factory in an outlying suburb was burnt down. Master Tara Singh, the veteran Sikh leader, died in New Delhi on March 22 last.

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14042, 14043, 14044, 14045, 14046, 14047, 14048, 14049, 14050, 14051, 14052, 14053, 14054, 14055, 14056, 14057, 14058, 14059, 14060, 14061, 14062, 14063, 14064, 14065, 14066, 14067, 14068, 14069, 14070, 14071, 14072, 14073, 14074, 14075, 14076, 14077, 14078, 14079, 14080, 14081, 14082, 14083, 14084, 14085, 14086, 14087, 14088, 14089, 14090, 14091, 14092, 14093, 14094, 14095, 14096, 14097, 14098, 14099, 14100, 14101, 14102, 14103, 14104, 14105, 14106, 14107, 14108, 14109, 14110, 14111, 14112, 14113, 14114, 14115, 14116, 14117, 14118, 14119, 14120, 14121, 14122, 14123, 14124, 14125, 14126, 14127, 14128, 14129, 14130, 14131, 14132, 14133, 14134, 14135, 14136, 14137, 14138, 14139, 14140, 14141, 14142, 14143, 14144, 14145, 14146, 14147, 14148, 14149, 14150, 14151, 14152, 14153, 14154, 14155, 14156, 14157, 14158, 14159, 14160, 14161, 14162, 14163, 14164, 14165, 14166, 14167, 14168, 14169, 14170, 14171, 14172, 14173, 14174, 14175, 14176, 14177, 14178, 14179, 14180, 14181, 14182, 14183, 14184, 14185, 14186, 14187, 14188, 14189, 14190, 14191, 14192, 14193, 14194, 14195, 14196, 14197, 14198, 14199, 14200, 14201, 14202, 14203, 14204, 14205, 14206, 14207, 14208, 14209, 14210, 14211, 14212, 14213, 14214, 14215, 14216, 14217, 14218, 14219, 14220, 14221, 14222, 14223, 14224, 14225, 14226, 14227, 14228, 14229, 14230, 14231, 14232, 14233, 14234, 14235, 14236, 14237, 14238, 14239, 14240, 14241, 14242, 14243, 14244, 14245, 14246, 14247, 14248, 14249, 14250, 14251, 14252, 14253, 14254, 14255, 14256, 14257, 14258, 14259, 14260, 14261, 14262, 14263, 14264, 14265, 14266, 14267, 14268, 14269, 14270, 14271, 14272, 14273, 14274, 14275, 14276, 14277, 14278, 14279, 14280, 14281, 14282, 14283, 14284, 14285, 14286, 14287, 14288, 14289, 14290, 14291, 14292, 14293, 14294, 14295, 14296, 14297, 14298, 14299, 14300, 14301, 14302, 14303, 14304, 14305, 14306, 14307, 14308, 14309, 14310, 14311, 14312, 14313, 14314, 14315, 14316, 14317, 14318, 14319, 14320, 14321, 14322, 14323, 14324, 14325, 14326, 14327, 14328, 14329, 14330, 14331, 14332, 14333, 14334, 14335, 14336, 14337, 14338, 14339, 14340, 14341, 14342, 14343, 14344, 14345, 14346, 14347, 14348, 14349, 14350, 14351, 14352, 14353, 14354, 14355, 14356, 14357, 14358, 14359, 14360, 14361, 14362, 14363, 14364, 14365, 14366, 14367, 14368, 14369, 14370, 14371, 14372, 14373, 14374, 14375, 14376, 14377, 14378, 14379, 14380, 14381, 14382, 14383, 14384, 14385, 14386, 14387, 14388, 14389, 14390, 14391, 14392, 14393, 14394, 14395, 14396, 14397, 14398, 14399, 14400, 14401, 14402, 14403, 14404, 14405, 14406, 14407, 14408, 14409, 14410, 14411, 14412, 14413, 14414, 14415, 14416, 14417, 14418, 14419, 14420, 14421, 14422, 14423, 14424, 14425, 14426, 14427, 14428, 14429, 14430, 14431, 14432, 14433, 14434, 14435, 14436, 14437, 14438, 14439, 14440, 14441, 14442, 14443, 14444, 14445, 14446, 14447, 14448, 14449, 14450, 14451, 14452, 14453, 14454, 14455, 14456, 14457, 14458, 14459, 14460, 14461, 14462, 14463, 14464, 14465, 14466, 14467, 14468, 14469, 14470, 14471, 14472, 14473, 14474, 14475, 14476, 14477, 14478, 14479, 14480, 14481, 14482, 14483, 14484, 14485, 14486, 14487, 14488, 14489, 14490, 14491, 14492, 14493, 14494, 14495, 14496, 14497, 14498, 14499, 14500, 14501, 14502, 14503, 14504, 14505, 14506, 14507, 14508, 14509, 14510, 14511, 14512, 14513, 14514, 14515, 14516, 14517, 14518, 14519, 14520, 14521, 14522, 14523, 14524, 14525, 14526, 14527, 14528, 14529, 14530, 14531, 14532, 14533, 14534, 14535, 14536, 14537, 14538, 14539, 14540, 14541, 14542, 14543, 14544, 14545, 14546, 14547, 14548, 14549, 14550, 14551, 14552, 14553, 14554, 14555, 14556, 14557, 14558, 14559, 14560, 14561, 14562, 14563, 14564, 14565, 14566, 14567, 14568, 14569, 14570, 14571, 14572, 14573, 14574, 14575, 14576, 14577, 14578, 14579, 14580, 14581, 14582, 14583, 14584, 14585, 14586, 14587, 14588, 14589, 14590, 14591, 14592, 14593, 14594, 14595, 14596, 14597, 14598, 14599, 14600, 14601, 14602, 14603, 14604, 14605, 14606, 14607, 14608, 14609, 14610, 14611, 14612, 14613, 14614, 14615, 14616, 14617, 14618, 14619, 14620, 14621, 14622, 14623, 14624, 14625, 14626, 14627, 14628, 14629, 14630, 14631, 14632, 14633, 14634, 14635, 14636, 14637, 14638, 14639, 14640, 14641, 14642, 14643, 14644, 14645, 14646, 14647, 14648, 14649, 14650, 14651, 14652, 14653, 14654, 14655, 14656, 14657, 14658, 14659, 14660, 14661, 14662, 14663, 14664, 14665, 14666, 14667, 14668, 14669, 14670, 14671, 14672, 14673, 14674, 14675, 14676, 14677, 14678, 14679, 14680, 14681, 14682, 14683, 14684, 14685, 14686, 14687, 14688, 14689, 14690, 14691, 14692, 14693, 14694, 14695, 14696, 14697, 14698, 14699, 14700, 14701, 14702, 14703, 14704, 14705, 14706, 14707, 14708, 14709, 14710, 14711, 14712, 14713, 14714, 14715, 14716, 14717, 14718, 14719, 14720, 14721, 14722, 14723, 14724, 14725, 14726, 14727, 14728, 14729, 14730, 14731, 14732, 14733, 14734, 14735, 14736, 14737, 14738, 14739, 14740, 14741, 14742, 14743, 14744, 14745, 14746, 14747, 14748, 14749, 14750, 14751, 14752, 14753, 14754, 14755, 14756, 14757, 14758, 14759, 14760, 14761, 14762, 14763, 14764, 14765, 14766, 14767, 14768, 14769, 14770, 14771, 14772, 14773, 14774, 14775, 14776, 14777, 14778, 14779, 14780, 14781, 14782, 14783, 14784, 14785, 14786, 14787, 14788, 14789, 14790, 14791, 14792, 14793, 14794, 14795, 14796, 14797, 14798, 14799, 14800, 14801, 14802, 14803, 14804, 14805, 14806, 14807, 14808, 14809, 14810, 14811, 14812, 14813, 14814, 14815, 14816, 14817, 14818, 14819, 14820, 14821, 14822, 14823, 14824, 14825, 14826, 14827, 14828, 14829, 14830, 14831, 14832, 14833, 14834, 14835, 14836, 14837, 14838, 14839, 14840, 14841, 14842, 14843, 14844, 14845, 14846, 14847, 14848, 14849, 14850, 14851, 14852, 14853, 14854, 14855, 14856, 14857, 14858, 14859, 14860, 14861, 14862, 14863, 14864, 14865, 14866, 14867, 14868, 14869, 14870, 14871, 14872, 14873, 14874, 14875, 14876, 14877, 14878, 14879, 14880, 14881, 14882, 14883, 14884, 14885, 14886, 14887, 14888, 14889, 14890, 14891, 14892, 14893, 14894, 14895, 14896, 14897, 14898, 14899, 14900, 14901, 14902, 14903, 14904, 14905, 14906, 14907, 14908, 14909, 14910, 14911, 14912, 14913, 14914, 14915, 14916, 14917, 14918, 14919, 14920, 14921, 14922, 14923, 14924, 14925, 14926, 14927, 14928, 14929, 14930, 14931, 14932, 14933, 14934, 14935, 14936, 14937, 14938, 14939, 14940, 14941, 14942, 14943, 14944, 14945, 14946, 14947, 14948, 14949, 14950, 14951, 14952, 14953, 14954, 14955, 14956, 14957, 14958, 14959, 14960, 14961, 14962, 14963, 14964, 14965, 14966, 14967, 14968, 14969, 14970, 14971, 14972, 14973, 14974, 14975, 14976, 14977, 14978, 14979, 14980, 14981, 14982, 14983, 14984, 14985, 14986, 14987, 14988, 14989, 14990, 14991, 14992, 14993, 14994, 14995, 14996, 14997, 14998, 14999, 15000, 15001, 15002, 15003, 15004, 15005, 15006, 15007, 15008, 15009, 15010, 15011, 15012, 15013, 15014, 15015, 15016, 15017, 15018, 15019, 15020, 15021, 15022, 15023, 15024, 15025, 15026, 15027, 15028, 15029, 15030, 15031, 15032, 15033, 15034, 15035, 15036, 15037, 15038, 15039, 15040, 15041, 15042, 15043, 15044, 15045, 15046, 15047, 15048, 15049, 15050, 15051, 15052, 15053, 15054, 15055, 15056, 15057, 15058, 15059, 15060, 15061, 15062, 15063, 15064, 15065, 15066, 15067, 15068, 15069, 15070, 15071, 15072, 15073, 15074, 15075, 15076, 15077, 15078, 15079, 15080, 15081, 15082, 15083, 15084, 15085, 15086, 15087, 15088, 15089, 15090, 15091, 15092, 15093, 15094, 15095, 15096, 15097, 15098, 15099, 15100, 15101, 15102, 15103, 15104, 15105, 15106, 15107, 15108, 15109, 15110, 15111, 15112, 15113, 15114, 15115, 15116, 15117, 15118, 15119, 15120, 15121, 15122, 15123, 15124, 15125, 15126, 15127, 15128, 15129, 15130, 15131, 15132, 15133, 15134, 15135, 15136, 15137, 15138, 15139, 15140, 15141, 15142, 15143, 15144, 15145, 15146, 15147, 15148, 15149, 15150, 15151, 15152, 15153, 15154, 15155, 15156, 15157, 15158, 15159, 15160, 15161, 15162, 15163, 15164, 15165, 15166, 15167, 15168, 15169, 15170, 15171, 15172, 15173, 15174, 15175, 15176, 15177, 15178, 15179, 15180, 15181, 15182, 15183, 15184, 15185, 15186, 15187, 15188, 15189, 15190, 15191, 15192, 15193, 15194, 15195, 15196, 15197, 15198, 15199, 15200, 15201, 15202, 15203, 15204, 15205, 15206, 15207, 15208, 15209, 15210, 15211, 15212, 15213, 15214, 15215, 15216, 15217, 15218, 15219, 15220, 15221, 15222, 15223, 15224, 15225, 15226, 15227, 15228, 15229, 15230, 15231, 15232, 15233, 15234, 15235, 15236, 15237, 15238, 15239, 15240, 15241, 15242, 15243, 15244, 15245, 15246, 15247, 15248, 15249, 15250, 15251, 15252, 15253, 15254, 15255, 15256, 15257, 15258, 15259, 15260, 15261, 15262, 15263, 15264, 15265, 15266, 15267, 15268, 15269, 15270, 15271, 15272, 15273, 15274, 15275, 15276, 15277, 15278, 15279, 15280, 15281, 15282, 15283, 15284, 15285, 15286, 15287, 15288, 15289, 15290, 15291, 15292, 15293, 15294, 15295, 15296, 15297, 15298, 15299, 15300, 15301, 15302, 15303, 15304, 15305, 15306, 15307, 15308, 15309, 15310, 15311, 15312, 15313, 15314, 15315, 15316, 15317, 15318, 15319, 15320, 15321, 15322, 15323, 15324, 15325, 15326, 1532

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५१५१ ५१५२

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163, 241, 312

୪୭୫ ଅବସ୍ଥା ଶ୍ରୀମତୀ ବାମନା କୁଟି ନଂ ୩ ୮/୧
 ୩.୧ ୨ ୧୫୫୮ ଶ୍ରୀମତୀ ଅନାମାୟା ୩୫୫/୦ ୧ ୫୪୨

५२ श्रीभक्तिसिद्धि

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ପ୍ରଥମ ଭେଟିଂ ଟ୍ରଷ୍ଟ ସଂଗୀତ ଟ୍ରଷ୍ଟ	୧୦/୧
ନିଜର ସମସ୍ତ ସମ୍ପତ୍ତି ଟ୍ରଷ୍ଟ	୨୦/୧
ସାହି ଉଦ୍‌ୟାସୀ ଆଉ ପ୍ରଥମ ଅନେକ କରୁଛନ୍ତି	
ଅନେକ କରୁଛନ୍ତି ସଂଗୀତ ଟ୍ରଷ୍ଟ	୧୦/୧୨ ପାଞ୍ଚ
କରୁଛନ୍ତି କରୁଛନ୍ତି ସଂଗୀତ ଟ୍ରଷ୍ଟ	୧୫/୧
କରୁଛନ୍ତି କରୁଛନ୍ତି ସଂଗୀତ ଟ୍ରଷ୍ଟ	୧୫/୧

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INDIAN OPINION

Founded by
MAHATMA GANDHI
N. 903

No. 14.—Vol XLV

FRIDAY, 4TH APRIL, 1947.

Registered at G.P.O. as a newspaper
No. 14 of 1947

Indian Opinion

FRIDAY 4TH APRIL, 1947

Minister Of Justice Defends Police

THE Minister of Justice, Mr. H. G. Lawrence, it is reported, has officially refuted allegations of brutal treatment on non-Europeans by the police. "There is no justification whatsoever for the rash allegation that it is usual for the police to abuse their positions by brutal treatment of non-Europeans," he said. "Statements of this character cast a slur on a magnificent body of men who are carrying out their duties in the face of many difficulties and und trying and, not infrequently, dangerous circumstances. The Minister emphasised that the police were trained not to discriminate in their treatment of the various races. Warnings, indeed, were frequently issued against any form of ill-treatment whatsoever, no matter to which section of the population the person affected belonged. He added "While it would be improper for me at this stage to make any comment on that portion of the report affecting the alleged conduct of the police during the African Mineworkers strike since the investigations regarding the strike are still *sub judice*, in fairness to the police I wish to take this opportunity of publicly refuting the unwarranted condemnation of the Police Force. It is true that isolated cases of unnecessary violence have occurred,

but when these cases come to notice, they are immediately investigated by senior officers and drastic action is taken.

The Minister of Justice's statement is no doubt based on reports he gets from his subordinate officers. He does not speak from personal experience. While we appreciate his indignation, we are relieved

at his question of justification in speaking so emphatically in his anxiety to exonerate the police officers. Not only do we question his justification in speaking so emphatically, but we equally emphatically refute the statement made by Mr. Lawrence and we come to speak from our personal experience. Mr. Lawrence has even defied the verdict on this subject of the Supreme Courts of the Union. There have been several instances recently where the Supreme Court Judge has commented on mishandling of non-Europeans by the police.

We do not hesitate to say that the general rule for the police to talk to non-Europeans is not by mouth but by fists and kicks. Instances are rare where the police have acted civilly towards non-Europeans. We know of one instance where a educated Indian youth was assaulted by a European and when he went to lodge a complaint he was told by a high police officer

that had he been in the place of that European he would have given him (the complainant) a good hammering. And this was just over an argument on civility. Would one dare to make a complaint to the police after this? Such instances, we venture to suggest, are common in the case of non-Europeans. The Minister of Justice's statement far from preventing them, will encourage them.

Our Opportunity

IN our last week's issue we made reference to the calamity that has befallen Britain within the last few weeks, first by the disastrous cold spell which dislocated the whole life of the British people in that small but great Island, and then by the unprecedented floods which have caused great havoc and destroyed millions worth of foodstuffs and livestock. People of Britain had hardly got over the ravages of war when they now find themselves crushed under the heavy hand of nature. That South Africa should rally to her rescue in this hour of her greatest trial is nothing but right. The people have risen spontaneously and a lightening campaign for a flood relief fund for Britain has been launched throughout the country. We are happy to note that our people have joined up to make their contribution. It is the duty of every Indian—rich and poor—not only to give but to give generously in this

humanitarian cause. This is an opportunity for Indians in South Africa to prove by concrete action to the Royal Family in particular and to the British people in general our profound sense of loyalty, respect and love for them. We hope our community will not fail to take it.

Boycott Movement

THE secretary of the Transvaal Indian Congress has made a Press statement complaining that the Government is not taking any action against the boycott of Indian traders by Europeans. He has also sent a telegram to the Prime Minister stating that because of the lack of action on the part of the Government, the boycotters are becoming more daring in their illegal and anti-democratic activities.

That Europeans should condemn the action of the boycotters is one thing; that Indians should do so is quite another and, in our opinion, not quite desirable. It does not behove us to stoop to their level because the Europeans boycott us. That is, after all, part of our self-imposed suffering for the sake of our national self-respect. A person is entitled to purchase his goods from wherever he chooses to. It is not obligatory for anyone to purchase from any particular person only. We do not think it is wise on our part to take a serious view of the boycott movement, if we are perturbed by it it will have served the purpose of those who are agitating against us. It should make us more determined in our fight for Truth and Justice. It is for the Government to maintain law and order. If they fail to do so they, not we, will be at fault. They will have to account for it before the

bar of the civilized world, not we. Our advice to our people, therefore, is not to lose their heads.

Mr. Heaton Nicholls On Racial Harmony

REPLYING to a question on how he found the London's Asiatic and Coloured problems after his visit overseas, Mr. G. Heaton Nicholls, Union High Commissioner in London, in a Press interview on the eve of his departure from South Africa for Britain said:

"The maintenance of racial harmony as the sole principle of South African government. Our whole political philosophy is based on the maintenance of racial harmony."

"Our political policy is founded by achievement, and for continued success our Western democracy is indivisible. We should not become deeply divided and even empty."

"We regret to have to say that Mr. Heaton Nicholls's career both in South Africa and overseas has not been conducive to the maintenance of racial harmony. It has, on the contrary, been responsible to a large extent for creating racial disharmony."

We are, however, a hundred per cent, in agreement with Mr. Nicholls in his belief that "with our resources wisely exploited and with goodwill among our multi-lingual population, we have been blessed with boundless opportunity."

But he very rightly says, "if such racial harmony cannot be obtained the future for all of us will be black."

The question is how such racial harmony can be obtained. Surely not by oppressive and humiliating laws imposed on voiceless and voiceless multitudes; not by perpetuating the Colour Bar.

In our humble opinion it can only be obtained by the abolition of all such laws and by pursuing a policy whereby the last vestige of Colour Bar would be eliminated from the political, social and economic life of South Africa.

WESTERN CIVILISATION

By L. W. RITCH

"...the happiness be found, and never again. If, however, the Golden Age is to be achieved, then the dark clouds will roll away, and a new humanity will be born on earth. Then the Golden Age will be here. But if not, then the storm will come, and the world will be a wasteland. The choice is yours."

H. P. Blavatsky, the author of these words died in 1891. They were written several years before her death and read a half a century later may not unreasonably be considered prophetic. Reviewing the ghastly happenings of 1936-1948, few would dare to quarrel with the concluding words of her prediction on the score of exaggeration. Taking a bird's-eye view of mankind's plight as reflected in current events and the prospects they would seem to portend, few would dare to say that "our boasted western civilisation and civilisation" is yet safe from the extinction that has threatened it throughout the last decade. From time immemorial the spiritually informed instructors of the race have emphasised that "there is a Law that moves to righteousness, that goes at last can turn aside or stay." That, defiance of the Law, which is an expression of divine omnipotence, spells disaster as certain of the fate of a man who challenges the law of gravitation by leaping from the top of a skyscraper.

Applied to human relationships, that Law is expressed in the simple but unequivocal commandment "Thou shalt love one another," that "ye do unto others as you would be done by." Mankind's peaceful progress depends, we are assured, upon the purposeful shaping of our conduct, individually and collectively, in harmonious conformity with that Law.

Putting our miserable little wills in opposition to it is but to break ourselves upon the wheel of destruction. Within the last half century two sharp object lessons have been set us such as should have served as warnings of the grave danger confronting the structure we call our civilisation, and of the urgent need for self-examination and a radical change of heart and mind.

Do we appear to be any the wiser for those lessons, or to have profited by them? Does the trend of current events encourage optimism and the belief that our "leaders" have abandoned earnestness for wisdom, expediency for principle,

class interests and parochialism for world concern and humanitarianism? Hardly. Indeed, it seems difficult to resist the conclusion that the powers in control are still striving their utmost to retain the "mock" in a sham democracy and to make the answer to Brit Harte's "Is our civilisation a failure?" A final and emphatic "Yes."

Country before class we used to be taught; mankind before country; God the all-immanent, before all, loyalty to Truth the highest duty. Time was when martyrdom for conscience sake compelled respect and even reverence; when lip-service in principle but surrender to expediency was regarded as contemptible, when the barter of man's spiritual birthright for a morsel of pollage was seen to be folly and a bad bargain.

Nowadays, we are cleverer, more practical, more matter of fact, "civilised." The old ideas regarding right and righteousness have become outmoded, out of date, sacrifice and self-surrender synonymous with foolishness, idealism an unwelcome intruder in practical politics since, like oil and water and having no affinity for each other, they don't mix. Freedom of course, is a good thing, but as it does not deprive ME of my right to deny it to the other fellow, as long as it does not interfere with MY enslavement, exploitation or outcasting of such other of my fellow humans as my prejudices, dislikes or selfish self-interest impel me to treat as inferior.

Like "Freedom," "Equality of opportunity" is an admirable slogan and, an essential element in our concept of democracy, subject, of course, to important limitations of that equality to the case of Asiatics, Coloureds and Natives. Established private and vested interests, supernaturally termed "danger to our white civilisation," demand those reservations. For, once "White is Right," the answer, the Bird of Freedom, must wear none but white feathers.

There is an old saw about "Whom the gods wish to destroy..." Another, about "Fools rushing in."

Well, the Fates are proverbially very patient and generous in the opportunism offered us to adapt ourselves to the demands of the over-riding Law. But, it may be well to remember that the long trail of mankind's evolutionary march is strewn with the bones of dead and gone civilisations, some of which

were even prouder than this of ours, (mistakenly thought to be the greatest ever) and also to ponder the significance of the age-old warning concerning the penalty of being neither "hot nor cold."

NEWS IN BRIEF

Penalised For Voting For An Indian Licence

Mr. Kimpson, chairman of the Pinetown Ratepayers Association, on Thursday, March 27, presided over a gathering of 128 ratepayers, of whom 42 were newly-elected members. Previously the Association had called upon those members of the Township Board who had voted in favour of a licence to an Indian to tender for European roads to resign. At Thursday's meeting the secretary, Mr. Bonan, named the five members of the board who had voted in favour of the Indian licence, and intimated that none of these members had resigned. A vote of no confidence in these members was put and unanimously carried.

Native Passengers In Airways

When the Senate last week considered the Airways and Harbours Appropriation Bill, Senator C. H. Malcomson (Nat. Rep.) asked for a statement of policy on allowing Natives to travel on South African Airways planes. A Native doctor had been booked for a flight to Durban but an official at the aerodrome had refused to accept him although Indians were accepted. This sort of treatment aggravated the bitterness felt by Natives. The Minister of Transport said a man could not be barred from travelling on aircraft because of his colour. He knew of no discrimination between Natives and Indians.

Land Tenure Board

The Asiatic Land Tenure & Advisory Board met on March 24 last Friday to consider 15 applications. Nine of the applications dealt with properties in Greater Durban. Three dealt with properties in Mariaburg, one with a property at Pinetown and the rest with properties at Lower Tugela and Umhlobo. Of the 15 applications, nine were from Indians and four were applications by Europeans to acquire land from Indians. The rest dealt with mortgages and leases.

CURRENT TOPICS

(FROM OUR DELHI CORRESPONDENT)

Tension Continues In Punjab

TENSION still continues in the Punjab. The riots started by the Muslim League at Lahore and Amritsar in the hope of many seizure of political power have spread like wild fire to Multan, Rawalpindi, Attock, Ludhiana and other centres. Hundreds of Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims have been killed, thousands wounded, whole streets, bazaar and villages burnt down, and scores worth of property looted or destroyed. The League has been unable as yet to form a Ministry in the province. A legislative majority cannot be secured by province-wide riot and destruction. Evidence of Government servants' complicity in these crimes is steadily growing. Sardar Baldev Singh, Defence Minister in the Interim Government, flew over many parts of the province. Pandit Nehru flew to Lahore to see what he can do to bring the situation under control. While the League patch has failed, the Hindus and Sikhs are demanding the immediate division of the province into Muslim and non-Muslim majority areas. This is geographically feasible, but among the opponents of any form of division is Mahatma Gandhi.

Madras Premier

Mr. T. Prakasam has at length placed his resignation in the Madras Governor's hands. He is to continue in office till the Budget is passed.

To Wipe Tears Of Muslims

Gandhi has started on a tour of Bihar—this time to wipe the tears of the Muslims. He will shortly have to proceed to the Punjab too on a similar healing mission.

To Liquidate Untouchability

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel announced in the Central Assembly administrative and legislative measures the Interim Government proposed to take to liquidate untouchability.

League Leader Talks Of Independent Bengal State

Now that agitation for the partition of Bengal into Hindu and Muslim majority divisions is also gathering momentum Premier Subhaschandra Bose began to talk in terms of an independent Bengal State in the new set up under all party government.

Black-Marketing Of Silver

The Black-marketing of silver from the U.S. to India by certain Belgians operating through London has led to Reserve Bank banning private imports of silver into the country. Indian prices are naturally rising while New York and London have registered a heavy fall.

GANDHIJI'S WARNING

MAHATMA GANDHI told an audience at a village in Bihar on March 27 that the Viceroy's first speech as Viceroy—in which he referred to Britain leaving India—was a deliberate, unconstitutional and unequivocal pronouncement.

Referring to "the madness that had swept over the land" Mahatma Gandhi said that he hoped that the people would have "wisdom enough not to tempt the Viceroy to eat his own words."

Status Of Hindu Women

The Hindu Law Committee set up to prepare a uniform code Hindu Law in their report recently submitted to Government recommends legislation for the introduction of monogamy, provision of divorce under certain specific conditions, increased share for the daughter in intestate succession to the father's property and other measures for improving Hindu women's status.

DRAFT ORDINANCE ON INDIAN ADVISORY BOARD

The appointment of an Indian Advisory Board throughout Natal to advise local authorities on housing and public health services for Indians is proposed in a draft ordinance prepared by the Natal Municipal Association. The ordinance has been prepared by Professor F. B. Burchell, M.A., LL.B., and Mr. W. L. Howes, M.A., LL.B., and embodies general principles put forward to the Administrator by Mrs. W. A. D. Russell, the Mayor of Maritzburg.

It is proposed that the Board shall consist of "such odd numbers of members as the local authority, subject to the approval of the Administrator, may determine, provided that in the case of the borough such number shall not be less than five nor more than nine, and in the case of any other local authority it shall not be less than three or more than seven, inclusive of the chairman."

The chairman of the Board, and one half of the remaining members shall be appointed annually by the local authorities from among its members. The other half of the Board shall be Indians.

For the purpose of election of Indian members, local authorities may divide their areas into Indian wards and apportion among them the total number of elected members of the board, and may from time to time abolish such wards, increase or reduce their numbers, or alter their boundaries.

Every male Indian who has lived within the area of the local authority for a continuous period of 12 months, and is registered as a voter under the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act, shall be qualified to be enrolled on the voters' list of such local authorities.

Any Indian who is qualified to be enrolled under Section 13 of Ordinance No. 21 of 1943 may at any time abandon his rights to be so enrolled. Every third year, not later than March 31, the local authority shall publish a notice in the daily Press inviting all persons qualified to be enrolled on the Indian voters' list to make application for enrolment on a fixed date.

The ordinance proposes that the Board shall consider and make recommendations to the local authority upon matters "concerning the provision by the local authority within the powers conferred upon it by law, of housing and public health services for Indians, and such other matters as may be specified by the local authority from time to time."

Note: We have reproduced the above for general information. We have already rejected the appointment of any such Advisory Board. It is merely an attempt by the spider to invite the fly to walk into its parlour. We can only hope our brethren will beware and not fall into the trap set by Government for them.—Ed, I.O.]



The Hon. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, vice-President of the Interim Government of India photographed while posing for Madame Clara Quran, the well-known Dutch sculptor.

THE political deadlock in the Punjab is no accident, says *Hindustan Times* in its issue of March 9. It is inherent in the situation. The Hindu-Muslim problem in this country is not a religious conflict. Nor is it a question of minority and majority. It is essentially a struggle for power in the two provinces of the Punjab and Bengal where the Muslims and non-Muslims are evenly balanced. In the Punjab, in 17 out of 30 districts the Muslims are in a majority and in the other 13 districts they are in a minority. In terms of population, the Muslim majority areas contain 17 millions while there are 11 millions in the non-Muslim majority areas. In Bengal, 40 out of a total of 60 millions live in the Muslim majority districts and the rest in areas where the Hindus are in a majority. In both provinces these areas form distinct compact regions. For the foreign ruler, this balancing of communities was convenient as he would keep both in check by judicious allocation of his favour and patronage between the two. But no attempt to responsible government is possible under this most unequal communal distribution. If, from the beginning, a system of joint electorates had been established, political parties on a non-communal basis might have evolved; but communal feeling has developed to such an extent that even joint electorates cannot now overcome it. It is, therefore, an irremediable condition of any kind of democratic government in these two provinces that they should be divided in a manner that will leave each community as predominant in its own area; that there will be no question of a struggle for power on a communal basis and all its attendant evils.

Partition of Bengal and the Punjab is necessary whether there is to be one sovereign State in India or more and whether in the case of the former there is to be a simple federation or a three-tier structure as proposed in the Cabinet Mission plan. In no case can there be provincial autonomy (as avoided) and it is in this field of autonomy that the sharpest conflict between the communities arises. If an Indian group or groups within the Union are constructed on the basis of the present Bengal and the Punjab, the communal conflict in those provinces is bound to be reflected in the Governments of the Groups and Union and the political life of the entire country will continue to be poisoned as it is today. If, on the other hand, the Muslim areas want to separate from the rest of the country and constitute independent sovereign States, the

THE PUNJAB DEADLOCK

cannot drag non-Muslim majority areas with them. Any such attempt can only mean immediate, relentless and organised opposition based on the insurmountable instinct of self-preservation.

The plan may be regarded with disfavour, on account of an insufficient appreciation of the issues involved, by the Muslims of Bengal and the Punjab and also by large sections of non-Muslims. In the case of Bengal, old memories of the anti-partition agitation and the powerful politics of the influential Hindu minority of East Bengal are bound to make the Hindus of the Province very reluctant to accept the idea of partition. In the Punjab also partition will, as stated by the Cabinet Mission, "of necessity divide the State leaving substantial bodies of Muslims on both sides of the boundary." But unless the Hindus of Bengal and the Muslims and Sikhs of the Punjab are prepared to throw in their lot, irrespective of all consequences, with the Muslim majority of these provinces, there is no alternative to partition which is necessary not only for the peaceful co-existence of these communities in the two provinces but for continued harmony

throughout the entire country. We saw how the Calcutta disturbances produced the Noakhali outbreak and how the latter in its turn, brought about the Bihar riots. The fear of communal disturbances now raging in the Punjab must, in part at least, be attributed to the memories of the earlier unfortunate events in other parts of the country. Therefore it is so necessary for the Hindus of Bengal to say that they will not submit to domination by the majority and also oppose partition. It is equally reasonable on the part of the Muslims and the Sikhs of the Punjab to say that they cannot allow the majority community to rule the provinces while insisting that the provinces should remain united.

For the Muslim League also, whether it is determined to secure an independent state or states of Pakistan or prepared to make terms with the Congress on some such basis as the Cabinet Mission plan, the partition of Bengal and Punjab is absolutely essential if effective Muslim control is to be secured in those areas. Not to seek to establish such control over disputed provinces is to invite disaster.

which can look after themselves without inconvenience to anybody else would be to court trouble.

Partition of these two provinces will bring a great simplification of the Indian political problem. The formula of non-coercion to which both the British Government and the Congress are pledged and which has been explicitly reaffirmed by the latest resolution of the Congress Working Committee will, for the first time, become applicable. While the Muslims will be free to decide the destiny of the areas in which they are an effective majority, they will think many times before they decide on complete political separation from the rest of India. If they decide finally to separate, the least harm will have done to those who do not want to follow them in their separatist policy.

It may be argued that the proposed partition will not completely solve the Hindu-Muslim problem as members of both the communities will be found in the partitioned provinces as well as the rest of India. This is true. But the minority of either community in any one unit will be in no position numerically to threaten the right of the majority to rule. It will, therefore, be easy for the majority to respect the special religious and cultural interests of the minority. It will also conduce to the formation of political parties on the basis of economic issues and minorities will thereby obtain their inherent right of leadership which they will never get on the numerical basis of their community. It may also be argued that the situation in the Punjab with its three communities is materially different from that of Bengal where it is a simple problem of two communities. But the Hindus and Muslims of the Punjab are completely at one so far as the issue of separation is concerned.

We therefore, heartily endorse the resolution of the Congress Working Committee on the present situation in the Punjab condemning attempts to impose a political solution through coercion. The Committee say truly: "These tragic events have demonstrated that there can be no settlement of the problem in the Punjab by violence and coercion and that no arrangement based on coercion can last. Therefore, it is necessary to find a way which involves the least amount of compulsion. This would necessitate a division of the Punjab into two provinces, so that the predominantly Muslim part may be separated from the predominantly non-Muslim part." This logic is inescapable for Bengal



PASSIVE RESISTANCE NOTES

Molvi Cachalia's Batch

THE following were included in the batch of resistors led by Molvi I. A. Cachalia last week.

PROTECTOR: Govindswami Perumal. **Philat:** Veera Govindaswami. **Philat:** Manohar Manohar. **Conductors:** Mrs. Moonie Candammy.

DESKMAN: Percy Krishnamoorthy. **Chair:** Krishnamoorthy Naidoo. **Doorkeeper:** Govender.

RECORDING: Miss S. Badal, Mrs. E. Jinn, A. S. Shylal, A. I. Moola.

JOURNALISM: Mrs. Helen Fortune, Vengasamy Rajoo, M. Ramdas Patel, Akka Davids, Ally Badani, Owen Alfred Smith, Sakubhai Natho, Sakubhai Parbhoothal.

account, which is further counter signed by the chairman of the Finance Committee, which consists of influential businessmen who are neither member of the Passive Resistance Council nor of the N.I.C. Executive.

The monthly statements are presented to the Passive Resistance Council and tabled before the Natal Indian Congress Executive for examination, queries and approval, and also presented to the Natal Indian Congress Working Committee on which are represented the various branches of Congress from all over Natal, and copies are sent to the Passive Resistance Council. A copy is also sent throughout Natal.

Monthly statements from June 1946 are available and the Jan-

YOUNG HINDU CULTURAL SERVICE SOCIETY

(FROM A LADYSMITH CORRESPONDENT)

The twelfth annual general meeting of the Young Hindu Cultural Service Society, which was founded in 1935 and has religious, social and educational aims, was held on March 18. The following office-bearers were elected: Patrons: Messrs. Vithal Lal, T. Raja, G. G. Chetty, (Ladysmith), S. Chotal, M. S. Achary, (Durban), S. K. Naidu, I. M. Chetty, president; Mr. R. Narasimha; vice-president: Messrs. K. R. Singh, R. T. Raja, S. Sawgoolam, H. R. Singh.

The above School welcomes many more such generous gestures from the Ladysmith public, as many deserving students, handicapped by the lack of adequate funds, have to forego the continuation of studies. The Principal on behalf of the mad school expresses his gratitude to the Society.

JOINT MEETING OF AFRICANS AND INDIANS

On Sunday, March 23, a further meeting was held in Johannesburg between representatives of the African National Congress, the Transvaal Indian Congress and the Natal Indian Congress to discuss steps towards co-operation between the non-European national organisations. Members of the Transvaal Provincial A.F.C. were present in force. The meeting was presided over by the newly elected president of the non-European national organisation in co-operation with the matters of common interest while retaining the identity of each organisation.

Mass Meeting On April 20

It was decided by the organisations present to hold a joint mass meeting in Johannesburg on April 20, at which the implications of the cooperation move will be fully explained to the non-European people. Similar meetings will be held in all the big centres of South Africa. At these meetings non-European and progressive whites who were present at Lake Success at the last session of the U. N. O. Assembly will speak.

A sub-committee from the organisations present is making the necessary arrangements for the Johannesburg meeting. Full details of the meeting will be announced in the near future. Organisers hope to make this meeting one of the biggest non-European meetings held in South Africa.

Africans Send Greetings To All-Asian Conference

AFRICANS greet rising Asia. May Asia's growing power be a source for world peace and goodwill among nations, and not for domination which must lead to more bloodshed. This message, addressed by Dr. Xuma, President-General of the African National Congress, to the Inter-Asian Conference in Delhi. Dr. Xuma expressed his regret in not being able to attend the conference. "So far world peace has been twice disturbed and destroyed in a generation by national ambitions for aggrandisement, domination and colonisation," adds the message. Dr. Xuma goes on to say that a new way, a new attitude must be adopted to save humanity from destruction. After stating that Africans stand between the East and the West as a buffer for goodwill with friendship for both, he asks: "Will Asia lead the new way?"

R. Kallie; Joint Hon. Secretaries: Messrs. N. S. Madhar and B. Vithal; Hon. Treasurer: Mr. D. Vithal; Hon. Auditor: R. T. Raja; Management Committee: Messrs. R. Hariprasad, B. Chaddie, A. Sarfoo, B. Parag, R. Dadibhai, A. C. Naidoo, G. Amaladas, P. Amidas, J. Kallidasa, M. Govindar.

Bursary Awards

The Young Hindu Cultural Society, a poor yet enterprising organisation in the field of educational, cultural and social upliftment has already set a lead in this matter by donating two bursaries, one for a boy and the other for a girl to enable them to complete the requirements for the



A group of Passive Resistors led by Molvi Ismail A. Cachalia. They were sentenced to 30 days imprisonment last week. Mr. Cachalia is seated in the centre.

On Friday, March 21, 12 were sentenced to 30 days' hard labour. Of these, Messrs. Thomas Naidoo, the leader of the batch and Mr. Tunga Moodley merited imprisonment for the third time.

Mr. Naidoo's batch included the following: E. A. David, H. G. Pillay, L. George, M. Subramoney M. Shunmugam, M. Moodley, G. Poonammy, Chellan Deemany, G. Deemany.

Passive Resistance Funds

Mr. Debi Singh, Secretary, Passive Resistance Council, writes:

Recently one or two letters have appeared in the daily and Indian press in regard to the passive resistance funds. It is not intended here to reply to each of these letters, but rather to inform the enquirers of the procedure adopted in making known the state of the passive resistance finances.

The books of the Passive Resistance Council are presented by the treasurer each month for audit by a Chartered Accountant (C.A.) who draws up an audited monthly income and expenditure

summary, February and March, 1947 statements will be ready in the middle of April. Besides a summary of income and expenditure from June to September, 1946, was presented to a conference of Action Committees held in October, 1946, and a further summary of income and expenditure since the campaign was launched to the end of December, 1946, is also available.

Donors who wish to avail themselves of these records may call at the offices of the Council or Action Committees and examine these statements whenever they so desire.

It might be pointed out that no organisation publishes in the Press its balance sheets and financial statements, even less a political organisation, such as the Natal Indian Congress or the Passive Resistance Council.

The Passive Resistance Council advertises in the Indian Press a notice calling upon donors to examine the financial statements of the Council so they become available from month to month or quarter to quarter, and in future these notices will be inserted in the daily Press as well.

Absence Of Japanese At Asian Conference

PANDIT NEHRU, said states a Reuters message from New Deh. dated March 27, that he would make no representations to the Allied Control authorities in Japan over their refusal to allow the Japanese delegation to attend the Asian Relations Conference now meeting.

Although he would like to have seen the Japanese represented, he said that it was a general rule that they were not allowed to leave Japan for such purposes at present.

Things In General

(Extracts From Sapa-Reuter Reports)

Gandhiji Advises Asian Conference

The delegates of 30 countries represented at the Asian Relations conference unanimously agreed to the setting up of a permanent "Asian relations or organisation with a national and affiliated to the central body in each member country," Reuter reports. Gandhiji in a due conference on Wednesday, April 3, that he would like to see one word in his life time. "If all you delegates go away determined to believe in one world and with the will to carry it through, there is no doubt that you will see that dream realised," he said. The *Asian Mercury's* correspondent adds that is a characteristic circular address Gandhiji said. "Now when we are at the eye of independence we do not want a change of masters, we want to be our own masters. But how we shall be our own masters I do not know, nor does Pandit Nehru, I would feel sad if India was going to see the independence which she has won by non-violence for the suppression of others."

United Indian An Impossibility

Calling for a truce with the "great Hindu community," Mr. Jinnah, president of the Muslim League, said in Bombay on March 27, "there is no alternative. It is better to divide and flourish than be united and slaves and destroy everything." A united India, he said, was an impossibility, for it would mean the rule of one nation by another. The idea of a united India was a British importation, and the British were "inspiring an armed camp" by insisting upon a united India.

New Viceroy Summons Conference Of Governors

Lord Louis Mountbatten, the Viceroy of India, has invited the Governors of all the provinces of British India to a conference in New Delhi in the middle of April. On Friday March 28, Lord Mountbatten gave a reception to the delegates of more than 100 Asiatic countries attending the Asian Relations Conference in New Delhi.

Viceroy's Intervention Sought In Riot Situation

The Deputy Mayor of Calcutta and other Congress members of the Calcutta Municipality sent a telegram to the Viceroy, Lord Mountbatten, on March 30, asking him for his immediate intervention in the Calcutta riot situation.

Pir Sahib Arrested

Pir Sahib, 26 years old Moslem League leader in the North West Frontier Province, was arrested in the Moslem League office in Peshawar. Pir Sahib has been touring the Frontier areas urging the Moslem tribesmen to support the Moslem League claims for Pakistan.

U.K. STUDENTS PROTEST AGAINST RACIAL DISCRIMINATION IN SOUTH AFRICA

FIVE hundred students from 43 colleges and universities in the British Isles have appended their signatures to a petition presented on March 31 at Buckingham Palace for the King on South Africa.

The petition draws attention to the constant use of racial discrimination and injustice in South Africa.

Supported by the Student Labour Federation, the petition is signed by the past and Miss Mary Atlee, sister of the Prime Minister, Bishop Karney and Prof. Lancelot Hogben, formerly of the University of Cape Town.

Four Thousand Estimated Dead

A Sapa Reuter's message from New Delhi on March 28 said: A high level of communal violence has been reported in the northern Punjab as a result of communal disturbances there. Property and lives are being lost in cities, towns and villages in comparable with war damage and loss widespread for several months. In camps now number 45,000.

Indian Budget Crisis Averted

An Indian budget crisis has been averted by an executive decision by Mr. Liaquat Khan, the Finance Minister of the Interim Government, that the business profits tax would be reduced below the proposed figure. Congress Party members had expressed opposition to the Finance Minister's proposals, and one of Lord Wavell's last acts as Viceroy, was to try to solve the difficulty. Congress members maintained that the proposed 25 per cent business profits tax would have crippled the development of Indian industry.

American Author's Opinion

Mr. Tryon Lie and Mr. Henry Wallace are the only two men who saw the world

from the crisis towards which we are moving, said Pearl S. Buck. The well known American author in New York last Saturday.

"There is no much time to beat our heads on rash towards war," she said. "As things are now going, war is fast becoming inevitable. Miss Buck said that fighting Communism and fighting Russia were not the same thing. Communism took root in Russia from the revolution and the revolution came out of the misery of millions of people who were oppressed by a medieval aristocracy." She predicted more war in China and India for the same reasons, and said the Russians had been preparing for decades. "If Washington has effective plans for the real demoralisation of the world they should be announced immediately," she added.

Members of the Methodist state of the city the day of the outbreak of the Communist movement had been prepared. Certain contributions have been postponed and colleges and schools in disturbed parts of the city.

The car, containing a car, was stopped and set on fire by rioters. The four passengers were trapped screaming inside. The car burned down to the chassis.

The Working Committee of the Asian Relations Conference said in a statement that the civil war in China had started in all hearts of Asian by the day. It is a problem against the world, a policy of existing in a world where chaos and anarchy reign.

The members of the Inter-Asian League to the Asian Relations Conference said in a statement that the Dutch military forces had no task whatsoever in Indonesia, and should therefore be withdrawn immediately.

CONGRESS MESSAGE TO INDIA LEAGUE

The movement for the complete economic and political union and the ultimate expansion of India from our Asia continues to spread, says a message received in New York by the India League of America from the Passive Resistance Council in Darsono.

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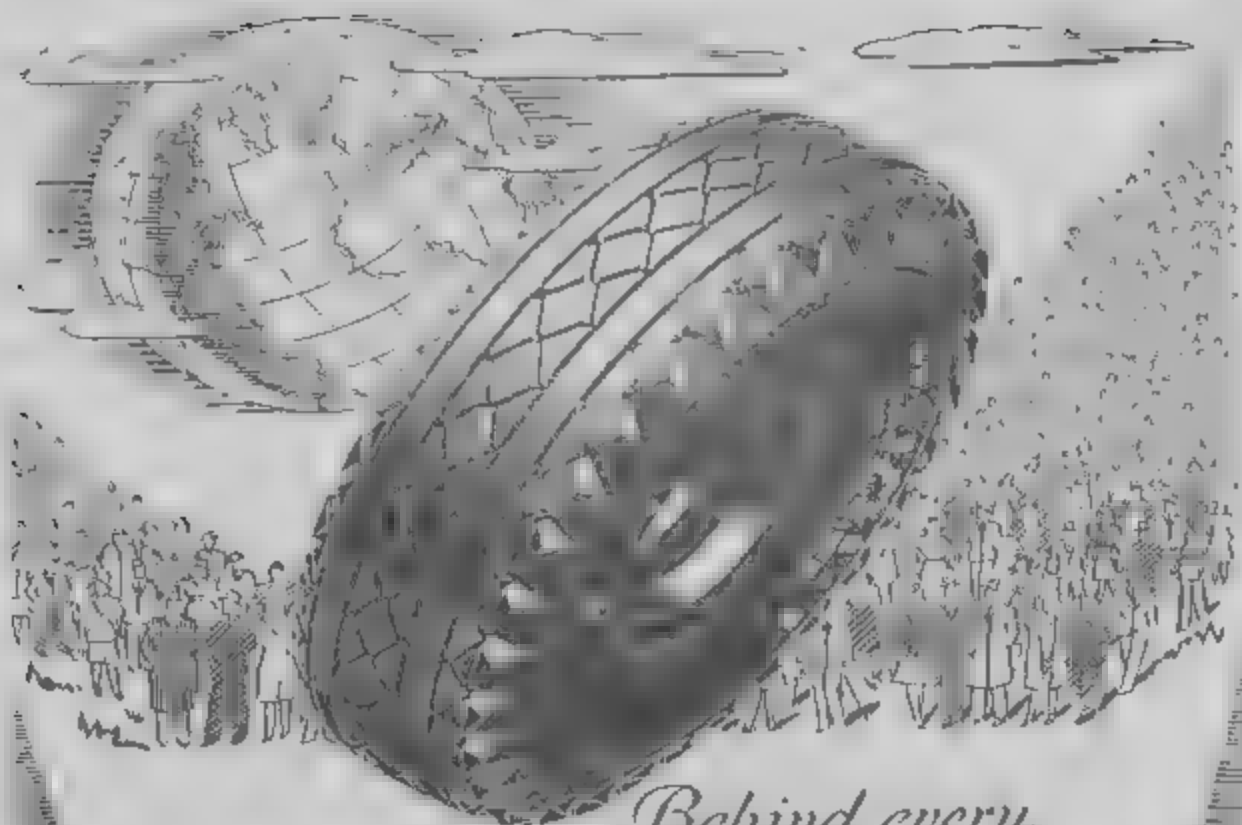
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Edited by
MAHATMA GANDHI
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Indian Opinion

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Indian Education

WE publish elsewhere in this issue the text of a letter of Mr R. A. Banks, Director of Education to the Natal Indian Congress. It makes sad reading. At a time when the need for both primary and secondary educational facilities for Indians throughout the Province is so great and children in their hundreds being sent away for want of accommodation for the authorities to corky through their shoulders and say that no further secondary classes can be established in Durban is most distressing.

The fact that over twenty thousand children of school-going age have no educational facilities is in itself a sad reflection on the name of Natal, which claims itself to be the most enlightened Province. The fact that because they are not white children it is not a very serious matter, is sadder still. A country that has a colour bar in education cannot claim to be civilised. Of course we know there is always a ready fault for Indians, so frequently made use of these days, that "you are better off here than in your own country." That, however, is obviously a very weak defence to justify one's own wrong action.

The fact that efforts have been made by the Authorities in recent years to ex-

tend to duties for secondary education by establishing classes at Stanger Tongaat, Ladysmith, Newcastle and Durban, is deeply appreciated by the Indian community. But those facilities are not at all adequate to the growing demand and what is to be the fate of the thousands that are without facilities? Is it not the duty of the State to provide educational facilities for all its subjects? Is it fair that only one section should be fully provided for while others are left to starve? Is that not the fact in the present case? Can Indians be accused of being negligent themselves in respect of the education of their own children? Can it be gainsaid that this lack of facilities for Indian education is one of the roots of the colour bar? What could be the answers to these questions?

The excuse given by the Director of Education for not being able to establish further secondary classes is, that there are no teachers available. There is no dearth of teachers among Europeans but the colour bar comes in the way. There is no dearth of teachers in India but the door for them is closed. We have, therefore to depend on the teachers that are produced from our own community. The primary object of Sabar College is to train teachers. These teachers should be so trained as to

sustain the standard of education prevailing in this country. The Director of Education tells us that the Department has 'not got teachers who can teach Mathematics and a Science. The non-European classes in Durban provide B.A. classes mainly in English, History and Geography, with the result that although a considerable number of teachers is obtaining a degree through these classes

or a Science." Mr Banks also tells that 'a Science subject or Mathematics is obligatory in the Junior Certificate and Matriculation examination.' This means that Sabar College has failed in its primary duty to turn out suitable teachers. Is not the Education Department to blame for this to some extent? If Mathematics and a Science subject were obligatory for secondary classes why were they not made obligatory for the training of teachers?

We would certainly preach a sermon of patriotism to our own people and tell them that this tendency of adopting an easy method of rushing through examinations in order to quickly acquire the degrees of B.A. and M.A. is wrong if the aim is merely to commercialise education but it will ultimately neither profit them nor their future generation. We should not forget that we are representatives in South Africa of India with her great heritage of the past and as such we owe a great

duty to ourselves and to our growing and future generation so that we may be able to take our proper place in this country, in India and in the world and thus prove worthy of that heritage. It should be the duty of the Indian Teachers Society to concentrate on properly trained teachers suitable to the standard of our education. But whether this goes home to our people or not the Education Department, we have no doubt, can, if it has the will and the sympathy which, in the name of humanity, we owe in all humility, make those subjects that are essential for the secondary classes obligatory also for the training of teachers and we also earnestly hope that in the meantime it will not totally turn down the request made by the Natal Indian Congress but will try to find suitable ways and means to meet the present needs.

Message Of Hope

THE Indian Congress whose session concluded in New Delhi last week, was a historic occasion for the whole of Asia. While the European Powers were talking of future world wars, the Indian Congress, hidden under their shrouds and while "pious" South Africa is concerned over protecting the western civilisation but at the same time ceaselessly nurturing the colour bar, lest South Africa and the white world may sink into oblivion without it, the brave minds of Asia have

gathered in India to consider how real peace could be brought to the war-weary world. This may sound tall talk when murder and arson is raging in India and humanity seems to have sunk to the lowest depths of barbarism. But in the words of Pandit Nehru: "You cannot have the land of complete freedom without the labour pains that accompany every birth." We therefore still dare to entertain the undying hope and faith that not before long the dark cloud will burst and the sun will shine in its glory from the East, bringing with it the message of real Peace and Happiness to the aching world. The significant words uttered by Pandit Nehru and Mahatma Gandhi on this great occasion are worthy of note.

"Of all the advantages of the West there had been something strangely lacking there," said Pandit Nehru. "Asia was in the process of finding it itself. It was not merely something on the map, not merely a piece for the rivalry of various imperialisms, or a place where there are markets to be exploited, but that Asia consists of human beings with dignity, human beings with a long past behind them and human beings who are going to have a great future." Stating that he would like to see one world in his lifetime Gandhi said: "If all you delegates go away determined to believe in one world and with the will to carry it through, there is no doubt that you will see that dream realised." He further

"We have not come here to wage war against America or Europe or against any other non-Asians; that is not Asia's mission. India having won independence by non-violent means I should be very ashamed if we used our independence to suppress others."

The Inter-Asian Conference unanimously agreed upon a permanent "Asian Relations Organisation" with a national

unit affiliated to the Central body in each member country. This is a very welcome move in view of the great role Asia has to play in the

FARMERS JUSTIFIED IN BOYCOTTING INDIAN TRADERS

FARMERS in the Transvaal are fully justified in their boycott of Indian traders, says Mr. G. Z. J. Henny, United Party member of Parliament for Swartburg, in a letter to the *Cape Times*. "It must be remembered," he writes, "that the farmers in the Transvaal were hard hit by the trade embargo placed on the Union by the abolition of joint bags caused them to suffer serious damage."

A further consequence of this embargo would be felt by the public because the farmers would be unable to reap their crops fully, and there would inevitably be an appreciable waste of food left on the farms.

There is no doubt that the Indian traders actively supported the opposition to the Indian Act and, moreover, incited and kept the support of the representations made by the local Indian community to the Indian Government for assistance," the letter adds.

To expect the farmers to turn the other cheek to this slap on the face would, in my opinion, place them on a very low level.

"Indian traders in the Transvaal devote a portion of the profits made by them out of trade with farmers to fostering and developing their opposition to the Indian Act, and to the continuance of this trade embargo."

Mr. Henny says that when the Indian Government, at the instigation of the local Indian community, placed a trade embargo on the Union its case against the Union had not been heard, or even made out to UNO. Thus the Indian Government acted without any right to do so, and its case had been heard and judgment given.

"I must state that the farmers' group of the United Party in Parliament did not give support to the movement because it was actuated by the colour motive, but in its statement to the Press it made its stand quite clear. The question is purely an economic one."

"The farmers in the Transvaal have been placed in a very difficult

realisation of world peace and can be no greater message of Hope from Asia to the world."

position by the shortage of bags caused by the advised action of the local Indian community, inspired by the Indian traders. In my opinion the farmers were very justified in the trade war to date since the way they felt. The United Party members of Parliament representing the rural districts of the Transvaal, fully realising the practical implications and consequences of the trade war declared against us by the Indian Government, had no other alternative but to express support of

the boycott movement," Mr. Henny says.

In general he does not advocate a boycott of one section of the public by another, but in the peculiar circumstances of the boycott of the Indian traders in the Transvaal, he says, he says, "I must give the movement his blessing."

Gandhi On Asia's Mission

MAHATMA JAWAHARLAL NEHRU, the Asian Relations Conference which concluded at London on April 10, New Delhi, said he supported the mission of Asia to have a world where we have not gone here to wage war against America or Europe, against any non-Asian, that is not Asia's mission. India having won independence by non-violent means, I should be very ashamed if we used our independence to suppress others.

INDIAN EDUCATION

THE following letter has been received by the Natal Education Congress from Mr. R. A. Banks, Director of Education:—

"Dear Sir,—With reference to your letter dated 24th February, 1947, I regret I am not in a position to establish further secondary classes in Durban at present.

As you are aware every effort has been made in recent years to extend facilities for secondary education by establishing classes at Stanger, Tongaat, Ladysmith, Newmarket and Dundee, and this has put a severe strain on our teaching.

Quite apart from any question of accommodation the fact is that we have not got teachers who can teach Mathematics and a Science. The non-European classes in Durban provide for pupils mainly in English, History and Geography, with the result that although a considerable number of teachers is obtaining a degree through these classes very few teachers have a knowledge of Mathematics or a Science.

Since a Science subject or Mathematics is obligatory in the Junior Certificate and Matriculation examinations, I dare not consent to the establishment of classes for which I am unable to obtain teachers."

[We have dealt with the above in our leading article.—Ed. I.O.]

GANDHIJI WALKS OUT OF PRAYER MEETING

MAHATMA GANDHI suspended his evening prayer meeting for the third consecutive day on Thursday, April 3, when a Hindu objected to him reading the Koran.

The incident occurred at Delhi's Harijan colony, where Gandhiji lives while he is there. On two previous evenings Mahatma Gandhi walked out of the prayer meetings when Hindus, who alleged that they had lost relatives in the Hindu Moslem riots, objected to readings from the Koran.

Gandhiji asked his audience if they objected to his reading the Koran, and a Hindu immediately challenged his right to do so. The objector was assaulted by other Hindus.

Gandhiji rose to his feet and spoke into the microphone. He said: "It is not my principle to quarrel with people on such issues. I would rather use non-violent means and withdraw peacefully. As long as I live, I can never give up my prayer. I am sorry to hear this." He then left the meeting.

COLOUR QUESTION IN UNION PARLIAMENT

A DEBATE on the colour question developed in the House of Assembly last week when in the Committee stage Mr. F. E. Mentz (Nat., Westdene) moved an amendment to the Welfare Organisations Bill that the members of the proposed national welfare organisations board should be European and bilingual.

The Minister of Social Welfare, Mr. H. G. Lawrence, said that the Government could not accept the amendment. He objected to a legislative provision being inserted in the Bill which might hurt the susceptibilities of educated non-Europeans. He did not think that, in practice, the board would consist of mixed membership.

The Opposition intended to exploit the colour question at the next general election and it was time their bluff was called.

Nationalist speakers insisted on the principle of separation and feared that the precedent of allowing non-Europeans to sit on a board with Europeans would contribute towards undermining the position of the white race in South Africa.

Mr. Mentz's amendment was defeated.

The Debate

As the debate was interesting we record it here for the benefit of our readers.

Mr. Lawrence:

We could not believe that Mr. Mentz believed that white civilization would be endangered if the amendment were not accepted.

There was already in existence a voluntary board of non-Europeans such as the Bantu Education Board. It was a fact that they were not statutory bodies, but it had never been found necessary for them to lose a vote in their own parliament. In practice their personnel did not consist of mixed members.

In practice he (the Minister) did not think that the national welfare organisations board would consist of a mixed membership. He asked why should a legislative provision be inserted in the Bill which might hurt the susceptibilities of educated non-Europeans. Next Mr. Mentz was asked why he would be making a statement which would be made unnecessary by the Public Service Commission should be appointed.

He said that he was not making the statement because he was driven by Mr. Mentz not so much because he feared a danger to white civilization, but because it would make a good political statement which would show that the Minister saw no reason unnecessarily to hurt the susceptibilities of the non-Europeans.

An Opposition member: But

you hurt European susceptibilities.

The Minister said that he was not hurting European susceptibilities, but artificial prejudice put up for the occasion.

At a time when the country was approaching a general election, during which the Opposition intended to exploit the colour question, their bluff should be called once and for all by a refusal to insert a statutory provision in the Bill which would only hurt the feelings of minority groups, without helping the cause for which the Bill was intended.

The Government was prepared to do everything in the interests of safeguarding white civilization.

Responsible For Pegging Act

He had been the Minister responsible for putting through the Pegging Act which had been resented by many. Yet the Nationalists called him a separatist and stated that he was not prepared to do anything in the interests of white civilization. He did not wish to go into the merits of the Pegging Act, but he would say that it had become necessary in the interests of the white community.

It was not necessary to make statutory provision that the board should consist of Europeans only.

There was a great difference between separation on voluntary lines and compulsory separation. The policy of the Government always had been, and still was, separation on voluntary lines.

Mr. J. E. Potgieter (Nat., Brixton) said that the public of South Africa wanted separation.

He was not primarily concerned with world opinion, but with what the South African public wanted.

Mr. W. D. Brink (Nat., Christiana) said,

It was no argument for the Minister to say that to have separation on the boards would hurt non-European susceptibilities. There was separation in Parliament, in schools and on trains which did not hurt anybody's susceptibilities.

The Minister was a sort of tactician and was looking for a way to separate the races.

Mr. F. E. Mentz (Nat., Westdene) said that, instead of dealing with the amendment on its merits, the Minister had said that he was not prepared to do anything in the interests of white civilization. That was a shocking declaration from a Minister who said that he stood for white civilization.

The Minister of Social Welfare, Mr. H. G. Lawrence said, to label the board European only would not be advisable. He personally, however, could not feel that there would be any derogation of his dignity or status by sitting on a board which included any educated and respectable non-European.

He doubted whether any such educated non-European would choose to sit on a board where he felt his presence was unwelcome.

Mr. F. C. Erasmus (Nat., Mooresburg) said that the United Party told the non-Europeans one story and the Europeans another. The Minister said that he was not a member of either of the two parties. Non-Europeans know where they stood with the Nationalist Party.

The colour bar was recognised in the constitution and was not unconstitutional. Why should it be an insult to include this provision in the Bill?

On the question of members of the board being bilingual he said the Minister had never appointed a unilingual Afrikaans speaking person to any board. It was always the Afrikaans speaking section that had to plead for the preservation of their language rights. The English-speaking section were never put in that position.

Mr. R. W. Bowers (U.P., Green Point) said that social welfare meant more to the coloured and other non-European sections than to Europeans.

The colour question should be kept out of the field of welfare service. This was not the occasion for racial, language or colour tests.

The Minister could be guided by only one principle, and that was how best to serve the interests of social welfare work.

Mr. J. G. Strydom (Nat., Waterberg) said that, whereas the policy of the Nationalist Party was that there should be absolute separation between European and non-European, the Minister had said that he would not object to serving on the same board with decent Europeans of the same race.

"If we, as Europeans, followed that policy and if that policy were adopted by the country, what would be the consequence?"

The Minister: If you suffered from appendicitis and the only doctor available was a non-European, it would you?

Mr. Strydom: I am not a doctor.

Mr. Strydom said that the matter before them was one of race against race. The European could only remain European if he maintained his sense of race. If the white population of South Africa adopted the same outlook as the Europeans in other countries, the population of the country would be bastardised.

If the Europeans were allowed to serve with the non-European on boards, the logical consequence would be for the non-European also to have a seat in the same Parliament, the same committee, the same dining-room, at the same table and generally live with the Europeans.

The Minister: Yet you have no objection to a non-European looking after your babies.

Mr. Strydom: Nannies are in the position of servants and relations.

According to the Master someone looking after one's children had the right to sit at one's table. He acknowledged that there were civilised non-Europeans, but it would lead to the greatest possible clash if they were given equality. The policy of separation must be maintained in all respects.

The Minister: That means he must be subordinated all the time?

Mr. Strydom: That it was a matter of degree. The European should remain "baas". There must be separation everywhere. Only two roads seem open—that of living together on equality, for that of separation.

The Minister: Must it be compulsory or voluntary?

Mr. Strydom: It must be compulsory from both sides.

Dr. K. Bremer (Nat., Stellenbosch) said that if it was said that the Nationalist Party did not wish to give every opportunity to the coloured people in social welfare, this was a misrepresentation.

He was willing to sit with coloured people and natives to guide them, but it was a matter of fundamental policy that they could not be on equal terms in all bodies and activities without eventually mixing.

He had sat yesterday on a mixed body which was discussing the question of a separate university for non-Europeans.

Later a native professor, who had sat on the same body, had told him that it had been an unfortunate experience for natives who had mixed with Europeans at the universities of Capetown and Witwatersrand.

The Rev. C. F. M. de Cadman (Ind., Durban North) said that there should be no question of a colour bar in social welfare work. It was a war against poverty misery and sickness.

Mr. Mentz's amendment was rejected by 47 votes to 23.

Housing Amendment Bill

The Housing Amendment Bill, introduced in the Assembly last week by the Minister of Health Dr. Glickman enables the National Housing and Planning Commission or a local authority, with the approval of the Minister, to require the occupier of any dwelling owned by it to vacate the dwelling within a month if he does not belong to the section of the population for which the dwelling is intended. If the occupier fails to comply he may be ejected by order of the court. The provisions of the Housing Act are brought into

ROYAL NAVAL OFFICER INDICTS COLOUR BAR

The South African League has published a statement on conditions in South Africa made by a retired Royal Naval Officer, Lieut. J. R. H. Townner, who is now serving in the Merchant Navy.

"A visitor to South Africa is immediately struck by the arrogance of the European population and the pitiful state of poverty and suffering of the Negroes."

"Everywhere there are reminders of the deplorable colour bar. The Indian crew in my last ship were not permitted to disembark at Durban."

"The only men there, at present, are just those with whom we fought a war for to-day."

Thus with the proposed amendment in the Bantu Act requiring the Minister, before approving expropriation of land, to consult the Minister of Native Affairs, the Minister of the Interior or the Minister of Social Welfare and the Minister of Agriculture, or a Council of

Springbok Legion On United Nations Charter

As the first session of the United Nations Charter Conference in Johannesburg last Sunday the Legion reaffirmed its principle of playing an active part in the political, economic and social life of South Africa. A unanimous vote affirmed support to the "silent and principled" attitude to the rights of all men of all colours and religious faiths embodied in the United Nations Charter and also urged the Union Government to implement the U.N.C. declaration of

Things In General

ment for South-West Africa to the Trusteeship Council and by conferring with the South African Indian population and the Indian Government and reporting back to the next United Nations Assembly meeting." A resolution condemning the Indian boycott, was also passed.

T.I.C. Branch Formed

A branch of the Transvaal Indian Congress has been formed at Volksfontein consisting of Lothar, Lake Crisp at a meeting held recently. The following officials were elected: Chairman, Mr. A. K. Selay (Volksfontein), vice chairman, Mr. A. Bhaya (Lothar), secretary, Mr. E. Dendoe (Lake Crisp), assistant secretary, Mr. G. H. Dood (Volksfontein), treasurer, Mr. M. S. Bhaya.

INDIA: Prisoners Not To Be Released

Pandit Nehru, Vice-President of the Indian Interim Government, said in the Central Assembly in New Delhi that there were

no prisoners in India, over the question of the release of the Indian National Army prisoners, Pandit Nehru said that the Government proposed to place the case of the prisoners before the judges in the Federal Court for advice. He was speaking on a resolution recommending the immediate release of the prisoners.

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anxious that India should remain in the British Commonwealth of Nations on the same independent footing as the other dominions, as White Australia was beginning to feel lonely in the Asia world that no longer belonged to the Europeans.

Reserve Bank Act

The repeal of sections 40 and 41 of the Reserve Bank of India Act which makes sterling the sole determinant of the external value of the rupee, is sought in an amending bill introduced in the Indian Central Legislative Assembly by the Finance Minister, Mr. Balgopal Acharya.

The bill proposed to replace these sections by one which will require the Reserve Bank to buy and sell foreign exchange at such rates and on such terms and conditions as the Central Government may from time to time determine in conformity with the obligations as a member of the International Monetary Fund.

It is explained that according to the agreement of this fund member countries are required to

express par values of the currencies in terms of gold and exchange rates are determined by rates which the par values, as expressed by member countries, bear to each other.

Consequent to India's membership of the fund and the fixing of par values, sterling has ceased to be the sole determinant of the external value of the rupee and, therefore, sections of the Act which make it so, require amendment.

The bill amends the Reserve Bank Act in future may be required to buy and sell foreign exchange other than sterling and as it is not empowered to do so under the Act as it stands, a consequential amendment is also being made with the object of defining foreign exchange and permitting the Reserve Bank to buy and sell foreign exchange both on its own account and on the Government's account.

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ber of agents, maintaining comfort and the desires of men of all colours. "You can depend upon it that whatever can be done in try to secure the greatest happiness and contentment for both the White and the Coloured men in the services, will be given full

Motor Car Magnate Dead

Mr. Henry Ford, 84 years old millionaire motor car magnate, died in the early hours of April 7. Henry Ford retired as active head of the company 18 months ago, after turning over the management to his grandson Henry Ford II. He started work at the age of 17, earning 5s. 6d. a day, introduced the assembly line method of production in 1913. A pioneer of the Ford Company all over the world were suspended and bags were flown at half mast on 40 factories until after the funeral on April 8.

NEWS IN BRIEF

A notice in the Government Gazette says that interested persons in the Union may establish business connections with persons or firms in Germany, Japan, Korea, Kwantung, Manchuria and Japanese Islands and

the Government of India has decided to check and prevent evasion of the ban on the importation of silver into India imposed by the Reserve Bank of India at the beginning of March.

The Government of India has authorised the resumption of private trade with Germany by Indian firms and firms in British India, subject to the export, import and financial regulations now in force in India.

Dr. Harry Francis Gault, a 60 years old American shipping company president, has been appointed as the first United States Ambassador to India.

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Colour Bar In U.K Forces Deployed

A resolution call upon the Government to take every possible step to stamp out the colour bar in the British forces, was passed by the Co-operative Party—the affiliated section of the Labour Party, representing co-operative consumers' interests at their annual conference. Telling the delegates that he had much sympathy with the principles of the resolution, Mr. A. V. Alexander, Minister of Defence, said "The question of employment in the forces is a matter which has not been considered from a

Lonely White Australia

The Secretary of the Indian Commonwealth National Congress (parliament), Mr. H. Hanumanth, said that the Indian Government had received no proposals from Dr. Herbert Evatt, the Australian Foreign Minister, aiming at keeping India within the British Commonwealth. His statement was made in reply to a question to the Council of State which drew the Government's attention to a report from Glasgow to the effect that Dr. Evatt had

reported to have said that he was

anxious that India should remain in the British Commonwealth of Nations on the same independent footing as the other dominions, as White Australia was beginning to feel lonely in the Asia world that no longer belonged to the Europeans.

The bill also amends the Reserve Bank Act in future may be required to buy and sell foreign exchange other than sterling and as it is not empowered to do so under the Act as it stands, a consequential amendment is also being made with the object of defining foreign exchange and permitting the Reserve Bank to buy and sell foreign exchange both on its own account and on the Government's account.

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THE loss to property caused by fire and looting at Amritsar," said the Executive Officer of the Amritsar Municipality, "ranges between seven and ten crores. More than 3 thousand shops and houses have been razed to the ground, and over 30 thousand people have been rendered homeless." Over 120 dead and 175 injured were mentioned by the District Magistrate at Amritsar. Sardar Baidav Singh, Defence Member in the Interim Government, after a flying visit to Rawalpindi on the 12th, said: "Twelve villages around Rawalpindi town are still burning. The situation is expected to be brought under control in the next few days." He said the soldiers in Rawalpindi District were local people and not the "others." "The whole District of Amritsar is a mess."

An A.P.I. report from Lahore dated the 11th says: "The situation in the Attock District does not show any sign of improvement yet. Looting and arson has been reported from several areas. Two attempts were made to raid the town of Mianwali by a large number of Pathans. About 1,000 persons equipped with arms attempted to raid and raid the town on Tuesday morning. The soldiers surrounded the town. District Magistrate, however, tactfully handled the situation with the help of local police and officials. A large number of armed villagers surrounded Mianwali in Khushpur District but intervention by a few soldiers was sufficient to bring the situation under control by the police."

Another report from Lahore dated the 11th says: "The situation in the Attock District does not show any sign of improvement yet. Looting and arson has been reported from several areas. Two attempts were made to raid the town of Mianwali by a large number of Pathans. About 1,000 persons equipped with arms attempted to raid and raid the town on Tuesday morning. The soldiers surrounded the town. District Magistrate, however, tactfully handled the situation with the help of local police and officials. A large number of armed villagers surrounded Mianwali in Khushpur District but intervention by a few soldiers was sufficient to bring the situation under control by the police."

Punjab Politics

In a Press interview at New Delhi on the 10th, according to a

OUR INDIA LETTER

(FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENTS)

PUNJAB HOLOCAUST

Lahore, March 18, 1947

Five Press reports, Dewan Chaman Lal, a Punjab Member in the Central Assembly repeated the story of the "holocaust" in the Punjab. "The Ministry's suggestion has only created a veritable inferno in the Punjab. It is not possible for the League to form a Ministry for they have not the majority, and if a League Ministry is formed, it would be a disaster."

(Dewan Chaman Lal, replying to questions put in him at the conference, said that he saw cyclone of violence along the border. The situation along the border is the worst. It is dangerous to let the League to form a Ministry for they have not the majority, and if a League Ministry is formed, it would be a disaster. About the official estimates of the loss of property and life, Dewan Chaman Lal said: "They are gross and unrealistic. Amritsar is gutted, Multan is in shambles and Lahore is a mess."

People who flee over this area have no idea of the villages after the looting and arson."

The Sikh leader, Master Tara Singh, said: "I am not prepared to negotiate settlement with the Muslim League, until the present situation is brought under control and we are not going to submit. They want to divide the Punjab into two. They are the aggressors. It is therefore for the Sikhs to appeal to their followers to stop looting and arson." All the Sikh States in the Punjab are reported to have consented to the merger with India in the Punjab. They are the aggressors. It is therefore for the Sikhs to appeal to their followers to stop looting and arson."

Trouble in NWFP

An attempt was made on the life of Shri Khanna, Vice-Chairman of NWFP, at Peshawar on the 11th. While he was on the verandah of his house, some shots were fired at him, but he escaped unhurt.

Speaking at Charsadda, Dr. Khan Sahib said: "Today a party has arisen in the Frontier which is not in favour of India's achieving its cherished goal of freedom. The leaders of that party are the friends of Mr. Chaudhry."

Noakhali Agony

(Noakhali) received at Calcutta on the 12th says: "The situation has deteriorated. May turn out any moment. In spite of section 144, meetings are being held."

and processions taken out. Nool gans released on bail on nominal securities are creating panic. The minority community is being threatened with boycott and dispossession of land, for which they are being forcibly obtained.

Also, according to information reaching Calcutta, majority community dealers and cotton shop owners in the district are laying a cask of one anna in a rupee, as the loss of the notorious "jeels" of the Mughal times in every transaction. The cask is stated to be intended for the Muslim National Guards funds. Nothing is said to those who refuse to pay the cask, who then become "marked" men.

A conference of Bangal Hindus held at Calcutta has advocated the scheme for the partition of Bengal as "the best solution for the problem of Bengal."

Brothers Greet

A report from Patna says: "Hindus and Muslims embraced one another and exchanged greetings this morning in a mosque in Patna city in the presence of Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan."

Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, who was invited this morning to the Gurdwara Darul Uloom, birth place of Guru Gobind Singh in Patna City, addressed a gathering of Sikhs, Hindus and Muslims.

After the close of the meeting, he was accompanied by Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan to a mosque adjacent to the Gurdwara. There they embraced one another and exchanged greetings. The Frontier Congress leader in a short speech there asked the gathering of Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims to live like brothers in peace.

Indians in S.A.

In the Central Assembly on the 12th Pandit Nehru said: "We propose to do everything in our power in accordance with the resolution of the U.N.O. General Assembly to find a solution for the problem of Indians in South Africa."

"Much has happened in South Africa since that resolution was passed which has frustrated Indian public opinion. Nevertheless, we do not wish to create any difficulty on our part as far as we can in the way of a proper solution. That solution could only come from the House of the United

Nations Charter which the Assembly found the South African Government was not living up to."

"We cannot accept any position of inferiority. Nevertheless, we are prepared to consider the question with the South African Government, if it so chooses. However, the responsibility has been cast on them by the U.N.O. Assembly."

"We are waiting for the last four months for the South African Government to take the initiative and it was for them to

India Passing Through Labour Pains Of Birth Of Complete Freedom

PANDIT NEHRU, head of the Indian Interim Government, addressing the final session of the Asian Relations Conference, in New Delhi on Thursday, April 3, said that India is one of all the great advantages of the West there had been something "strangely lacking" there.

Asia was in the process of being born. It was not merely something on the map, but merely a place for the rivalry of various imperial powers, or a place where there were markets to be exploited. Asia consisted of human beings with dignity, human beings with a long past behind them, and human beings who are going to have a great future.

Of the troubles in India, Pandit Nehru told the delegates not to imagine that this problem and conflict "is anything that frightens us."

"We are having trouble; we may have more trouble," he said. "But big things are happening in the world, in Asia and in India. When ancient peoples are awakened the ground shakes. You cannot have the birth of complete freedom without the labour pains that accompany every birth."

"We have been acting wrongly according to the U.N. and they should seek to see that they are right. They have a right to do so."

Still I want to say to the Hindus and to others who may hear me that we are prepared to consider this question and to make every effort, subject of course to the fundamental principle of self-determination, to go on standing on principle in talking to anybody."

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—જરૂરી સુચના—

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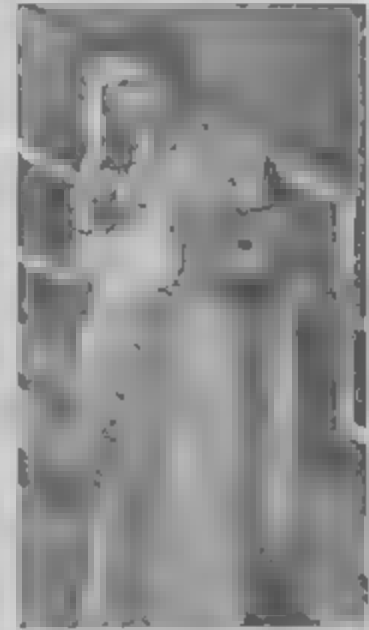
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IN 1935

No. 151

FRIDAY 18TH APRIL, 1947.

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Indian Opinion

FRIDAY 18TH APRIL 1947

The Boycott

A PART from the fact whether the boycott movement which was launched in the Transvaal and is now spreading to other parts of the Union, is justified or not, we must confess we are not at all proud to see Indians themselves making such a bitter grievance of it and railing up to the Government and to Members of Parliament begging to be removed. There is no doubt about the fact that Indians in South Africa invited trade sanctions from India and it was made perfectly clear to them what the consequences would be, if we value our soul more than material gains, as indeed we should, then we shall have to be prepared to sacrifice not only all material gains but our very life to save our soul. That is the essence of our present struggle and it is about time that we understood it. Our unfortunate attitude has only given an impetus both to the boycotters and to the Government to use this as a convenient lever to bring us to our knees. Are we going to be so spineless?

As for the boycott itself, we do not for one moment question the right of those who have chosen to make use of that weapon against the Indian community. But there are fair means and foul of doing things and, in the present case, we submit, the means adopted are foul.

It is argued that since India submitted her case to U.N.O. she had no right to impose sanctions against South Africa. It could be said against that that the sanctions were imposed long before India's case went to U.N.O. At any rate, South Africa should have no concern with it since she has flouted U.N.O. decision. But let U.N.O. be out of the picture for the moment. Let it be remembered that it was the Union

Government in the first instance who totally disregarded all the entreaties of Indians in South Africa and of India to refrain from imposing trade sanctions.

It is a well known fact that a round table conference of representatives of both the Government and the Indian community was held in 1930 to bring about an amicable settlement of the question.

At that time the Government was using the Act then in force to discriminate against the whole of India. There was only one way in which India could show her indignation at this great insult heaped on her and that was to sever all friendly relations with South Africa. Thus it was that India stopped all trade with South Africa. That affected Indians, as much as it did South Africa. The aggressor in this case was not India but South Africa. India acted in defence. The proper course for South Africa to adopt then would have been to impose reciprocal sanctions against India. That would have been a fair and a clean way of fighting. But South Africa wanted to trade with India in her own interests. Yet we would do so at her own price, not India's. She is now trying to compel India to trade with her by indirect means of persecuting Indians and hindering in this country and have lived as a useful section of the population. Their only crime is that they are fighting for their just rights in a dignified manner. Compare their methods with those adopted by the boycotters. Is there any difference between the methods of the boycotters and the persecution of the Jews by Hitler? We fail to see it.

If the boycotters were to pause to think a little it would dawn upon them that they have been misled to tackle entirely the wrong people. It is really the Union Government whom they should tackle. Pressure

should be brought on them to take suitable steps to re-establish friendly relations with India. What will be gained by the present methods of lawlessness but the satisfaction of having persecuted innocent people? It is surely not in the hands of a handful of Indian traders in South Africa to bid India to submit to a thing which is derogatory to her national honour. Will she look to the honour of her four hundred million people or to two hundred and eighty thousand who can well look after themselves?

So the object for which the boycott has been launched will be frustrated by the present methods and the relations between the two countries will be strained beyond repair.

A correspondent in the *Rand Daily Mail* asks "a definition of the boycott launched by Mr. Gandhi against British goods in India in 1930 and still in force." That question can be answered by a counter question, Would South Africa tolerate her market being flooded with foreign goods to the extent that her whole industry is paralysed and ninety per cent of her population is reduced to poverty and starvation? Every country seeks first to protect its own industry and in doing so it has to put a ban on goods coming from outside it is a perfectly legitimate thing to do, and that was what India did. There is no comparison between India's so-called boycott and the present boycott of Indian traders in South Africa. If gunny bags were manufactured in South Africa would South Africa have still allowed them to be imported from India?

Colour Bar In Trade Unions

THE South African Trades and Labour Council has reason to congratulate itself on the firm stand it took at its conference in Port Elizabeth last week in rejecting by an

overwhelming majority a motion by South African Iron and Steel Trades Association which if it had passed would have debarred native trade unions from affiliation with the Council. The Trades and Labour Council, by this action, has, we have no doubt, enhanced its prestige not only in the eyes of the non-European workers in South Africa, but of the workers throughout the world. If the South African Trades and Labour Council maintains that stand in the face of all the revolutionary forces working against it, it will have raised South Africa from the mire in which, due to her bankruptcy in statesmanship, she is unfortunately fast sinking.

It was very rightly said at the conference that the Council had been founded on the principle that it should organise workers irrespective of race, colour or creed and that the motion was a subterfuge to perpetuate the colour bar in the trade union movement. A note of warning was sounded against the possible repercussions such a move as contemplated in the motion would have from an international point of view. Labour organisations so where in the world have been known to have a colour bar. In South Africa the Labour Party professes to have no colour bar but when it comes to practice it has invariably failed. Mr. J. C. Boitum, chairman of the Durban Committee of the Trades and Labour Council, sounded a very hopeful note in saying that the motion in question was sponsored by an insignificant group of Nationalist supporters and that it was an abortive attempt on their part to divide the Council on racial lines and that their views did not in the least reflect the spirit of the Council. So far so good. But what gives us a rude shock is the statement by the Prime Minister, General Smuts, on the policy of the Government which, he said, was to have separate unions for Europeans and non-

Europeans, and that where
and unions are to exist
the policy of the Government
will be to separate them. What,
we wonder, will the Labour
Council have to say to this?
General Smuts, we fear, is trying
in vain to save South Africa by
yielding to the Opposition on
matters of vital principle. If
vital principles have to be sacri-
ficed in attempting to prop up
the Government, the Government
is bound to do so.

Many Happy Returns

ON Monday, April 21,
Her Royal Highness
the Princess Elizabeth will
celebrate her twenty first
birthday. We whole-heart-
edly share the rejoicing of

the great and auspicious
occasion and join the rest of
South Africa in offering
our felicitations and in
wishing the Princess Many
Happy Returns Of The
Day.

Farewell To Royal Family

BEFORE our next issue is
out, the King and Queen
will have left the shores of
South Africa. In the name
of the Indian community
we join South Africa in
bidding Their Majesties the
King and Queen and Their
Royal Highnesses the
Princesses farewell. May
they be blessed with the
best they may cherish

S.A. TRADES AND LABOUR CONGRESS

DISALLOWS COLOUR BAR

AS a result of the voting, at the Trades and Labour Council's
annual conference, which met in Port Elizabeth last week,
a motion by the South African Iron and Steel Trades Associa-
tion for an amendment of the constitution, which would, in effect,
exclude native trade unions from affiliation with the Council, repre-
sentatives of six unions announced that they had mandates from
their organisations to withdraw from the Congress if the motion
was defeated. The motion was defeated by 38,497 votes to 33,161.

During the debate on the
motion delegates against the
motion mentioned the possible
repercussion of such a move
from an international point of
view.

Each of the representatives of
the unions who announced their
withdrawal from the Congress
spoke in Afrikaans and in spite
of an appeal from the president,
Mr. A. J. Downes, and Mr.
M. J. Palm, secretary of the
motion, to remain and abide
by the decision of the majority,
they withdrew.

Mr. J. Palm, of the Building
Workers' Industrial Union, of
Pretoria, said he found it im-
possible for him as a White
worker to work in conference
under the present mixed condi-
tions.

Each delegate who withdrew
at his own organisation
would give notice of its dis-
sent to the Council.

Mr. J. C. Botha, secretary of the
Council, said he was aware of the
position. Mr. J. van den Berg, W. J.
le Roux, C. J. Rowe and A. J.
C. Botha (South African Iron and
Steel Workers' Association, Pre-
toria), J. C. C. Botha (Pretoria
Liquors and Catering Employees)

Union; G. C. van der Merwe
(Public Services and Provincial
Council Workers); M. J. Palm
(Building Workers' Industrial
Union) and J. J. van der Walt
(Pretoria Hotel) Meat Trade
Employees' Union).

Speaking on the motion, Mr.
L. J. Van den Berg said that, in
accordance with their historical
background and other factors,
it would be better for native
workers to have their own
organisation. He said that the
native preferred to follow his
own independent working con-
ditions. "We are not opposed
to native workers being organised.
In fact we will assist them in
every way, but they must
organise themselves. The native
trade unions themselves will
agree with this.

Mr. George McCormick (Engine
Drivers and Firemen's Asso-
ciation and secretary of the
Mining Union Joint Committee)
said that the non-Europeans
themselves were not prepared
to be associated with the Council
and wanted their own organisa-
tion.

Everything possible would
be done to help the non-
Europeans, but not at the
expense of the standards

and status of the European
workers of South Africa.

Mr. J. Wolfson (tannery work-
ers) speaking against the motion
said

that the Council had been
founded on the principle that
it should organise workers
irrespective of race, colour
or creed. Of the 115 affiliated
unions no fewer than 68 had
non-European members and
many had Native members
as well. The motion was
nothing but a subterfuge to
perpetuate the colour bar
in the trade union movement.

Miss Dulcie Hartwell (Gar-
ment Workers' Union) said that
the eyes of the world were
focused on South Africa as the
result of the debates at UNC
and a serious position would
arise if this motion were accept-
ed. There was an indication
of a political "isecapitulum"
on the question at the con-
ference.

Mr. W. Kell (Furniture
Leather and Allied Industries)
opposing the motion said

that so-called white civil-
isation of South Africa re-
sulted in the extraordinary
fact that the average an-
nual earnings of Europeans
in this country were £43 a
year. Many European men
and women were living
under shocking conditions,
and it was necessary to
raise the standard of living
of the Native and the Euro-
pean. This could only be
achieved by organizing the
non-European workers pro-
perly.

Mr. Sachs, secretary of the
Garment Workers' Union, fol-
lowing the walk-out of the trade
union representatives mentioned
above, discreetly withdrew
his union's three month's
notice to disaffiliate. This union has
12,000 members and is the
second largest organisation in
the Trades Council.

In a statement to the Press
Mr. Sachs said that in the light
of the withdrawal of the five
unions holding the extreme
right-wing opinion, his union
felt its disaffiliation would only
serve to weaken an already
weakened Trades Council.

"We shall have to see whether
the new executive to be elected
at this conference adopts a more
progressive policy," he said. "If
it does not we shall naturally
have to reconsider our position."

A political move, according
to Mr. J. C. Bolton, chairman of
the Durban Committee of the
Trades and Labour Council, was
responsible for the Trades
Unions split on the non-Euro-
pean issue.

Mr. Bolton told a Press repre-
sentative that the motion to
exclude non-European workers

from trade unions from affilia-
tion with the Council was
sponsored by a small and in-
significant group of Nationalist
supporters who had secured a
hold on a few minor organisations
in the area.

It was an unfortunate attempt,
he said, intended to create
a source of division between
racial groups. Their views did
not in the least reflect the spirit
of the Council which had voted
overwhelmingly against the
motion by a majority of more
than 50,000 votes.

Only about 2,000 workers
were represented by the nine
delegates who withdrew on the
defeat of the motion, while the
Trades and Labour Council re-
presented 170,000.

"Their absence will not be
missed," said Mr. Bolton. "The
dissidents are only an insignifi-
cant fraction of the whole and
are actuated by the wholehearted
Nationalist principle of intro-
ducing racial issues, wherever
they are able.

Govt.'s Policy On Non-European Trade Unions

Referring to the question of
mixed trade unions, the
Minister said in the Union
House of Assembly, that the
policy of the Government was
to have separate unions for
Europeans and non-Europeans.
In the Cape Province, however,
some trade unions had existed
for more than a generation and
included Cape Coloureds as
members, but it would be un-
desirable to organise separate
trade unions for non-Cape Col-
oured members. In the north
the policy of the Government
had in view the establishment
of separate trade unions.

Non-Europeans On Buses

Discontent of non-European
users of Durban Municipal Trans-
port was expressed at a recent
meeting of the Electricity Com-
mittee. Complaints received by
Councillor Nicholson led the
committee to resolve that the
general manager of the Transport
Department should improve the
inspectors staff of the need of
an improvement in the treatment
accorded to these people. It was
also resolved that inspectors
should submit regular reports on
this country campaign. The
General Manager of the Trans-
port Department told a Press
representative that inspectors had
been instructed in terms of the
new regulations. There is no
fixed code of conduct for
conductors, but they are in-
structed regularly to observe standards
of common courtesy in their
dealings with all sections of the
public. In this instance, said the
manager, they have been in-
structed to treat all passengers
equally and to not discriminate
on grounds of race or colour.

PANDIT NEHRU in his first speech at the Asian Relations Conference at New Delhi on March 23 said: "At the end of an era and on the threshold of a new period of history. Standing on this watershed which divide two epochs of human history and endeavour, we can look back on our long past and look forward to the future that is taking shape before our eyes. Asia after a long period of quiescence, has suddenly become important again in world affairs. If we view the millennia of history, the continent of Asia, with which Egypt has been so intimately connected in cultural fellowship, has played a mighty role in the evolution of humanity. It was here that civilisation began and man started on his unending adventure of life. Here the mind of man searched unceasingly for truth and the spirit of man shone out like a beacon which lightened up the whole world."

"A change is coming over the scene and Asia is again finding herself. We live in a tremendous age of transition and already the next stage takes shape when Asia takes her rightful place with the other continents."

"It is at this great moment that we meet here and it is the pride and privilege of the people of India to welcome their fellow Asians from other countries, to confer with them about the present and the future, and lay the foundation of our progress, well being and friendship."

Birth Of The Idea

The idea of having an Asian Conference is not new and it is not surprising that it should not have been laid many years earlier yet perhaps the time was not ripe for it and any attempt to do so would have been superficial and not in tune with world events. It so happened that we in India conceived this Conference, but the idea of such a Conference arose simultaneously in many minds and in many many countries of Asia.

"There was a widespread urge and an awareness that the time

PANDIT NEHRU'S SPEECH AT THE ASIAN RELATIONS CONFERENCE

had come for us, peoples of Asia, to meet together, to hold together and to advance together. It was not only a vague desire but a compulsion of events that forced all of us to think along these lines. Because of this, the invitation, we in India sent out brought an answering echo and a magnificent response from every country of Asia."

"We welcome you, delegates and representatives from China, that great country to which Asia owes so much and from which so much is expected; from Egypt and the Arab countries of Western Asia, from Iran, a great country which has spent far and wide and influenced India greatly; from India, whose contacts with India go back to the dawn of history; from Indonesia and Indo-China, whose history is intertwined with India's culture, and where recently the battle of freedom has continued, a reminder to us that freedom must be won and cannot come as a gift, from Turkey, that has been rejuvenated by the genius of a great leader; from Korea and Mongolia, from the Soviet Republics of Asia, which have advanced so rapidly in our generation and which have so many lessons to teach us and from our neighbours Afghanistan, Tibet, Nepal, Bhutan, Burma and Ceylon to whom we look especially for co-operation and closer and friendly intercourse."

"Asia is very well represented at this Conference, and if one or two countries have been unable to send representatives, this was due to no lack of desire on their part or ours, but circumstances beyond our control came in the way. We welcome also observers from Austria and New Zealand because we have many problems in common, especially in the Pacific and in the South East and in Asia and we want to cooperate together to find solutions."

Period Of Isolation

"As we meet here today, the long past of Asia rises up before us, the troubles of recent years fade away, and a thousand memories revive. But I shall not speak to you of these past ages with their glories and triumphs and failures, nor of more recent times which have oppressed us so much and which still pursue us in some measure."

"During the past two hundred years we have seen the growth of eastern imperialism and of the reduction of large parts of

Asia to colonial or semi-colonial status. Much has happened during these years, but perhaps one of the notable consequences of the European domination of the countries of Asia from one another. India always had contacts and intercourse with her neighbour countries in the North-west, the North-east, the East and the South-east. With the coming of British rule in India these contacts were broken off and India was almost completely isolated from the rest of Asia. The old land routes almost ceased to function and our chief window to the outer world looked out on the sea route which led to England. A similar process affected other countries of Asia also. Their economy was bound up with some European imperialism or other, even culturally they looked towards Europe and not to their own friends and neighbours from whom they had derived so much in the past."

Today this isolation is breaking down because of many reasons, political and other. The old imperialisms are fading away. The land routes have revived and air travel suddenly brings us very near to each other. This conference itself is significant as an expression of that deeper urge of the mind and spirit of Asia which has persisted in spite of the isolationism which grew up during the years of European domination. As that domination goes, the walls that surrounded us fall down and we look at each other again and meet as old friends long parted."

"In this Conference and in this work there are no leaders and no followers. All countries of Asia have to meet together on an equal basis in a common task and endeavour. It is fitting that India should play her part in this new phase of Asian development. Apart from the fact that India herself is emerging into freedom and independence, she is the natural centre and focal point of the many forces at work in Asia. Geography is a compelling factor, and geographically she is so situated as to be the meeting point of Western and Northern and Eastern and South-east Asia."

"Because of this, the history of India is a long history of her relations with the other countries of Asia. Streams of culture have come to India from the West and the East and been absorbed in India, producing the rich and variegated culture

which is India today. At the same time, streams of culture have flowed from India to distant parts of Asia. If you would know India you have to go to Afghanistan and Western Asia, to Central Asia, to China and Japan and to the countries of South-east Asia. There you will find magnificent evidence of the vitality of India's culture which spread out and influenced vast numbers of people."

"There came the great cultural stream from Iran to India in remote antiquity. As then the constant intercourse between India and the Far East, notably China. In later years S. Asia witnessed an amazing efflorescence of Indian art and culture. The mighty stream which started from Arabia and developed as a mixed Indo-Arabic culture poured into India. All these came to us and illuminated us, and yet so great was the powerful influence of

which we could accept them without being swept away or overwhelmed. Nevertheless, we all changed in the process and in India today all of us are mixed products of these various influences. An Indian, wherever he may go in Asia, feels a sense of kinship with the people and the

Assurance To West

"I do not wish to speak to you of the past but rather of the present history. We meet here not to discuss our past history and contacts but to forge links for the future. And may I say here that this Conference and the ideas underlying it, is in no way aggressive or against any other continent or country? Ever since news of this Conference went abroad some people in Europe and America viewed it with doubt."

"The fact was a new Pan-Asian movement directed against Europe or America. We have no such aim. We are striving for promoting peace and progress all over the world."

"For too long we of Asia have been petitioners in western courts and chancelleries. That story must now belong to the past. We propose to stand on our own feet and co-operate with all others who are prepared to co-operate with us. We do not intend to be the plaything of others."

"In this crisis in the world history, Asia will necessarily play a vital role. The countries of Asia can no longer be used as pawns by others, they are bound to have their own policies in world affairs. Europe and America have contributed very greatly to human progress

and for that we must yield them praise and honour, and learn from them the many lessons they have to teach.

But the west has also driven us into wars and conflicts without number and even now, the day after a terrible war, there is talk of further wars in the

both in their political and economic aspects.

"The countries of Asia, we must remember, are very backward and the standards of life are appallingly low. These economic problems demand urgent solution or else crisis and disaster might overwhelm us. We have, therefore, to think in terms of the common man and his immediate needs. The heavy burdens that have been placed on him may be removed, and he may have full opportunity for growth.

One World

"We have arrived at a stage in human affairs when the ideal of 'one world' and some kind of a world federation seems to be essential though there are many dangers and obstacles in the way. We should work for that ideal and not for any grouping which comes in the way of the larger world group. We, therefore, support the United Nations structure which is painfully emerging from its infancy. But we must also in Asia, think of the countries of Asia cooperating together for that larger ideal.

"This Conference, in a small measure, represents this bringing together of the countries of Asia. Whatever it may achieve, the mere fact of its taking place is itself of historic significance. Indeed this occasion is unique in history for never before has such a gathering met together at any place. So even in meeting we have achieved much and I have no doubt that out of this meeting greater things will come. When the history of our present times is written, this event may well stand out as a landmark which divides the past of Asia from the future. And because we are participating in the making of history, something of the greatness of historic events comes to us all.

"This Conference will split up into committees and groups to discuss various problems which are of common concern to all of us. We shall not discuss the internal politics of any country, because that is rather beyond the scope of our present meeting. Naturally we are interested in these internal politics because they act and react on each other, but we may not discuss them at this stage, for if we do so, we may lose ourselves in interminable arguments and complications. We may fail to achieve the purpose for which we have met. I hope that out of this Conference some

Asian leaders will find common problems and to bring about closer cooperation between the countries of Asia.

may be able to do more than to discuss them. I shall not venture to say what we can do, but I shall not venture to say what we cannot do. I shall not venture to say what we can do, but I shall not venture to say what we cannot do.

"We seek no narrow nationalism. Nationalism has a place in the world, but it must not be allowed to become aggressive and come in the way of international development. Asia must be kept out in front of the world.

"We are not in Africa. We of Asia have a special responsibility to the people of Africa. We must help them to their rightful place in the human family. The freedom that we envisage is not to be confined to this nation or that nation, but it must spread out over the whole human race. Last universal human freedom also cannot be confined to this nation or that nation.

"We think today of the great architects of Asian freedom—those who have laid the foundations of the new Asia of our dreams. Let us have faith in these great new forces and the new Asia of our dreams.

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"All over Asia we are passing through trials and tribulations. But and trouble. Let us not be disheartened by this; this is inevitable in any age of mighty transition. There is a new vitality and powerful creative impulses in all the peoples of Asia. The masses are awake and they demand their heritage.

"We are not in Africa. We of Asia have a special responsibility to the people of Africa. We must help them to their rightful place in the human family. The freedom that we envisage is not to be confined to this nation or that nation, but it must spread out over the whole human race. Last universal human freedom also cannot be confined to this nation or that nation.

"We think today of the great architects of Asian freedom—those who have laid the foundations of the new Asia of our dreams. Let us have faith in these great new forces and the new Asia of our dreams.

GENERAL SMUTS REPLIES HIS PARLIAMENTARY CRITICS

REPLYING to the criticism of his speech on the Prime Minister's Vote in the House of Assembly last week General Smuts said the world was to day passing through the darkest period of its history and no one knew what lay ahead.

In seeking a solution to the dangers confronting the world, responsible persons to consider all over the world had decided on the formation of a world organisation. Could he be blamed for his support of such an organisation?

He admitted there had been a large measure of disappointment over UN but that was no reason to despair. There was no doubt that the hope for co-operation between nations had not yet been realised, but perhaps UN was still in its experimental stages. It was possible that things would work out better than they appeared today.

The Prime Minister said there appeared to be a division between the East and the West—the Left and the Right—and some sense of co-operation could be achieved the future appeared to be unacceptably dark.

For South Africa at this stage to isolate herself would be disastrous. Though the first trend of events appeared to be disquieting South Africa should not be frightened into pursuing a wrong policy.

The division between the East and the West did not necessarily mean war. Great Powers did not act irresponsibly in such matters. There was no reason to despair and it would be most dangerous for South Africa at this stage to pursue its own course regardless of the world.

Speaking on Communism General Smuts said: Russia had declared that Communism was not for export but that statement had not proved true.

In South Africa there was a small Communist Party, so small that as a party it meant nothing, but the method was the danger. That method was underground infiltration which created an influence far greater than the influence possessed by the numbers of Communists.

"The danger of Communism is not in the numbers of Communists but in the method of their work. They are working in the shadows and they are working in the shadows. They are working in the shadows and they are working in the shadows. They are working in the shadows and they are working in the shadows.

GEN. SMUTS ON BOYCOTT

Referring to the boycott of Indian traders in the Transvaal, the Prime Minister said: "It is a matter which should only be solved by discussion between the two Governments. It was a step which the Government of India itself had taken. It was a matter which should only be solved by discussion between the two Governments.

In dealing with this matter it is necessary to go to the root of the trouble—in the question of the sanctions imposed. It is a matter to be taken up with the Government of India. It is a question which must be taken up by the two Governments directly or indirectly with a view to eliminating the trouble."

He hoped to be in a position at a later date to state what had been done in connection.

The House would have an opportunity at a later stage for a full discussion of the matter. But the time was not yet ripe for such a discussion.

This statement was made by the Prime Minister in reply to the debate in the Committee of Supply on the Prime Minister's Vote.

Atomic Age that is upon us. In this Atomic Age Asia will have to function effectively in the maintenance of peace. Indeed there can be no peace unless Asia plays her part. There is today conflict in many countries, and all of us in Asia are full of our own troubles. Nevertheless, the whole spirit and outlook of Asia are peaceful, and the emergence of Asia in world affairs will be a powerful influence for world peace.

"Peace can only come when nations are free and also when human beings everywhere have freedom and security and opportunity. Peace and freedom, therefore, have to be considered

three arms. Originally the Colonial Office proposed racial representation for Europeans, Indians and Africans in the Assembly. This is being abandoned. It was denounced by the Indians as being a surrender to the white settlers in Kenya.

INDIA'S CASE AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA

INDIA is believed to be preparing a strong case against South Africa for presentation at the meeting of the UNO General Assembly in New York in September, though she has not yet given official notice of her intention to raise the matter again.

It will probably be unnecessary for her to seek to place the subject formally on the Assembly agenda as this is almost certainly to be done by the UNO Secretariat in pursuance of the Assembly's last resolution.

It is expected that India will ask the United Nations to condemn South Africa outright on the ground that the Union's official policy imposes disabilities on non-white people.

Further and try to persuade the Assembly to pass a resolution calling on its members to break all diplomatic relations with the Union.

If such a resolution was passed it could be enforced only through a decision of the Security Council, on which the Big Five nations would have to be unanimous, and any stronger action in the economic sphere would also depend on the Security Council.

Gandhiji Returns To Bihar

Mahatma Gandhi had lengthy last-minute talks with the All-India Congress high command before leaving for Patna (Bihar), on April 12, after his six talks in 12 days with the Viceroy, Lord Mountbatten. He told his prayer meeting that he was leaving with the good wishes of the Viceroy, with whom he had a two-hour interview earlier in the day. No further meetings have so far been arranged between Lord Mountbatten and Mr. Jibbah, President of the Muslim League, who has already seen the Viceroy six times to explain the Muslim League's stand on constitutional matters. The result of the political discussions during the past

fortnight is that Lord Mountbatten is now familiar with the respective stands of Congress and the Muslim League, but it has been admitted that little fresh ground has been covered.



Mr. G. Narayana

This is the third Indian to be sent to Grahamstown to receive the 'A' Pilot Licence in aviation.

NEWS IN BRIEF

A batch of five convicts was sentenced on September 13 to 13 years imprisonment.

Mr. and Mrs. H. Boodhoo of Pomeroi wish to thank all relatives and friends for their messages of sympathy and help during the recent bereavement caused by the death in India of their daughter-in-law, late Mrs. P. Boodhoo.

Among the passengers who arrived from India by the *Amrita* in Durban during the last week and was Professor Ashraf Hameed Durrani, M.A., who is Professor of Persian in the University of Allahabad. A welcome reception was given in his honour by Kokani Agha, Chairman of South Africa at the Gandhi Library on April 17.

Among the other passengers arrived in Durban by the same boat were Mr. Dawood Mahomed, a prominent merchant of Calcutta, and brother of Mr. Mahomed, and Mr. Lohit Lal, and Mr. A. A. Bhowani of Mysore, N. Ch. and Sons.

THANKS

Mr. C. M. Khan, son of Mr. C. M. Khan, of Mysore, wishes to thank on behalf of themselves and members of their family the many friends who have sent them messages of sympathy and help during the recent bereavement caused by the death in India of their daughter-in-law, late Mrs. P. Boodhoo.

Mr. and Mrs. H. Boodhoo of Pomeroi wish to thank all relatives and friends for their messages of sympathy and help during the recent bereavement caused by the death in India of their daughter-in-law, late Mrs. P. Boodhoo.

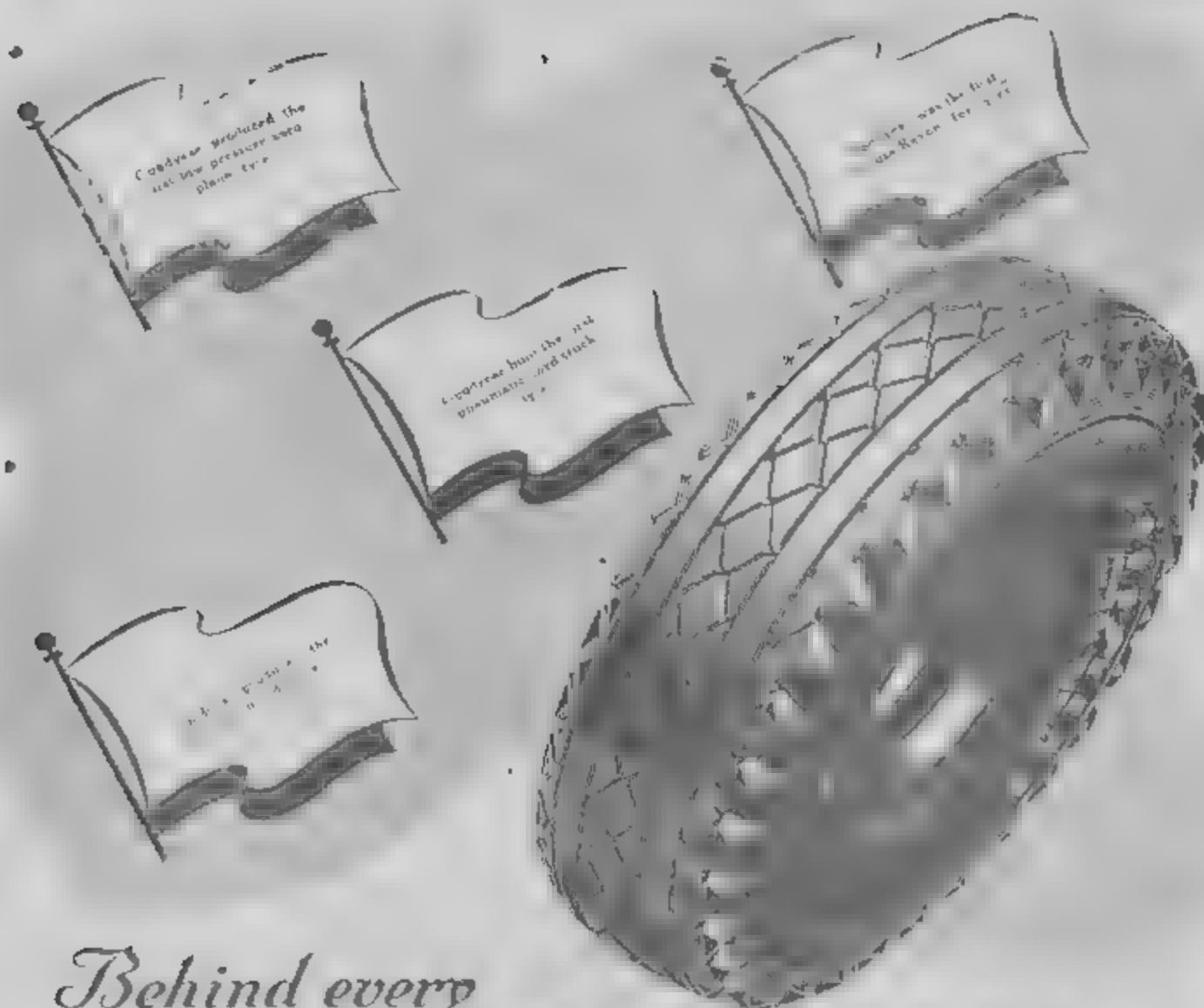
Sri Ramakrishna Birthday Celebrations

A public meeting will be held at the Kathiawad Hindu Seva Samaj Hall, 52 Lorne Street, Durban, on Sunday, April 20, at 3.30 p.m., to celebrate the 112th birthday of Sri Ramakrishna. Swami Ghabananda, President of the Ramakrishna Mission, will be delivered by distinguished speakers. All are cordially welcomed.

SPECIAL ANNOUNCEMENT

Avalon Holdings Limited have great pleasure in announcing that on the 5th May 1947 they will be taking control of all cinemas purchased by them, which were originally owned by Messrs. Khyas and Momen and his Directors comprising that as from the above date (5th May, 1947) the price of shares will be increased 1/2.

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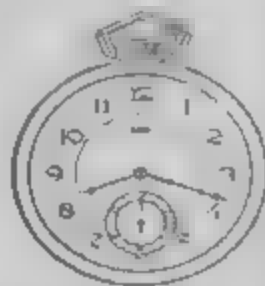
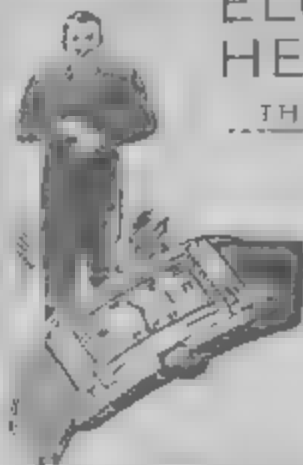


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Those who are prepared to sell their soul for a morsel of pottage, those who have no self-betterment and are looking for back boss to put up a fight for right and justice and call themselves "moderates" deserve some other designation and that is "cowards." Such men, whatever race or community they may belong to, have ranged against man and God and are a burden on this earth. Mr. Justice of the "true welfare of India" but he does not use the term. We surmise it to mean "to leave them

disturbed common wealth," just what many of our people have been doing. The consciousness of "true welfare of Indians" seems to have awakened only because this peaceful tenure of life has been disturbed and that, apparently, is what appears to Mr. Kaje and his associates to be "dangerous." The

that our self-respect has been hurt is nothing to Mr. Kaje. And in order to obviate that danger

Kaje is desperately anxious that India should forthwith withdraw the economic sanctions and resume diplomatic relations with South Africa. But it does not add

Government even to send the Asiatic Act. Instead,

emphatic declaration by the Administrator that the Asiatic Act will remain on the Statute Book was the parting shot Mr. Kaje received, and through him the Indian community received, after his arrival at the Rotary Club. We wish to assure Mr. Kaje that

those who are engaged in the present struggle, which he seems to belittle, are just as anxious to have peace as we are, but they want peace with honour, not with dishonour. Nor do they wish in the least to do anything that would hurt the prestige of the Government. The way out of the present impasse therefore, is for the Union Government to

repeal the Asiatic Act and for the Indian Government to withdraw the economic sanctions and for both the Governments to meet at a round table conference. There is no loss of prestige in this on either side.

Reference To U.N.O.

As to obviating further reference of the matter to U.N.O. Kaje speaks as though

Indians in South Africa were responsible for that. Mr. Kaje himself admits having led a delegation of 100 South African representatives to General Smuts at Pretoria last year. He knows

what he is getting. Was it not for all the efforts of Indians in South Africa and of India to settle the question had failed that we were compelled by the

Union Government's obstinacy to refer the matter to U.N.O.? And who is anxious today to refer the matter once again to U.N.O.?

Is it the Union Government? Or is it all to obviate reference of it to U.N.O.? And if not treated the U.N.O. resolution with contempt? Whether

we like it or not, the Indian question of South Africa has become an international question, not because of our sins but because of the sins of the Government of South Africa. If Mr. Kaje has really the true

MR. KAJEE'S SPEECH AT ROTARY CLUB

THE following is a portion of the speech delivered by Mr. A. I. Kaje at the Rotary Club at Maritzburg last week.

I look with grave anxiety at the way in which extravagant language and racial arrogance on both sides have led and will lead to great confusion and racial hatreds. I have the greatest respect for the man of honest conviction who sees in passive resistance the only way to protest against an obvious and intolerable state of affairs. But I have no respect and no use for the Indian who mixes up the Indian cause with the Common Cause and who plays upon the emotions of the masses to

and Indian against European. These same Indians are not averse to accepting in private what they denounce in public.

against which they intimate by refusing to file in the forms required for the Asiatic Act, rather than quieting unrest under the non-discriminatory law of time-pass.

These compatriots are angry with those of us who claim to be moderates, who believe that the road of negotiation, the path of goodwill and constitutional representation despite set backs is still the way where lies our progress, and what is more, in their anger they do things that are dangerous to the true welfare of Indians as the reactionaries among Europeans are to the welfare of the European community. Many of them are

Communists first and Indians second. They have succeeded in diverting a large section of the community from the real issues facing the Indian people.

Firstly, to my own fellow Indians I would say that the set back we have had in recent times should not cause us to falter in our faith in ourselves and in our fellows—in the ultimate dignity and goodness of man. Let us continue to be decent and law-abiding citizens whichever our enemies have admitted us to be.

Let us enhance the attributes of

thrift and hard work, the virtue of self help—the building of schools for our children and the alleviation of the misery of the less privileged amongst us. As hardships and restraints are inflicted upon us I say to my fellow countrymen let us not despair but tenaciously and consistently adhere to these things that are latent in us and let us by these means continue to contribute to the well being of this and which is our home. This would be the way of sanity.

The ladies in my community have their counterpart among Europeans. Sober men on both sides realise it and prefer to take the harder course of sanity and negotiation. This sanity would point a way to

Paundt Nehru has given us all a lead in his declaration. In his will to discuss the matter without considerations of national prestige and pride. He is prepared to comply with the United Nations decision that the two Governments should get together. This should be done long before the September meeting of the United Nations Organisation. It should be done now. Diplomatic relations should be restored. The Indian Government should remove eco-

nomical sanctions and the South African Government should remove racial restrictions. This would be the way of sanity.

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must not imagine that I am an Indian of moderate opinion and prepared to accept the Asiatic Act. I oppose it and will continue to oppose it with all my strength not only on racial grounds but on economic grounds. The evil of such an Act on this is that its injustice and folly breed further injustice. I am sure that even those of you who are in favour of the Act would insist that when the Act was passed, the maps showing Indian areas should not be tampered with. Your sense of justice would not permit that. Yet that is just what is happening. No sooner was it passed than there was an outcry that this or that area should be excised and be prohibited to Indians. I quote this to emphasise that once the Natal Europeans had achieved what is their own hearts they know to be wrong, they were unable to resist their irresistible desire to add to the wrong by wrong.

This is the sort of uncalculated behaviour that inflames the passions. Time and again, the talk and promise of housing and amenities has dissolved into sheer inaction. Proof of this is everywhere apparent. The fact is that if the Government and local authorities would have fulfilled a fraction of their promises to meet the needs of Indians, there would never have been any necessity for the Asiatic Act.

But there is another thing. The economic restrictions in the Asiatic Act are absolutely contrary to the whole principle of economics. The Natal Post War Commission spoke of the indivisibility of economic of trade and commerce, emphasising that trade and industry cannot be put into racial compartments. Yet that is just what the Indian legislation has sought to do. Clearly there is need for a re-statement of these truths in discussions such as I have suggested.

But there is further reason for advising the desirability of tripartite negotiations. The demand of Europeans that Indians shall not refer their disabilities to India. This can only come about if Indians are recognised as South African Indians. Communal franchise or, worst still, a third class citizenship based upon advisory boards would add to the misery of our condition.

The interests of Europeans and Indians are the same. Any other but common roll franchise cannot be anything but based on race and colour. If Indians are not given the same franchise as Europeans, the supremacy and of Indians enjoyed economic rights with

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future, to do something about it not only for the sake of humanity and sacred principles of human brotherhood, but also for the sake of its own future existence. It can evade neither the issues raised by India's case nor its own responsibilities. In the meantime it is receiving an increasing accumulation of White South Africa's responses to the U.N. Assembly's resolution. The United

Government has, of course, just ignored it. But the White population has been reacting to it in pointed defiance. It takes many shapes, one of them being an intensification of the campaign against the "Little People's" school boycott and so on in pursuance of an open declaration that they would force the Indians of South Africa to leave the Union.

mentioned how fortunate they were to have secured the services of Mrs. Watson who had been trained at Norland's Nursery College in England.

Transvaal Provincial Conference Of T.I.C.

The Transvaal Provincial Conference of the Indian Congress is to meet on April 18, decided to call a Transvaal Provincial Conference on May 11. This conference will discuss the important developments in the Indian political field and also a full discussion of the boycott situation in the Transvaal will take place. The Executive is busy making the necessary preparations for the conference which will be held in Johannesburg.

Non-European Mass Meeting

A mass meeting of non-Europeans originally scheduled to be held on April 20, has now been postponed to Sunday, May 4. This meeting will be held at the Johannesburg Newtown Market Square at 2.30 p.m. It has been organised under the joint auspices of the African National Congress, the Transvaal Indian Congress and the Transvaal Provincial Executive of the A.P.O., the leading coloured organisation. At the meeting the significance of the declaration of non-European co-operation will be dealt with by Mr. J. M. Dlamini.

International Trade Conference

Mr. Rajbanshi Pillai, the leader of the Indian delegation to the International Trade Organisation Conference in Geneva said that India was willing to contribute to the success of the Conference by withdrawing protection from some of the major industries. "I do not suggest that we can dispense with all since some are essential for Indian revenue purposes, but we may be able to try other forms of protection for the Indian industries if it is better for the world community" he said. "India is now entering the most glorious chapter in her long history. Her future is now for us to make in fashion. Our masses have been living in ignorance and we must undertake to raise their standard of living. We cannot be accused of adopting a parochial attitude. We proclaim that economic prosperity is one and indivisible."

Great Powers Accused Of Being Dictatorial

The President of the Egyptian Senate left his chair as president of the Inter-Parliamentary Union Conference at Cairo last week to accuse the big Powers of exercising world dictatorship. Speaking as head of the Egyptian delegation,

he said that the big Powers, small nations, had for a long time been exercising their power and decisions on questions which concerned the whole world.

"Every time the Foreign Ministers of the big Powers get together in secret committees to decide the course of action, whether they be friends or enemies, international feeling is accentuated and pessimism grows throughout the world. 'The Foreign Ministers of the big three, four or five' have been appearing to the world as a united world-factorage, which defies all our own indignation and arrogates to itself global sovereignty, not on justice, but on might. 'The United Nations' General Assembly has a very restricted field of action, and the Security Council, which is supposed to be the General Assembly, as it should be, 'The United Nations' Organisation has shown a strong tendency of internationalism, but it is internationalism, not a combination with a lack of real collective understanding."

Link Between Rupee And Sterling

The Central Legislative Assembly last week passed a Resolution providing for the link between the rupee and sterling, and linking the rupee with the currencies of all the countries which are members of the International Monetary Fund.

Mr. Asaf Ali Khan, the Finance Minister of the Interim Government, in introducing three resolutions as amendments to sections of the Reserve Bank of India Act, said that it meant the emergence of the rupee as independent currency. He added that such the question of India's sterling balance would be dealt with. India would continue to deal only in sterling, and would not immediately leave the sterling area. He said that in future the Reserve Bank would have power, under directions from the Government, to buy and sell not only sterling, but other currencies as well. By virtue of the resolutions which it was proposed to pass, the Government would have an immediate effect of changing the rupee sterling exchange rate. The decision is regarded in London as the first step towards meeting the situation created by the withdrawal to the Bretton Woods limitations. It is also a step towards the projected break up of the sterling area as a whole. This break is provided for by the Anglo-American loan agreement of December 15, and is due to come into force in May 1947.

Things In General

New Aided-Indian School Opened In Durban

The official opening of the Kuthawad Hindu Government aided Indian School in 52 Lortie Street, Durban, was performed by the Director of Education, Mr. Reginald A. Banks, on Saturday, April 19. There was a large gathering of men and women and several European guests were also present. Dr. N. P. Desai, president of the Indian Hindu Seva Samaj, presided. Among the speakers were Messrs.

Patkar, Rookwood, Mr. K. M. Desai, S. I. Singh and others. Mr. Banks paid a tribute to the Kuthawad Hindu Seva Samaj for putting up such a magnificent building and compared the present position of Indian education with that of fifteen years ago when he joined the Education Department. He vividly described how in those days Indians were receiving their education in wood and iron shanties, some with the roof almost tumbling down and some with rain water pouring in through the roof. Today, he said, they had instead, elegant and elegant buildings. Mr. Banks expressed the hope that conditions would still improve as time goes by. Mr. Banks and other European guests were garlanded and were presented with bouquets. Light refreshments were served on the terrace after the ceremony of a luncheon.

Indian Nursery School Opened

The "Little People"—the first nursery school for Indian children—was opened by the Mayor, Mrs. Rupert Ellis Brown, last week. Mr. H. S. Miller, chairman of the Indian Nursery School Association, pointed out that it was less than two months since the Association was formed and said that it was largely due to the energetic efforts of the secretary, Mrs. I. M. Bawa, that in so short a space of time the first school was ready to be opened. The Mayor expressed her pleasure in opening the delightful little school and said that it was a great step towards the improvement of the Indian child.

in achievement. She congratulated the founders the children would derive at the "Little People's" school and appealed to the parents present to show their appreciation by co-operating with the Association in establishing other nursery schools for less privileged children. Dr. Desai, a spokesman, chairman of the Durban branch of the South African Nursery School Association, said she would report to her Association what had been done.

PROVINCIAL CONFERENCE OF N.I.F.

PREPARATIONS are being made for the forthcoming Natal Provincial Conference of the Natal Indian Congress which is to be held at the Kuthawad Hindu Seva Samaj Hall in Lorne Street, Durban on May 31 and June 1. The official opening of the Conference will take place on the night of May 30. Fraternal delegates from various organisations all over the Union are being invited to attend the Conference. The N.I.F. officials are busy holding meetings throughout the Province with a view to re-organising the branches that are already existing and forming new ones.

and was confident of their approval and interest. She stressed the importance of dealing with problems connected with development and character at the pre-school stage and wished the Indian Nursery School Association success in this venture and its future project. Mrs. I. M. Bawa thanked the Mayor for finding time, in spite of her numerous activities, to open the "Little People's" School. She also thanked Dr. Goonam for allowing the use of her house for the school, and Mrs. Royson, Secretary of "Tree Tops" for the valuable help and guidance she had so readily given. She expressed the gratitude of the Association to the parents who had subscribed towards the equipment of the school and

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INDIAN OPINION

Editorial by
MAHATMA GANDHI

NO. 5, VOL. 1, 1921

FRIDAY

1921

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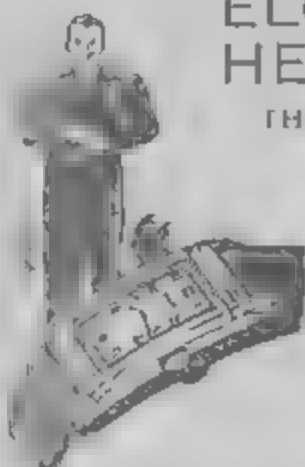
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INDIAN OPINION

MAHATMA GANDHI

No. 18 - Vol. XLV

Indian Opinion

FRIDAY, 2ND MAY, 1947

Mr. Heaton Nicholls

THE statement by Mr. G. Heaton Nicholls, the Union High Commissioner, at a meeting with Dominion and British Press representatives in London, was, needless to say, born out with the disapproval and condemnation not only of the Congress but of the so-called "moderates" on whom Mr. Heaton Nicholls seems to have built high hopes. This is what Mr. Kajer says about Mr. Heaton Nicholls:

He is a consummate liar, calling his

the decision, and in bringing the

without UN called for the treatment of Indians in South Africa in connection with existing treaties and with the

Mr. Nicholls refused to discuss the matter with the Indian Government without consultation of public opinion, and therefore

in the

The other points in Mr. Heaton Nicholls's statement have been replied to by the Congress Secretaries. Mr. Kajer's attitude and the attitude of the Indian community is refusing to abide by the Congress decision on violent demonstrations to welcome the King here, given Mr. Nicholls justification to assume that the vast majority of Indians in the Union were opposed to the action taken by India on the Indian question of South Africa. Mr. Heaton Nicholls has also assumed that Indians are now prepared to accept the Queen's offer, but, unfortunately for Mr. Heaton Nicholls, he is labouring under a misapprehension. There were various reasons why Indians

took part in the celebrations in honour of the Royal Family. One of them being that such a place and another the great attraction that such an occasion would naturally cause. That, however, has not changed the attitude of the Indian community as regards the racial policy of the Union Government. They are opposed to it as strongly as ever. The Indians have not been attracted in the least by the recent overtures made by the Union Government to win them over by offering them Advisory Boards, separate towns and the like. They have treated them with contempt. They are not accepting even the "moderates." Mr. A. I. Kajer, their leader, is prepared to accept loaded franchise but the Indian community as a whole is not prepared to accept anything until the Asiatic Act is suspended and the whole Indian question has been discussed at a round table conference between the Governments of India and South Africa. However much Mr. Heaton Nicholls may try to mislead the world the fact remains that the Union Government has not only flouted the decision of the United Nations but it has acted most irresponsibly in setting up the public to take the law into their own hands and force Indians into submission by methods of intimidation. We wish to guard ourselves against making a mistake in misreading the public in or out side the Union. We do not believe we are guilty of any exaggeration in making this statement, however, when it is so open that prominent members of the United Party have advocated and helped in organising the boycott movement of the Transvaal and General Smuts has not condemned but justified it as being the natural consequence of the sanctions imposed by India.

The Indians And The Native

MR. R. G. CAPPELL'S entrance into the boycott of Indian traders on the copper belt of Northern Rhodesia, by Native, which is reproduced elsewhere in this issue from the *Notul Daily News*, is thought provoking. Indians are clever propagandists it is said. Their success at U.N.O. was said to be due to their propaganda and wild stories they had spread about South Africa. Our experience, however, is that Englishmen are the cleverest propagandists in the world. They have held India for nearly two hundred years on nothing else but false propaganda. Miss Mayo was not a product of India. Is there any other motive, we wonder, behind Ghandi, at this moment, the piece of drivel given by Mr. Capell, than propaganda to sell the Natives against the India the Jews against the Christians?

And generally the White leaders against the Indians? It is sought thereby to make an alliance of the White man and the Black to drive the Asiatic out of the country. It is a thousand pity that just at this critical period we have among us people like Mr. Kajer and his associates who will not see through this master game and will for selfish ends allow themselves to be used as tools. Even at this eleventh hour we would earnestly appeal to them to desert from this unprincipled and unholy act and to join hands with their compatriots to fight the common enemy. By common enemy we do not mean the White man but his ways. That, however, is by the way.

To come to the point, what needs to be understood is that no amount of false propaganda will succeed in hiding the truth and the world is too wide awake today to be deceived. In so far as our people in Northern Rhodesia are concerned we do not know the actual position. But one thing we can

say, we feel it our duty to say and it applies not only to the Indians in that part of Africa but wherever they may be. That is, that any adverse criticism of their business morality reflects not only on them individually but on the whole community. Their fight for self-respect will amount to nothing but sham and hypocrisy if they do not maintain a high moral standard in all their affairs. They must understand that the Native, who has been exploited all these years by adventurers who have usurped his land, is no longer a fool. There is a fast growing consciousness in him of his rights and his strength to assert those rights. When he fully realises his strength and power on earth—not even the atom bomb will be able to stay it. The Indians are a mere drop in Africa in the midst of a vast Native and European population and if they do not live and behave decently it will not take long for them to be wiped out of existence and they will have deserved that fate. Our humble advice to them, therefore, is that they should not seek to exploit the Native. They should remember that they are intruders in his land and can live by his grace. If we treat him with contempt and seek to keep him suppressed for our exploitation we are as bad as the White rulers whom we decry. We must help him in every possible way to acquire his just rights, not to put impediments in his way. We must be ever zealous to see that our presence does not hinder but helps his progress. That is the duty of every Indian in whatever part of Africa he may be. In doing that duty he will have served not only the Native but himself, his country, humanity and above all God.

Western Civilisation

WHILST these lines are being written, the National Anti TB Conference is in session in Durban. It has revealed a state of affairs which, to say the least, is shocking. The Mayor of Durban, Mr. Rupert Ellis Brown, who opened the Conference, said the Government should be ashamed that in this country 152,000 of its 430,000 children suffered from malnutrition. He strongly criticised "the only too apparent tardiness of the Government in tackling not only TB but such big problems as housing and food. It was not difficult to understand," he said, "why the greatest incidence of TB was among Natives and Indians, for housing conditions had a great deal to do with it, and malnutrition was a contributory cause." Dr. B. A. Doern, Chief TB Officer for the Union, said, industrial workers were dying at an appalling rate and South Africa held the record for the death rate from TB of its non-European workers. Four people a day died in Durban, he said. Seven hundred and fifty-eight Europeans in South Africa died each year; mostly at their most useful age they were thrown away. Speaking about the non-European, who was used in the industry, he said: "South Africa took a fourteenth century primitive and shoved him into the twentieth century. He was shoved into barracks, his diet varied a little, he was hard-worked, he was given no family life and nobody cared where he lived. If 100 Natives were taken into a town, 70 would die; of the 30 replacements more would die and so on, until the reservoir dried up."

There can hardly be a severer indictment against the Government than this on its criminal neglect of the health, housing and nourishment of the people, and particularly of non-Europeans who, being voiceless and voteless, are the most neglected. Strangely enough, whilst the Government is lacking the means of providing adequate health, housing and food facilities for its own people in the country, it has in abundance everything for the immigrants from Europe who are being introduced in their thousands. For, surely, they are not going to suffer the fate of the non-Euro-

peans in the Transvaal or thrown up to look after themselves. But, be it not forgotten, it is not human lives that is a matter of so much concern. It is the Western civilisation that has to be saved and protected! If that

A REPLY TO MR. NICHOLLS

THE joint secretaries of the Natal and Transvaal Indian Congress have issued the following statement—

Mr. Heston Nicholls, Union High Commissioner in London, when speaking to pressmen on Thursday, April 24, indulged in a bit of wishful thinking when he expressed the hope that by the time South Africa reports back to the Central Assembly of the United Nations in September, political representation of Indians provided for in the new Union legislation should be in force.

The "representation" referred to by Mr. Nicholls and which is provided for in the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act, 1946, is

(1) Two Indian representatives are to be elected to the Natal Provincial Council to represent 228,119 Indians.

(2) Indians to elect three Europeans to represent 150,000 in the House of Assembly consisting of 150 members.

(3) Two European Senators will represent Indians in the Senate. One of these will be appointed by the Government and the other elected by Indians.

Qualifications for Indian voters under the Act are:

(a) The voter must be a male, (b) Minimum age qualification of 21 years, (c) Union nationality, (d) Standard VI education and either an annual income of at least £84 or ownership of immovable property valued at not less than £250, free from mortgage.

The elections in all the above cases to be on a communal basis, separate from the European voters' roll. Indian women, whatever their qualifications, are totally excluded as voters, though European women possess the vote on the same basis as the men.

37,505 Indians in the Transvaal, irrespective of their qualifications are to be totally excluded from any representation at all on Municipal Councils or on the Provincial Council.

Apart from the above, there are other proposals recently put forward by the authorities for the creation of Advisory Boards.

Indians in South Africa have repeatedly rejected the type of representation referred to above because the Government is offering this peculiar form of fran-

chise has not been actuated by any sincere desire to right a grievous wrong but is merely trying to show the outside world that Indians are now to be regarded as Union Nationals because they have been given political representation.

We shall never be satisfied with anything less than true democratic rights, which means the granting of the franchise to us on the same basis and with the same qualifications as applied to Europeans. Until this is done and we are treated as South African Nationals in every respect we shall continue to appeal to the outside world and to the United Nations in particular.

It is true Mr. Heston Nicholls and other Government spokesmen, including General Smuts, desisted from using the mythical cry of preserving Western civilisation in South Africa. They have already brought about prejudice, hatred and conflict between the different groups inhabiting this unhappy land. They now wish to extend that conflict between East and West by raising the cry of preserving Western civilisation, even as Hitler raised the cry of preserving the Aryan race. Actually there is no conflict between Eastern and Western civilisations here because there are two standards of civilisation. Everyone in this land, whether he is an African, Coloured, European or Indian aspires to raise himself to the highest level of what should rightly be regarded as modern civilisation and which is the result of the accumulated culture of the ages, a civilisation to which all races have made contribution and are still continuing to do so.

By naming this civilisation as "white civilisation" or "western civilisation" and saying that it is in danger, Mr. Heston Nicholls and General Smuts are trying to rouse racial passions in defence of their actions. They are now doing this amongst the nations of the world just as they have already done with a great deal of success within the country.

If a portion of the Indian population finds itself unable to raise itself to a higher standard of living there are 40,000,000 poor whites and millions of Africans in the country who find it impossible to do so. The reason for this is not that all these unfortunate wish

to remain at their present low level but they remain there because of their criminal neglect by the Government, not because they desire to destroy any particular brand of civilisation, but because it suits the land-owning barons and the mining magnates who rule South Africa to keep them there.

The question is not one of different standards of civilisation but purely and simply one of economic competition, and in the case of Indians and other non-European races prejudice is exploited to the fullest extent by the rulers of the land to achieve their purpose.

By being denied opportunities in the labour market, in the civil service, in trade and in agriculture, and by being denied freedom of movement Indians are economically suppressed by being denied opportunities in the field of education they are systematically kept backward. They are then told that because they cannot afford it a particular standard of living, they are not fit to have the franchise.

Many of the other misleading statements at the last session of the United Nations, Mr. Heston Nicholls states that the granting of equal political

rights would make Indians pre-dominant in Natal, not only over Europeans but over Natives as well. Natal's 1946 census figures give a lie to the statement. Out of a total population of 2,182,731 in the Province there are only 228,119 Indians and 1,000,000 Natives. They outnumber each other in the ratio of 1 to 4.3. The 1946 census figures for the Province of Natal are: Whites 1,000,000, Indians 228,119, Coloureds 22,727, Natives 1,000,000. Asiatics 1,000.

As a result of the 1946 census even the European whites are outnumbered by the Indians and Natives combined.

that while the doors of South Africa have been thrown wide open to European immigration, they have remained tightly closed to Indian immigration ever since 1919.

And yet Mr. Heston Nicholls speaks of Indian predominance in Natal. If it is to be a predominance, it must be a predominance of the white race.

Because the Indians are not voters in the Provincial Council or in the Union Parliament they are prepared to accept the doubtful advantage of the bogus representation offered to them.

If, as Mr. Heston Nicholls says, South Africa is to be a white man's country, the only way the Union Government could demonstrate this fact is by the removal of all racially discriminatory Acts from the statutes.

THE MESSAGE OF ASIA

ADDRESSING the concluding session of the Inter Asian Relations Conference on Wednesday, April 2, in the *Parade Ground* at Delhi, Gandhi said, "I do not think that I should apologise to you for having to speak in a foreign tongue. I wonder if this loud-speaker carries my voice to the farthest end of this vast audience. If some of those who are far away are unable to listen to what I may say, it will be the fault of the loud-speaker."

I was going to tell you that I do not wish to apologise. I dare not. You cannot understand the provincial language which is my mother tongue. I do not want to insult you by speaking in my own language (Gujarati). Our national speech is Hindustani. I know that it will be a long time before it can be made into an international speech. For international commerce, undoubtedly, English occupies the first place. I used to hear that French was the language of diplomacy. I was told when I was young that if I wanted to go from one end of Europe to the other, I must try to pick up French. I tried to learn French in order that I may be able to make myself understood. There is a rivalry between the French and the English. Having been taught English I have naturally to resort to that language.

I was wondering as to what I was to speak to you. I wanted to collect my thoughts but, let me confess to you, I had no time. Yet I had promised yesterday that I would try to say a few words. While I was coming with Madhab Khan I asked for a little piece of paper and pencil. I got a pen instead of a pencil. I tried to scribble a few words. You will be sorry to hear from me that that piece of paper is not by my side though I remember what I wanted to say.

You, friends, have not seen the real India and you are not meeting in conference in the midst of real India. Delhi, Bombay, Madras, Calcutta, Lahore—all these are big cities and are, therefore, influenced by the West.

I then thought of a story. It was in French and was translated for me by an Anglo-French philosopher. He was an unselfish man. He befriended me without having known me because he always sided with the minorities. I was not then in my own country. I was not only in a hopeless minority but in a despised minority if the Europeans in South Africa will forgive me for saying so. I was a *coolie* lawyer. At that time we had no *coolie* doctors, we had no *coolie* lawyers. I was the first one in the field. You know perhaps what is meant by the word *coolie*.

This friend—his mother was a French woman and his father an Englishman—said: "I want to translate for you a French story. There were three scientists who went out from France in search of truth. They went to different parts of Asia. One of them found his way to India. He began to search. He went to the so-called cities of those times—naturally this was before British occupation, before even the Moghul period. He saw the so-called high caste people, men and women, till he felt at a loss. Finally, he went to a humble cottage in a humble village. That cottage was a *dhung* cottage and there he found the truth that he was in search of."

If you really want to see India at its best, you have to find it in the humble *dhung* homes of such villages. There are 700,000 of such villages and 38 crores of people inhabit them.

If some of you see the villages, you will not be fascinated by the sight. You will have to scratch below the dung heap. I do not pretend to say that they were ever places of paradise. Today they are really dung heaps. They were not like that before. What I speak is not from history but from what I have seen myself. I have travelled from one end of India to the other and have seen the miserable specimens of humanity with lustreless eyes. They are India. In these humble cottages, in the midst of these dung heaps, are to be found the humble *dhungis* in whom you find the concentrated essence of wisdom.

Again, I have learnt from books—books written by English historians. We read books written in English by English historians but we do not write in our own mother tongue or in the national language Hindustani. We study our history through English books rather than through the originals. That is the first lesson which India has to learn.

Saying that wisdom had come to the West from the East, Gandhi said: "The first of these wise men was Zoroaster. He belonged to the East. He was followed by Buddha who belonged to the East—India. Who followed Buddha? Jesus, who came from the East. Before Jesus was Moses who belonged to Palestine though he was born in Egypt. After Jesus came Mohammed. I omit my reference to Krishna and Rama and other lights. I do not call them lesser lights but they are less known to the literary world. All the same I do not know a single person in the world to match these men of Asia. And then what happened? Christianity became disfigured when it went to the West. I am sorry to have to say that. I would not talk any further."

I have told you the story in order to make you understand that what you are in the big cities is not the real India. It is the carnage that is going on before our very eyes is a shameful thing. As I said yesterday, do not carry the memory of that carnage into the conference."

What I want you to understand is the message of Asia. It is not to be learnt through the Western spectacles or by imitating the atom bomb. If you want to give a message to the West, it must be a message of love and a message of truth. I do not want to ever appeal to your head. I want to capture your heart.

In this age of democracy, in this age of awakening of the poorest of the poor, you can redeliver this message with the greatest effect. You will captivate the hearts of the West not through propaganda because you have been exposed to it. You will understand. I am sanguine if all of you put your hearts together and say: "We will deliver the message of Asia." The wise men of the East have left to us, and if we really become worthy of that great message, the conquest of the West will be completed. Then you will be loved by the West itself.

The West is today pining for wisdom. It is despairing of the wisdom of the atom bombs, because a war, so far as the destruction of the West but of the whole world, as of the prophecy of the Bible is going to be fulfilled and there is to be a great change. It is up to you to tell the world of its wickedness as I said—that is the message your teachers and my teachers have taught Asia.

WHAT MR. HEATON NICHOLLS TELLS THE WORLD

SPEAKING at a report back to the General Assembly of the United Nations in September on the domestic Indian question, this was announced on Thursday, April 24, to London by Mr. G. Heaton Nicholls, the Union High Commissioner, at a meeting with Dominion and British Press representatives.

By that time, he said, the political representation of Indians provided for in the new Union legislation should be in force.

"There is no desire in South Africa to flout the decisions of the United Nations," he added. "On the contrary, South African policy is based on the fullest support of the Charter, which South Africa fought to secure."

After outlining the social position obtaining in the Union today, Mr. Heaton Nicholls said that it was an accepted fact that many Indians were unable to conform to western civilised standards of life. These, it was agreed in 1927, should be repatriated to India.

The repatriation scheme, however, broke down, and they had remained. Hence the crisis which had arisen.

"The Indian Congress is demanding political rights which, if granted, would ultimately make them predominant in Natal, not only over the Europeans, but also over the native populations," went on Mr. Nicholls.

The attitude of the United Nations had aroused the greatest indignation in South Africa. The Union had been astonished to find that in the very first case which came before the U.N.O. had delivered a political judgment on evidence which would not have been accepted by any competent court of law in the world.

South Africa's request that the question should be referred to the International Court of Justice had been rejected. "A rejection," emphasised the High Commissioner, "is contrary to every principle of justice as practised in South Africa."

The Union Parliament would almost certainly reject any suggestion that the Indian legislation should be repealed, since it was considered essential for the maintenance of Western civilisation.

Meanwhile, it is now obvious that the vast majority of Indians in the Union are opposed to the action taken by India. This is proved by their refusal to obey the Indian Congress in carrying out a boycott of all demonstrations to welcome the King. They regard themselves as South African Nationals and they resent being dragged into the Indian political arena.

"They are prepared to accept the undoubted advantages offered them by legislation whereby they can elect representatives to Parliament and send two Indians to take their seats in the Natal Provincial Council, which controls the local government of the province," he said.

NOW that the date for the Intipulating of British rule has been fixed, I heard a remark on the Indian people that the increasing efforts they have made during the last 30 years are at last to be rewarded with the achievement of complete independence," said Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek in reply to the speech of the Indian Ambassador to China, Mr. K. P. K. Menon, on the occasion of the presentation of his credentials on March 27.

"Our two countries, so far as religion and philosophy are concerned, have a great deal in common. Owing to the intermingling of our civilisations going back to very ancient times, sharing the same beliefs and having a population which constitutes nearly one half of the human race, it is not China alone which is concerned with the welfare of the world and the welfare of mankind. If we can stand together strong and united."

States' Resolve

There was a distinct difference of opinion between the two groups of the Indian States Rulers on the question whether the States should join the Constituent Assembly now or at a later stage. After much discussion the States' meeting at Shimla decided to postpone its decision until the meeting of the States' meeting at Shimla.

During these previous sessions on the subject, the Maharaja of Bikaner, who led the progressive section, submitted a memorandum to the Princes in the course of which he said "Even if the Muslim League is a decided force, making it a beyond question in the interests of the States as a

OUR INDIA LETTER

(FROM THE OWN CORRESPONDENT)

Varanasi, April 8, 1947

CHINAS' GOODWILL

WONDER interpreted as they are with territories in British India, that by June, 1947, a strong Central Government should be created which can take over power. The only safe policy for the States therefore is to work fully with the stabilising elements in British India to create a centre at least for a large section of India as possible to start with, leaving it open for any other part to come in at a later time, which would safeguard both the States and British India.

Some of the States, it is learned, will definitely join the Constituent Assembly earlier.

No Dictated Truce

Speaking at Allahabad on April 7, Mr. J. B. Puri said the Muslim League was trying to capture power in the Punjab and to further and to invade Azamgarh and to establish Pakistan, but it was not an easy thing.

Referring to the offer of truce made by Mr. M. A. Jinnah president of the All India Muslim League, in Bombay recently, Mr. Puri asked how there could be truce on the basis of Pakistan or Akhand Hindustan? Truce to the real sense meant giving up arms and the use of the sword.

"Pakistan can be established only on the basis of justice. There are impartial agencies or tribunals who can decide the question. Congress is ready to sign the truce if the question of Pakistan is referred to an impartial tribunal. That implies that there should be no killing, political problems are not solved by fight or resort to arms."

"Congress has been the decider," declared Sardar Patel, "when it levelled representatives of the League to meet Congress representatives and come to an understanding. Congress will not withdraw of the British Government. And which would maintain peace, order and good government and prevent civil strife."

Under the circumstances referred to the present negotiations among the

federations of up to open routes for Travellers by the Government of the State. The League he said, constituted the feet of India. "What will be the fate of the feet if it is cut off from the body, namely, the Indian body politic?" he asked.

"My humble advice to the Princes is, 'they cannot remain outside the Constituent Assembly.' It would be attended on the part of the Princes to exploit British India. If any number of the Princes or other decides to establish paramountcy he is taken. They cannot establish, but

paramountcy which the British Government has established."

The Princes should be abreast of the progressive forces in British India while organising their moves for their legitimate rights. He welcomed the formation of the Union of the Deccan States which was formed with the consent of the people and had decided to join the Constituent Assembly.

Bad For Muslims Also

Dr. Rajendra Prasad, speaking at Patna, said that the dispute between Hindus and Muslims seemed to arise from their desire to have a share in the power they were going to acquire in India. "There was nothing wrong in such a desire. Every community must have its due share in free India. They should all enjoy equal rights and privileges. But the trouble arose out of the desire of one community to grasp more power at the cost of others."

He said, just made persistent efforts to resolve the communal tensions. But the Muslim League was on repeating its demand for Pakistan without trying to convince others of the justice of their demand.

He himself he said had studied the question of Pakistan and had come to the conclusion that it was bad not only for India as a whole, but for the Muslims as well. If the Muslims wanted a separate zone wherever they were in a majority, the Hindus also had the right to demand separate zones where they were in a strong back numerical.

Dr. Prasad pointed out that even if the Pakistan envisaged by the Muslim League was ceded, it would contain about 45 per cent Hindus in Bengal and a fairly large percentage in the Punjab. The Hindus in Pakistan would be in a better position to know the Muslims there, than the Muslims in Hindustan who would be numerically much inferior to the Hindus.

'Invasion Of Assam'

The Working Committee of the Assam Provincial Muslim League has resolved to start a mass civil disobedience movement to break the present Government of Assam. The movement is being launched from Dibrugarh into Assam and taking possession of lands from which they refuse to be evicted. This action is being taken has been called the 'Invasion of Assam.'

"The Muslim League ought to know particularly," said Shri Burdola, the Assam Premier, "that whenever they have tried to carry on such a movement, however non-violent they profess

PARVATI MEHRA ENTERTAINS ASIAN RELATIONS CONFERENCE DELEGATES



Guests are watching a dance recital by the Chhau Dancers of Seraikella. In the Centre are seen Her Excellency Lady Mountbatten and Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit

Dr. Soeharto, the Premier of Indonesia, speaking at the Asian Conference on the 2nd said that the world today was living in troubled times when changes of

STATEMENT OF POLICY

TRADE union rights should be open to all South Africans, no matter what colour they may be, says a statement of policy issued by the Garment Workers' Union to clarify its position after its storied conference in Johannesburg.

The Union, with a membership of 7,000, is the second largest body in the S.A.T.C. It gave notice to resign from the Council before the conference, but withdrew the notice when five unions voted to protest against the decision to allow Native Indians to affiliate with the

To achieve a healthy distribution of wealth," says the statement, "it is absolutely essential to remove from our every form of

... Our national con-
stitution must be focused on
work, production of wealth.

An examination of two decades of South African industry development proves, says the statement, that the increase in the number of non-Europeans in industry has led not to the displacement of Europeans or the lowering of standards, but to more employment and higher wage standards for Europeans.

"These have led to greater productivity and efficiency and, consequently to a lowering of production costs."

for resulting consequences were taking place everywhere. Happily, this, the present was the time for nothing. "But even while we initiate projects and exercise plans we must be taken to me this

these things are done in such a manner that the consequences of our action would be negative to other people that would instead strengthen the bonds existing between the races of the world.

Above everything, the compelling factor which had made the Conference a success was a kind of common sentiment—a *Asian sentiment*. There was no doubt that such a sentiment existed. In his opinion, this sentiment was based not only on Truth and Justice but was in consequence with the whole humanity. This sentiment must be so directed and used that it would not fall from the path of justice, humanity and idealism. If this was done it would lead to one Asia and ultimately one world.

A Great Future

In the course of his concluding remarks, Gandhi Nehru, who, incidentally has been elected as the President of the Provincial General Council of the Asian Relations Organization set up by the conference said: "We are now in the process of finding ourselves and therefore others are also in

is not merely something on the map, is not merely a place for the strategy of various imperialisms or a place where there are wars to be exploited by the Axis countries of human beings with dignity, human beings with a long past behind them and human beings who are going to have a great future.

Referring to the troubles in India, Pandit Nehru said: "You read in the newspapers of the troubles we are having in India and we sometimes read in newspapers of the troubles you are having in your countries. There is hardly a country which is devoid of trouble and conflict. For a long time that is a legacy of this war, perhaps it is an inevitable consequence of having to pass through this period of transition. What is happening in India is not enough and to me of us who have to shoulder responsibility for this and it is heavy enough burden. Yet it is not enough for a state."

... you who come from
... who live in this
...
... confirm that is taking place in
India is anything that frightens
me. We are having trouble, we
may have more trouble, but big
things are happening in the world,
in Asia and in India and where

the ground shakes. You cannot have the birth of complete freedom without the labour pains that accompany every birth.

As with us rural, what is happening and we try to put a little to it, to find a peaceful way of progressing. We also realize that what we do is not ideal, but this kind of thing happens.

And we have to face it and try to conquer it as undoubtedly we shall, and as undoubtedly you will wherever you may come from.

So I want you to face these difficulties and troubles in Asia as elsewhere, with confidence in yourselves and in the future of your country and of Asia."

East Has A Lesson To Teach

Mrs. Beronjol Naidu, in her closing address, said: "During the speeches of the various delegates we have seen a common wish, the same urge and desire that there shall be understanding, that there shall be friendship, that there shall be co-operation, that there shall be a free and United Asia. In this hour of Dethi, at the heart of the old British Empire we have founded today our new world of brotherhood, not an empire which monopolizes power for any one section or another but a federation of free peoples where every individual is as great as the next where there will be no leaders and no followers but all will be brothers in a mighty task of regeneration. Faudel Nibrah has said that

dynam a control of culture,
 moat. An honour to come young
 admittance. But we of the im-
 mortal Kias, we who were when
 long as story's *Yama*, we have
 a legacy to leave to this world.
 But, as Pandit Dharma said, let us
 first understand the message our-
 selves.

Referring to Mahatma Gandhi's message, Mrs. Naidu said: "You have heard the message from the lips of the great apostle of Love and Truth. He is feeble today, he is bent and I blend with the tree."

his pilgrimage of his to police
the bleeding hearts of suffers in
Bangla and Bihar. Hot with the
fiery body, those tried times, the

Gandhi it is who says love and forgive, love and create, love and be free. This is the message of India, my children, my brothers, my sisters, my daughter-in-law. This message of Gandhi to your country.

The lunge night of India's darkness is coming to a close. We were fatalistic, we believed it was destined that we should be dominated, that we should be exploited, that we should be dominated. Alas! Alas! Alas! that, that period was over; but the sun came up for us yesterday. We are free, this hour when we gaze at the new dawn, the dawn of our new era. Remember the night of darkness is over; together, men and women, let us march forward to the dawn.

Mrs. Z. Gool Toure
Tanzania

Councillor Men. N., Head of
Cape Town who has been tour-
Travelling accompanied by old
Councillor, Messrs O. H. I. Pabst,
and Numa Ritz has been receiving
centres visited. Towns so far
visited are Rustenburg, Balfour,
Greylingstad and Jansfontein. At
all these places the Indian resi-
dents pledged their whole-hearted
support for the continuation of
the Passive Resistance struggle
until the Union Government
implements the United Nations
decision.

BOYCOTT OF INDIANS IN NORTHERN RHODESIA

BOYCOTT of Indian traders on the copper belt of Northern Rhodesia is in full swing, according to Mr. H. G. Capell, national organizer of the Amalgamated Engineering Union, who has just returned from an extensive visit, during which he went as far north as the Congo border.

The most interesting feature of this boycott, Mr Capell said, was that it was led by a Native school teacher. Many of those taking part were Native troops who had served in Burma and the Far East generally.

The reasons for the boycott was more economic than political. The Natives were, in fact, in rebellion against what they regarded as the excessive prices charged by Indian traders who had obtained a monopoly of business throughout Northern Rhodesia, as they had in other African territories.

Mr. Capell said that the old-time European traders, many of whom were Jews, had been driven out of business by the Indians, who were now able to charge almost what they liked.

Trade boycott was already proving most effective, Mr. Capel added. The Natives would not go near the Indian stores except when goods they could not obtain elsewhere were urgently needed. Indian traders were gravely perturbed by the boycott, which they regarded as a threat to their very existence.

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એચ. કે. ગોકળ,

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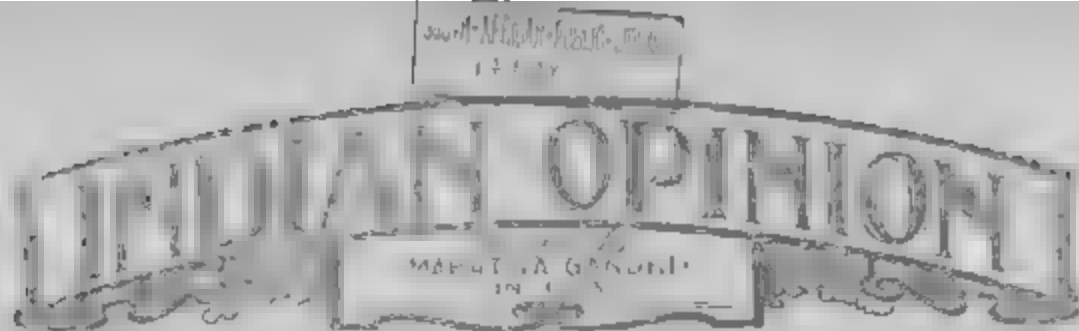
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AGITATION FOR PEGGING ACT IN CAPE

In the House of Assembly on Tuesday the debate was resumed on the motion by Mr. F. C. Erasmus (H.N.P., Moerensburg) that the Government should take immediate steps to put a stop to Indian penetration into urban, village and rural areas in the Cape Province through the acquisition of land by Indians or otherwise.

Mr. F. C. Erasmus (H.N.P., Moerensburg) said South Africa's Indian problem, both nationally and internationally, was due only to Indian penetration. The problem seriously affected two Provinces of the Union and should not be allowed to spread to a third. All the other Provinces envied the Free State, where there was no Indian penetration and the Government was neglecting their duty. They did not see that the same measures applied in the Cape.

Since the passing of the Pegging Act in Natal Indian capital had been largely transferred to the Cape with the result that the value of property bought by Indians in the Cape had risen over two figures for 1946. It had destroyed the introduction of a Pegging Act in the Cape.

With the introduction of the Indian legislation last session the Prime Minister had said that the Government were solving the Indian problem in Natal and the Transvaal, but at the same time he was creating, perhaps unwittingly, an Indian problem in the Cape where there had been none before.

Mr. F. H. Acutt (Dom., Durban-Muggrave) said the Indians were penetrating into the Cape in the same way as they had penetrated into Natal 30 years ago. This penetration started with the buying up of sloan property in the centre of the city and as the city expanded so these properties increased in value. The Government would have to take strong action if the Cape were to be saved from the same danger that had befallen Natal.

Mr. C. Neate (Dom., Natal-Moerburg) said the Indian community in South Africa would continue their penetration as "steadily, relentlessly and remorselessly" as they had done in the past and all attempts at appeasement would be in vain. The question of Indian penetration was one which concerned not only the Union but also

alarm at Indian penetration for some time. Sales of property between Christians and Indians had been taking place and every week there were transfers of property to Indians. At a sale he had attended in Simonstown all the five properties offered had been bought by Indians, one of the properties being directly the dockyard. In view of the present tension between India and South Africa he felt that there had been a strategic object in this purchase. Indians looked far ahead.

Mr. M. J. van Den Berg (H.N.P., Krugerderp) said if nothing was done about Indian penetration, the Cape would be obliged to stand shoulder to shoulder with the Transvaal and boycott Indian traders to prevent the position becoming worse. The longer the Government waited, the more difficult would the problem become.

Unwarranted Says General Smuts

The Prime Minister, General J. C. Smuts, said he did not feel the arguments used in support of Mr. Erasmus's motion and the case mentioned warranted any such step as Mr. Erasmus contemplated. His warning of last year still held good. If a case was made out that there had been large-scale transfers of property by Europeans to Indians in an area of a European character there would be some justification for legislation, but no such case had been made out.

The figures given by members in support of the motion were not reliable. When he gave his warning last year the Registrars were asked to keep statistics of property bought by Indians, but the Chief Registrar of the Cape had reported that such statistics were absolutely valueless because the names of Malays and Cape Coloured people were often the same as Indian names.

In Natal there was a proper registration of Indians and when a property changed hands it was possible to determine exactly all the facts.

The drastic steps of fresh legislation was not justified.

"The House knows we are in grave trouble over this question. It is a call to us to watch our step carefully when we deal with matters of this kind and anything that is in the nature of a provocative action in this case

would be entirely unwarranted."

Another consideration was that the legislation introduced in Natal last year was meant to guard against penetration by one race into an area inhabited by another race, not merely against the promiscuous buying of property.

"The whole position is so vague, so uncertain, that I do not think we would be wise to take such action—I do not think it would be justified."

The leader of the Opposition, Dr. D. F. Malan, said the general feeling of the House was against the views expressed by the Prime Minister.

The people of the Cape were not in the mood, after what had been done by India, to accept the viewpoint and weak arguments of the Prime Minister.

Mr. F. C. Erasmus (H.N.P., Moerensburg), replying to the debate, said if General Smuts disputed the value of the figures which had been quoted about

the purchase of property by Indians, why did he not give the House the correct figures? He (Mr. Erasmus) would be satisfied if the Government would agree to appoint a Commission to go into the whole question.

The motion was defeated by 67 votes to 47. Mr. H. J. Gillies (Lab., Mayfair) and members of the Dominie Party voting with the Nationalists against the Government.

"WE ARE NOT SELFISH"

MR. ABDOUL RAHMAN of Cairo, who is the Secretary General of the Arab League and is a delegate to U.N.O. on the Palestine problem told *Express-Reporter's* correspondent in New York: "We are not selfish. In this world, if you are not selfish and if you are humane you will find a solution to problems, and we do not intend to be selfish."

PASSIVE RESISTANCE COUNCIL ON BOYCOTT MOVEMENT

THE following statement has been issued by the Transvaal Passive Resistance Council: The Passive Resistance Council of the Transvaal Indian Congress has been closely following the developments in the boycott of the Indian traders in the province of the Transvaal. While it is true to say that the Passive Resistance Struggle launched by the Indian community to vindicate their self respect and national honour of India, is being used by the leaders of the boycott movement to gather support for their racialist and undemocratic designs, the Indian community must realise that there are basic economic reasons behind the move to oust Indian traders.

The growing Afrikaner capital is keen on removing all competitors from the commercial field, and the Indians are the victims of this plan on their part.

It must be remembered that even in the 1930's attempts were made to boycott Indian traders and just as the movement collapsed then we are confident that this boycott move cannot go very far. Reports from areas in which investigations were carried out by the Council and Congress members, show that in many areas the boycott is not proving effective.

The Indian traders as a whole are putting up a very courageous stand against very many odds. Their determination and fortitude must be admired by the entire Indian community.

In this great struggle for the emancipation of the Indian community in South Africa, the South African Indian Congress and its constituent bodies called upon the Government of India to impose economic sanctions against the Union Government. India is at the moment preparing a strong case for submission to UNO in September when South Africa will have to face once again the nations of the world and give an answer as to why she does not treat the Indian people in the Union as conformity with the United Nations Charter.

In the great struggle launched by our people in the Union many young men and women have already courted imprisonment in defiance of the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act. Just as these brave men and women have played their part by voluntarily accepting imprisonment in the cause of freedom, so are the Indian merchants in the Transvaal playing their part in the front line of battle for democratic rights. The Passive Resistance Council pledges to do every thing in its power together with the Transvaal Indian Congress in taking up the case of all those against whom this latest anti-Indian battle is being waged.

'Strategic Object'

Captain W. D. Haze (U.P., Mowbray) said he had been

"MODERATES" MEET IN CONFERENCE

"MODERATES" from different parts of Natal, whose views coincide with the Kape-Path group, met in conference at the Avalon Theatre on Sunday, May 4. The meeting was by special invitation. Entrance cards were issued to those who were invited. About 140 people were present. The Muslim element was predominant.

The circular convening the conference stated that the urgent need of the moment is to find a means to stem the deterioration to the present position and "stop the erosion of all the progress made in the past and bring a sense of realism to face our problems to offset the onslaught of European racial prejudice."

"We want to make it clear," the circular concludes, "that we are not holding the conference in opposition to any existing body or bodies, but with a genuine desire that the affairs of the community may take to the path of realism and wisdom so that our relationship with all dwellers in this land may be on a basis of moderation, negotiation and goodwill as it has been in the past."

The meeting was presided over by Mr. Hayes A. S. Kape, a member of the S.A.I.C. delegation to India.

A new moderate body was formed known as the Natal Indian Organisation.

A committee was elected with Mr. Kape as chairman.

A draft constitution was submitted and adopted by a majority vote.

Messrs. A. Christophers and S. M. Nasdeo strongly opposed the formation of a new body.

It was decided by the Conference to send a deputation to interview the Prime Minister, General J. C. Smuts, and to request him to take immediate steps for the resumption of diplomatic relations between the Union and India, and initiate discussions in accordance with the United Nations resolution between representatives of the Union and Indian Governments in which South African Indians would take part.

It was further decided to request the Prime Minister not to form the proposed Indian Advisory Board and to appoint Indians on the Natal Housing Board so that the provision of houses for Indians may be accelerated and to develop the social and educational amenities for the Indian community.

President's Speech

The president in the course of his speech said:

Whilst the war years have been a boom and blessing to the several sections of the population of South Africa they have been the reverse in the case of our people.

In September, 1945, the moderate group of the Natal Indian Congress, which was then in office, announced its intention not to contest the Congress elections because of the subversive tactics that were being resorted to by a certain section of the members, with the result that Congress went into the hands of what was then known as the militant group. The first we heard of the activities of this militant group was that early in December, 1945 it presented a two-point demand to General Smuts who regarded it as an ultimatum. The next we heard was the statement by General Smuts in Parliament on January 21, 1946, in which he envisaged the introduction of the new notorious Asiatic Act.

After referring to the various restrictive measures passed by the Government and to the matter having gone before UNO and to the resolution passed by UNO he went on to say:

Position Deteriorated

The United Nations resolution indicated that the two Governments should come together and that could only come about by way of a round table conference.

It is needless for me to point out that since the decision of the United Nations the position of the Indian community in South Africa has deteriorated. In the Transvaal our merchants in the country districts are being subjected to the most virulent type of boycott and now also along the Reef Indian shops are being picketted and Europeans and Natives who visit Indian shops are being assaulted and maltreated. In Natal the Native and European unemployment figures show considerable decreases while the figures for Indians show a marked increase. Indian applications for loans on mortgage are being refused as a matter of course. The Building Societies which catered for a considerable bulk of Indian business totally refuse to entertain Indian loans. These disturbing factors are not due to the fact that our issue had been taken to the United Nations, but to the hostility that has been engendered between the Europeans and Indians. The action of the Europeans to cripple the economy is to be condemned and at the same time I am not going to wince at condemning my own people who, by their inflammatory speeches and by their extravagant and false promises, have done more harm than

good. We are apt to forget that although we fight the white man today we have got to live with him tomorrow.

Highly Detrimental

The present officials of the Natal Indian Congress have pursued a policy which, to my mind, is highly detrimental to the interests of our people. That policy does not recognise the fundamental factor that all negotiations as between human beings are subject to compromise so long as they are honourable. The two points demand that the Natal Indian Congress submitted to General Smuts in December, 1945, was a total disregard to the realities and to the future of our people. No one denies the fact that the colour bar that exists in South Africa is the very epitome of what is right and just. No one would be happier than I to see that the colour bar is lifted from all spheres of our life. But, bearing in mind that we have no say in the Government of the country, we can only secure the abolition of the colour bar by methods of gradualism. That is the difference between ourselves and the officials of the Natal Indian Congress.

Our Stand

Our stand is clear and we do not want to be misrepresented as is the wont of a section of our people to misrepresent us. We totally oppose the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act, and we shall continue with our opposition until it is repealed. With the state of things as they are we cannot agree of the constitution of the Asiatic Advisory Board as announced by General Smuts in Parliament. We refuse to have anything to do with a parallel town outlined by the Mayor of Durban, the parallel Town Board as outlined by Councillor I. L. Boyd or with the Board that the Natal Municipal Association has suggested. We are not unmindful of the fact that exercises the minds of Europeans that if the Indians are given the Municipal franchise, the Europeans would be swamped. We are quite prepared to grant that for the immediate present the European electorate should maintain its supremacy, that supremacy can easily be ensured by loading the Indian franchise. This would favour with the Natal Indian Judicial Commission, the Europeans would dispel this untenable fear.

Both the Union and Indian Governments have to report to the United Nations in September.

ber. Apart from the remarks made by General Smuts in the Indian Assembly and by General Smuts in the House of Assembly, neither the Union nor the Government has moved in any direction required. None of us wish the constitution to be a stalemate and deadlock. I have pointed out that the representatives of the United Nations envisage a round table conference, but such a conference cannot take place in an atmosphere of hostility. Nor can we expect the Indian Government to give a lead unless some suggestions come from the Indian community. Much, therefore, rests on us. It shall be our duty to form the atmosphere in which hostility to one of our people that if a round table conference were decided upon it would take place under the best auspices. I am more than satisfied that unless we are able to bring a spirit of moderation and conciliation in all matters of our political and social life in this country we cannot take any material progress. I am satisfied that a negative attitude on our part would do more harm to the Indian community than any other.

To-day you will be asked upon to deliberate upon the future of our community and how best we can bring about a state of equality between the European and Indian communities. Moderation does not mean that we would do anything that would lower the prestige and honour of India or our own self-respect. On the contrary it means that by exercising moderation and influence we should be able to achieve much in keeping with the stand that India has taken at the United Nations.

GOVERNMENT'S INDIAN POLICY

THE Government may announce the session of the Indian Advisory Council which the Government will appoint to assist in the implementation of the uplift policy for South Africa's Indians.

Giving this information in the House of Assembly on Thursday, May 1, the Acting Minister of the Interior Mr. H. G. Lawrence, said the Council would consist of Europeans and Indians. At least two Indians would represent the Indian community.

Mr. Lawrence said the Government's policy on the Indian question was to proceed with the administration of the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act of last year. If members of the Indian community disobeyed the law they would be dealt with in the ordinary course.

THE series of meetings the Viceroy had with Gandhiji and Mr. Jinnah have come to an end.

position appears to be that both Congress and the Ministry's Government should accept the principle of Pakistan, that there

making body for the Pakistan Provinces, that such a body would negotiate with the Hindustani constitution-making body for an agreement on questions of mutual

done, etc. The Muslim League, according to the same sources, was opposed to any division of the Punjab and Bengal. In regard to Assam, the position is unclear.

It is further learnt that sufficient in India has been given to League quarters that, in the face of the League's demand, the constitution of certain other groups in the country for a division of the Punjab and Bengal could not

that apart from the immediate problems, Gandhiji has urged for a united front and was not inclined to lend his support for any partition. If, however, there could not be just a peaceful co-existence, then any party that they will be affected should at least tell the communities.

Appeal To League

Pandit Nehru, speaking at a meeting on the 13th, dwelt on this subject at great length. "Time has now come," he said, "when we should decide one way or the other. The urgency of the time

of various political parties should be noted and made a final decision.

"The Muslim League's conception of Pakistan," Pandit Nehru said, "can only be decided through equal discussion or a fight. There is no other way. The League demand of the Muslim League is a negative demand. We have been asking them for an affirmation of Pakistan. They have never given it. If the Muslims are bound to arise if things are not made clear

want," Pandit Nehru added, "India which will soon be a united nation should get an opportunity to be a strong and a powerful entity and march forward. I desire that I should get an opportunity to build a new India of my conception. I want that those who stand as obstacles in our way should go in the same way. I wish that at least eighty or ninety per cent of the people should move forward apart from the mass of India which I have in my

OUR INDIAN LETTER

(FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENTS)

Bombay, April 15

A STANDSTILL

"We want that in future India, all Indians should get perfect freedom. There could not be the rule of any religious community. There could be neither Hindu Raj or Muslim Raj. There could be only the rule of Indians. The days of religious rule ended long ago."

"Time has now come," Pandit Nehru said, "to decide whether we want united India or a divided India. This question must be decided immediately. We do not want to occupy any Province or portion of the country to join Pakistan or Hindustan. Sind has declared that it will become independent in June 1948, after the British leave India. Sind League leaders do not realize that it is a long time for Sind to do with the rest of India. Sind is the case with Bengal. It is a Province which has suffered most. If parts of Punjab and Bengal want to separate, no one can occupy them the other way."

Stand By Pakistan

members, Mr. Jinnah is understood to have emphasized that there should be no slackening in the Muslim demand for Pakistan. Whatever the future might hold out, he is reported to have said the Muslim League Party should steadfastly stand by Pakistan and strive for it.

National Unity

The key to India's future lies in national unity and cessation of communal strife. Mr. Henry F. Grady, the First United States Ambassador-designate to India, stated, "India has a great future but the key to that future is the elimination of strife and the unification of all her people," he said. "Her strength and the basis of her progress as well as the realisation of her great destiny lie in national unity."

States And C.A.

Calcutta, Jaipur, Jodhpur, Patna, Bawa, Bikaner and Cochin have decided to join the Constituent Assembly at the present stage. Speaking about the States' people, H. H. Maharaja of Bikaner said: "It is not natural that they should feel profoundly about it. Although the States are independent sovereign units, yet they are necessarily a part of India. A new constitution is being framed for India which will include those

States which will join and therefore the Princes and people are equally interested, and it is only right that they should wish to have a voice in its framing. I do not consider the interests of the rulers and their people to be in any way divergent—they are

Don't Retaliate

On the 6th Gandhiji said he would again and again plead with Hindus and Sikhs on no account to retaliate. He dared to say that even if all Hindus and Sikhs died without retaliation at the hands of their Muslim brethren they would save not only Hindustan and Sikhism but they would save Islam and save the world.

For thirty years, he said, he had preached the gospel of Satya and Ahimsa to them. For 21 years he had done likewise in South Africa. He was sure Indians in South Africa were the richer for following him there, and here too those who had followed truth and non-violence had lost nothing.

Jinnah First President

On the 9th Gandhiji said: "I would be glad if Mohammed Ali Jinnah is made the first President of the Sovereign Indian Republic. Pakistan cannot be achieved by force or by compulsion. Convince us, and you can not only have Pakistan but also the whole of Hindustan." The violence that was being practised, he said, in order to enter Pakistan by force was bound to defeat its purpose, if Indians were not to their soul. He said he would make bold to say that no zone of Pakistan by force was an empty dream.

Britain Sincere

On the 10th Gandhiji said that Britain was quite sincere in its declaration to quit India as far as he knew. He appealed to the British in India to help the Viceroy to make over peaceful transfer of power and leave India not as enemies but as friends and thereby maintain the British

Lesson Of South Africa

On the 11th Gandhiji said that the history of Indian satyagraha in South Africa would live for all time because they had fought for their rights. Though he had gone twice to England on behalf of the Indians in South Africa, he could not

have achieved anything if he had not had the strength of satyagraha behind him. Therefore he appealed to the Hindus and Sikhs of the Punjab to resolve to be loved but not kill. They should resist Pakistan being forced on them with all the incomparable strength of satyagraha. He was not afraid of dying in his mission if that was to be his fate. As they had heard the evening hymn of doctine should make his path clear beyond the allotted space. If Hindus and Sikhs were non-

the doctrine of the Muslims trying to get Pakistan by force. It would be a wonderful lesson for the whole world.

On the 12th Gandhiji said how he had to hang his head in shame when foreigners asked him about communal strife in India. All he could say was that it was not everything that had gone mad. The mad argue were the work of a few and he prayed and believed that it would become one in God's good time. He hoped that the people of Delhi would take their full share in bringing about that heart unity.

India And The World

Being doctors of medicine and further strengthening the

between India and the U.S.S.R., the Government of India and the Government of the U.S.S.R. have decided to exchange diplomatic missions at Embassy level. A committee recommending ratification of the peace

Rumania, Hungary and Finland signed in Paris on February 10, by the High Commissioners for India, London, was moved by Pandit Nehru in the Central Assembly. Speaking on this motion he said, India as such was not directly or indirectly affected by their boundaries in Europe, and various other matters, but India was intimately

might lay the foundation of peace or of war, because when the time came for the treaty with Germany to be finally drawn up and signed, it would be to what Germany was going to be. The future of Germany would control the future of Europe economically and otherwise and, therefore, world peace depended very greatly on what the treaty with Germany might be. Therefore India was intimately concerned in that wider aspect. It was not so much concerned with the matter of frontiers affecting boundaries and other internal dispositions.

Harjans And Congress

Mr. H. J. Khandekar, M.L.A. (C.P.), in the course of his presidential address at the 10th annual session of the All-India Depressed Classes League at Patna, said: "If Mr. Jinnah says to us we should not seek quarrels in Muslim camps, we must be equally emphatic in our demand that he should seek none among Harjans. If India as a whole cannot forget Jallianwalla Bagh,

SMUTS-MALAN PACT ENVISAGED

A PACT between General Smuts and Dr. Malan within two years, directed against the United Nations Organisation and the non-European people of South Africa, was forecast by Senator H. M. Basner when he addressed the "UNO Rally" called jointly by the African National Congress, the Transvaal Indian Congress and the Transvaal African Peoples' Organisation, on the New Town Market Square, Johannesburg last Sunday and was attended by nearly 3,000 non-European people.

Senator Basner said that General Smuts had no intention of carrying out the recommendations of UNO, and that the present loose parliamentary session confirmed this attitude. The Government had not put forward one Bill or one suggestion which would benefit the non-Europeans. On the contrary, co-operation between the Government and the Nationalists was closer than ever before in South African history.

For this reason, the move towards unity between all non-European peoples was important. They should call a national convention, he added.

Other speakers included Dr. Kuma, Mrs. Z. Gool, Masera, Sonabjee Rustonjee and H. A. Naidoo.

Harjans can never forget Nook hall and Tipperah. Those of us, who are still fighting with the Muslim League in the hope that something will turn up or such co-operation have, to put it mildly, met wisdom to the winds. To co-operate with the Muslim League while its present character and composition submit to be committed political suicide. The Congress resolution regarding the partition of the Punjab, he remarked, was based on a sound principle of democratic government.

Division No Solution

Speaking at Bombay, Dr. Rajendra Prasad said that it was very unfortunate that the different sections of people in India did not rely on one another, but were blood-thirsty. This phenomenon was of recent growth. For centuries Hindus and Muslims were living together. If division could solve the problem, the Muslim demand for Pakistan was justified. "But to me it appears that division will not bring the solution of our problem. If India were to be divided into Pakistan and Hindustan, the minorities in each region would not be able to move to their respective places. In the Eastern Pakistan the proportion of Hindus and Moslems would be evenly balanced and in the Western Pakistan, the population of Hindus would be more than 25 per cent." Having these figures in mind, Dr. Prasad said that he had every justification to oppose the Muslim demand for division.

The Muslims should view the whole question from this angle, Dr. Prasad said. Then they would realise the harm that Pakistan was sure to bring them. If they insisted on the division of India, he could see no reason why the Punjab and Bengal should remain one. "We have made it clear that we do not want to force anyone to live with us. If the Muslims choose to have a separate entity they can have it. But in that case they cannot force the minority in the Punjab and Bengal to live with them," said Dr. Prasad.

Children Of Same Soil

"Muslims and non-Muslims, majorities and minorities to whatever religion they may belong, are children of the same soil, breathing the same air and drawing sustenance from the same mother earth," said Sir Mirza Ismail, Prime Minister of Hyderabad and Berar, addressing the Berar Muslim Educational Conference at Amraoti. "The joys and sorrows of Hindus and Muslims are so thickly interwoven in our texture of national life that in spite of the fact that we are living in the night of confusion and sorrow we can confidently look forward to the dawn of joy and warmth which, like an inviolable chain, bound us all together for so many centuries."

N.W.F.P.

"The Frontier Congress Ministry have decided to hold firm and will never submit to the empty threats of the Muslim League," said Dr. Khan Sahab. "The lawless and violent activities of the Muslim League following continue. There has been a large number of Hindus and

Sikhs from the Frontier Province. Active efforts were being made by certain interests in the Frontier, said Qazi Ataulah Khan, Education Minister, to prevent the Interim Government from exercising any influence in tribal affairs in the North West.

Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan spoke with pride of the Khudai Khidmatgars who "proved their worth when, at considerable risk to themselves, they ran to the assistance of their Hindu and Sikh brethren in distress." "The whole of my time will be devoted to the Frontier Province to weaning my co-religionists from savagery," said Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan.

Bengal

On receiving alarming news of recent developments of trouble in Nook hall Gandhi wired back: "If what you say is true, it is a clear case for exodus or partition in the names of madness and fanaticism." Seven members of the Central Legislature, representing Bengal, have submitted a memorandum to the Viceroy asking for the constitution of a "separate autonomous province in west and north Bengal within the Indian Union." A Joint Council is going to be set up which will represent all parties willing to work together for the partition of Bengal. A plebiscite on the issue of partition of Bengal "to find if the people are behind the demand for a separate province" is proposed by the Executive Council of the P. C. C. "the nightmare of the last ten years' Muslim League rule in Bengal has compelled us to arrive at this inevitable conclusion," said a Congress leader in Bengal.

Punjab

The demand for a partition of the Punjab is growing. "The Punjab," said Dewar Chamanlal, "will never agree to a partition communal minority. And after the brutal happenings in the Punjab the Punjabis representing the minorities are determined at all costs never to permit a minority to be installed in the Punjab whose representatives must share the blame for the orgy of violence which cannot be described adequately in any words that I can command." "Mr. Jinnah, as we have said before," says the *Times of India*, "cannot in reason have it both ways. If he demands a separate Muslim State, he must not include in it regions which are predominantly non-Muslim, and whose inhabitants strongly object to incorporation."

The only way to end the present tragic state of affairs and to restore confidence among the minorities in the Punjab and to save the province from further devastation and destruction is to divide the Punjab in such a way that

the maximum numbers of Hindus, Sikhs, Harjans, Christians and other non-League sections of Punjabis should feel secure," says a joint statement issued by Sardar Swaran Singh, leader of the Panthia Assembly Party, and Lala Haimson Sachar, leader of the Punjab Assembly Congress Party. The statement adds: "We have given our most anxious consideration to the recent deterioration in the political and communal situation in the Punjab. Open propagation of coercive methods and adoption of unconstitutional means by the Muslim League to acquire power has resulted in the creation of a very unhappy situation in the province. Some thousands of innocent persons have been killed and a still larger number have become homeless. Property worth scores of rupees has been destroyed and social, economic and political life of the province has generally been paralysed."

"Under these circumstances, we support wholeheartedly the proposal for the partition of the Punjab and as a first step in that direction demand the immediate setting up of two Ministries in the province."

BRITISH INTERVENTION IN FRONTIER PROVINCE

KHAN ABDUL GAFFAR Khan, the Congress leader of the North-West Frontier, according to a Reporter's message from Peshawar, said an attempt was made to make the province a strong hold of the British Government, by making it a buffer State between India and Russia.

He added "in spite of the honest intention of the British Labour Government and the Viceroy to hand over power to India by June next year, Mr. Winston Churchill and his agents are trying to create an atmosphere in India on the basis of which Mr. Churchill might be helped to power and the British might be requested by the Indians themselves to stay in India."

Dr. Khan Sahab, Premier of the Province, told a press conference that if anybody could deliver the goods to the Indians it was the Viceroy.

"Mr. Mahomed Ali Jinnah, (President of the Muslim League) does not exist in the Frontier Province," he declared.

"If the people remain peaceful today, credit to the Frontier Government."

Danphauser United Indian Football Club

The 11th annual general meeting of the Danphauser United Indian Club was held at the Indian School Hall under the chairmanship of Mr. H. Appasamy. The Secretary Mr. Alec Lammors gave a full account of the activities of the year. He referred particularly to the success of the United Football "A" Club last year in winning 4 trophies, and of the "B" Club winning one. It was hoped that keener interest would be shown this year. It is

Abolition Of Untouchability A Fundamental Right

THE Indian Constituent Assembly accepted as a fundamental right of Indians under the new constitution, the abolition of this division in India's social structure.

The Assembly, discussing the Fundamental Rights Committee's report accepted that "untouchability in any form is abolished, and the imposition of any disability on that account shall be an offence."

anticipated that a few players would represent the Sam Chiba Tournament.

The following were elected for the ensuing year: Mr. George Kilary who was not a member of the United Indian Football Club unanimously elected President for the "A" and "B" Teams. Patrons: Messrs. Sholeh Abdool, Victor Bear, Dr. I. Friedman, Dr. (Mrs.) M. Campbell; hon. life vice-president: Messrs. R. Patak, S. Loganathan, G. Gopani, and S. Raghwan; president: George Kilary; vice-presidents: Messrs. A. Gaffoor, Mr. Kader Hossen, S. Appasamy, S. G. Nabee, V. R. Kilary, D. R. Maistry, S. Esmam, hon. secretary: Mr. M. Alec Lammors; hon. treasurer: Mr. R. Pithambur; captain "A" Mr. Govindasamy Maistry; captain "B" Mr. D. K. Mahara; vice-captain "B" Mr. Gopani Maistry; vice-captain "B" Mr. John Daniel; manager and trainer: Mr. Soobiah Maistry; committee members: Mr. Peter Daniel and Mr. E. A. Vawda; hon. auditor: Mr. Bob Camm; ground stewards: Mr. B. Patak and Mr. R. Pithambur.

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LOURANCE MARQUES

CHAMBER OF SOUTH AFRICAN INDIAN MERCHANTS FIRST GENERAL MEETING

The first general meeting of the Chamber of South African Indian Merchants will be held at the Gandhi Hall, Johannesburg, on Sunday, May 25, at 10.30 a.m.

All members, as well as prospective members, and persons of the Indian trading community who are interested in the new Chamber are cordially invited to attend.

The first general meeting is considered by responsible officers of the Chamber as being of the utmost importance and it is expected that great developments will result from it, particularly in connection with events in the Western and Eastern Transvaal.

All Indian traders and merchants are therefore most earnestly requested to make a special effort to be present.

Agenda: (1) Acting chairman's address (Mr. A. Dinath), (2) Adoption of constitution, (3) Election of a National Council, (4) Executive Committee, (5) Boycott events, (6) General.

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TRANSVAAL INDIAN CONGRESS

PROVINCIAL CONFERENCE

A Provincial Conference of the Transvaal Indian Congress will be held at the Gandhi Hall, Fox Street, Johannesburg on Monday, May 12, at 10 a.m. The Conference will be opened by the Rev. M. Scott and will be addressed by Mr. S. Rastmjee and Mr. H. A. Naidoo, delegates at UNO.

NOTICE OF ELECTION

The annual general meeting of the Transvaal Indian Congress (Germania Branch) will be held on Monday, May 14, at the Oriental Cinema, 2nd Street, Asiatic Bazaar, Germantown, at 7 p.m. sharp. All Indian men, women and children above 18 years are requested to attend.

Agenda: Election of office-bearers

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કાનિસેટ ૨/૧૧, અમુકર ૨/૩.

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2229, 2231, 2233, 2235, 2237, 2239, 2241, 2243, 2245, 2247, 2249, 2251, 2253, 2255, 2257, 2259, 2261, 2263, 2265, 2267, 2269, 2271, 2273, 2275, 2277, 2279, 2281, 2283, 2285, 2287, 2289, 2291, 2293, 2295, 2297, 2299, 2301, 2303, 2305, 2307, 2309, 2311, 2313, 2315, 2317, 2319, 2321, 2323, 2325, 2327, 2329, 2331, 2333, 2335, 2337, 2339, 2341, 2343, 2345, 2347, 2349, 2351, 2353, 2355, 2357, 2359, 2361, 2363, 2365, 2367, 2369, 2371, 2373, 2375, 2377, 2379, 2381, 2383, 2385, 2387, 2389, 2391, 2393, 2395, 2397, 2399, 2401, 2403, 2405, 2407, 2409, 2411, 2413, 2415, 2417, 2419, 2421, 2423, 2425, 2427, 2429, 2431, 2433, 2435, 2437, 2439, 2441, 2443, 2445, 2447, 2449, 2451, 2453, 2455, 2457, 2459, 2461, 2463, 2465, 2467, 2469, 2471, 2473, 2475, 2477, 2479, 2481, 2483, 2485, 2487, 2489, 2491, 2493, 2495, 2497, 2499, 2501, 2503, 2505, 2507, 2509, 2511, 2513, 2515, 2517, 2519, 2521, 2523, 2525, 2527, 2529, 2531, 2533, 2535, 2537, 2539, 2541, 2543, 2545, 2547, 2549, 2551, 2553, 2555, 2557, 2559, 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INDIAN OPINION

Presented by
MAHATMA GANDHI
No. 905

MAY, 1947.

Indian Opinion

India Will Not Let Us Down

MR. A. ISMAIL of Natal Indian Congress and Mr. A. I. Kayee of the Natal Indian Organisation, who recently returned by air from Johannesburg are entirely out of countenance when they seem to be speaking for the Indian community of the Union. Both have lost the confidence of the people and the wisest of them would have been better to remain silent or to come out in the open and to gain their audiences. That would have been in keeping with the principles of democracy. Their present tactics are most unfortunate. Far from helping the cause they are doing a great deal of harm to it. Their unwise behaviour has only made it convenient for our enemies to make India and the Indian community in South Africa appear ridiculous in the eyes of the public. Surely they are not so dense as not to be able to see that from the various press comments on their action. Thanks to Mr. A. Ismail, this is what the *Cape Times* has to say:

"The past year has not been a happy one in the relations between the two countries, but if wisdom prevails in India that phase need not last long and can, we feel sure, be quickly forgotten. It is a phase that neither country will care to remember, this country least of all, though perhaps it has more cause to remember it."

This comment was prompted by the following interview given by Mr. Ismail:

"Recent developments indicate that the very necessary amicable settlement between the Union and India is close at hand. I have every confidence in my request on behalf of the South African Indian Congress, to the Governments of India and South Africa, to suspend the trade embargo. And once diplomatic relations are restored the trade embargo must, of necessity, also go. Dr. Desai, the High Commissioner for India, returns we can then work towards a sound table conference on the various outstanding issues."

It was improper for Mr. Ismail to have given such a review and to have created the impression that the Union was at no hand at all in the matter of the boycott of the door of India, when in fact the Government had done a grievous wrong to India by passing a most offensive piece of legislation and India had not a defence. The counter move lay on the part of the Union, of staging a boycott of Indian traders, described as an official, was a cowardly one. It deserves to be treated with contempt and there can be no surrender to it on any account by Indians, whose struggle is based on a much higher plane.

We are baffled to see the recent haste with which Mr. A. I. Kayee and his associates, including Mr. A. Ismail, are taking upon themselves with no mandate from the public, and totally ignoring the leaders who are actually concerned to negotiate with the Union Government on terms not only totally affecting the future of the Indians in South Africa but the honour of four hundred million people of India. That would get the hearing and the support of the Government in this unholy project is quite natural, for nothing that would break our move would be of any use.

Another comment from the *Natal Mercury* on a speaker for which the community has to thank Mr. Kayee:

"While reading," says "Onlooker," "that is recalling her High Commissioner and ambassador to the Union Government has made a grave diplomatic mistake. India is too vulnerable to rely entirely on U.N.O. She is beginning to understand that it is usually easier to settle quarrels by getting the parties to those quarrels to talk. South Africa is at present more important to India than India is to South Africa. India is unaware of that. Threats, as a rule, do not get anyone very far. But the Indians in this country know only too well that a boycott which has been started on the Rand can be a much more dangerous weapon when the War Emergency Measures are removed, as they shortly will. India will treat with the Union, not because she likes the Union but because she needs the Union trade."

Though Mr. Kayee's attitude has certainly created the impression that is given expression to in the above comment, we have no hesitation in saying that it is quite erroneous. The steps taken by India were taken after due deliberation and neither the Union nor the Government of South Africa are prepared to believe that in doing so India had made a grave diplomatic mistake, nor is India penitent for having taken them. There is no question of India beginning to understand. The question is when will South Africa really begin to understand? India had known all along that it was wiser to get together and to settle quarrels between her and South Africa among themselves. She tried to persuade the Union Government to the utmost limit to do so. It was only when she hopelessly failed owing to the unyielding attitude of the Union Government that she was obliged to take the matter to U.N.O.

There is also no question of India hurrying threats at South Africa. In fact it is the other way about. Indians in South Africa are mere lambs before the roaring lions of South Africa who are threatening them with extinction unless they meekly submit to the status of serfs that is assigned to them under the Ghettos Act. India has nothing but a message of peace to give to the world and she desires

peace with honour. If she will treat with the Union she will do so not as a mendicant. She will treat with the Union on honourable terms for a solution of the question which will be of mutual benefit. South Africa is surely not so proud as to say that the Indians in trade but South Africa needs nothing from India, when she owes her prosperity to the Indians' sweat and blood.

Whatever Mr. Rajee and his associates may say or do we have implicit faith that India will not let down those hundreds of men and women passive resisters who have undergone and are still undergoing sufferings for a cause which they and India hold sacred and that she will not take any step that is not in keeping with the self-respect of Indians in South Africa and her national honour.

able to do more than just earn your living. The training you have should help you not only to be sensitive to those things which require adjustment, but to supply the necessary corrective." Dr. Maithebe paid tribute to the non-Europeans who had graduated, "I wish to con-

gratulate them particularly," he said, "because I know the efforts that have gone into the receiving of these degrees." Nearly all of them had graduated in arts, however, said Dr. Maithebe. He hoped that it would soon be possible to have science facilities for them in Natal.

PHYSICAL VIOLENCE TO SOLVE COLOUR PROBLEM

—SAYS PIROW

MR. OSWALD PIROW apparently advocates violence as a method of dealing with the colour problem in South Africa, judging by a suggestion made in the latest issue of his mouthpiece, *Die Nuwe Orde*.

"A group of stupid dreamers in the country aims at complete equality with the non-European, regarding it as a desirable ideal; others support it for personal advantage," says the paper. "They all support it because they no longer have a European outlook, and because they have become softened and are prepared in their misery to betray the Western tradition. Words do not affect them, and no one need expect Government action."

"It is time that powerful action should come from the nation itself—and that is physical violence. The young European men of South Africa should get rid of the public's excruciating of spiritual deterioration."

"Although it is a crime to incite people to violence, we offer this advice: If non-Europeans intrude themselves among Europeans, throw them out on their backs. If Europeans invite them and combine with them, throw these renegades out too."

"We well know that this is no solution of the problem. But it will make the problem so urgent and spotlight it so clearly that the tackling of a fundamental solution cannot be longer delayed."

"Equality is encouraged by the Government, and an impression has been created that the Europeans have already resigned themselves to the inevitable, and that from now on they will passively watch the black wave break over them."

Salvation can only come from the nation itself. It can come in various ways, but there are many occasions when a blow from the fist is a display of vitality and not of unmannerliness."

Mr. Pirow's mouthpiece, *Die Nuwe Orde*, has some more to say about the "coming war." The paper says—What is important to us, is not so much the date of commencement of hostilities of the final struggle between the East and West (although even in this matter things are moving swiftly) nor does the nature of the struggle, but what interests us is the stand our nation is going to take.

We must repeat that a union with a weak, distressed Union before—the Government and no opposition will be able to keep South Africa out of that war. As we see it, the question is merely under the leadership of which Prime Minister the country is going to take part, and of what the participation is going to consist.

The United Party's viewpoint, especially that of the seagoing ("kafferboeties") would be to launch a great overseas adventure while the colour question, which in South Africa is the axis around which Communism revolves, will be left carefully untouched.

One would then be able to find this ridiculous state of affairs—with Hofmeyr as Prime Minister the Union is officially at war with Russia, but the real goal of our Communists in Southern Africa is deliberately obscured as far as Government policy is concerned. With Dr. Malan as Prime Minister the Union will be officially neutral, but a proper war will be conducted against Communism. Unfortunately the chances that Dr. Malan will become or stay Prime Minister on a policy of neutrality are very small.

The Afrikaner National Front should tackle this messianic and declare emphatically that the Union will take part in the next war but not under the leadership of Smuts or Hofmeyr, and that the country's task will be to keep the country clear of Communists.

Politicians would be surprised about the reaction to such a declaration. The major part of English-speaking people will, with a promise of Mr. Havenga as Minister of Defence, accept Dr. Malan as Prime Minister, and the Afrikaners will stand four-square behind him.

NOTES

THIRTY-TWO Natives and Indians were capped at the graduation ceremony which took place on Saturday, May 10, in the Durban City Hall.

Pride of place on the honours given to Mrs. Matel Palmer, recipient of Doctor of Philosophy recognition of her varied academic record in the Union and overseas.

We take this opportunity of congratulating Mrs. Matel Palmer. Her name is held in high esteem in the community for the very high standard she has rendered in the field of education and for her attitude on the racial policy of the Government, which she has always severely criticised.

Dr. B. G. Maithebe M.A., Ph.D., Principal of N.U.C., reviewed Mrs. Palmer's distinguished academic career. Mrs. Palmer, he said, had graduated with first class honours in Philosophy and second class in Classics. A fellowship in U.S.A. and various lectureships had followed in Britain. For two years she was a lecturer in an English newspaper. Later, as a member of the Fabian society, she came to know Shaw and the Webbs. As a supporter of the suffragette movement she had refused to pay income tax and some of her property was seized and sold by the Government. She had been elected to the National Council of the Women's Union of South Africa. Since 1936 she had been a member of the National Council of the Women's Union of South Africa. She had been elected to the National Council of the Women's Union of South Africa. She had been elected to the National Council of the Women's Union of South Africa.

Among the Indian students capped at the ceremony was Mr. R. G. Pillay. Leaving school at an early age after passing Standard VI, he took employment to help out the family budget. Concurrently he pursued his studies and passed six examinations, including the National Senior Certificate and culminating in the B.A. degree. While at N.U.C. he was on the Executive of the Students' Union and last year acted as its president.

In a special message to the graduates, Mr. Justice Broom said there were three cardinal benefits derived from a university career—the quality of humanity, the realisation that learning is an end in itself and the gift of clear thought and accurate expression. "Without the gift of humanity," he said, "learning is mere pedantry, a learned man is a learned hog but on and knowledge may exist but not wisdom. Humanity is difficult to define, for it transcends logic. It may, however, be said to be the quality of being both human and humane." This quality was needed to solve the problems of South Africa he said, for they were concerned with the lives of men and all their whims and stupidities. "If no full solution could thus be found at least a compromise could be reached which would palliate the evil."

The training you have had is not merely for you to exploit in a material way. You have an obligation to the community, said Dr. Maithebe. He said that the non-European students, Indian and Native graduates, at a graduation luncheon in Durban. "You should be

TRADE UNIONS AND LABOUR PARTY

MR. E. S. SACHS, General Secretary, Garment Workers' Union writes in *The Star* Johannesburg: The statement of policy of the Garment Workers' Union on the trade union movement in South Africa can be summarised as follows:—

The main function of the trade union movement is to secure social and economic advancement for the workers. Such advancement is possible only by intensive and extensive industrialisation and the creation of healthy, balanced national economy. This entails national planning, scientific organisation of production, efficiency and decent wage standards to make labour efficiency possible and to create the necessary purchasing power for local commodities. Real economic progress in all spheres is possible only if the minds of the people are concentrated on economic matters.

It is impossible as long as racial intolerance and Herren-volk philosophy dominate public life. Every citizen, irrespective of race or creed, is entitled to the right to work, or he is a proletarian in our world of economic slavery.

Unfortunately the European workers of South Africa, thousands of whom are under the duce of reactionary political organisations, give inadequate attention to "bread and butter" questions. We, therefore, suggest the closest co-operation between the trade union movement and the Labour Party, because that party is nearest to the workers and does in fact direct its attention mainly to economic matters. Are the workers expected to place all their faith in the capitalist parties, or are they to remain politically homeless?

We are not interested in introducing "Left thunder" into the Labour Party or in "the trade union tail wagging the political dog." Our statement of policy makes it clear that the trade union movement should co-operate with all progressive people and organisations irrespective of political affiliation. Progressive trade unions may logically and it is better to co-operate with progress than with dust storms and even timing magicians who advocate the employment of free Native labour and increased mechanisation for the mining industry than with

so-called trade union leaders who preach racial hatred.

Our immediate concern is not that the European workers are not following the teachings of Marx and Lenin, but rather that far too many of them have embraced the tenets of "Mein Kampf." Our aim is to persuade the workers to follow the principles of Jefferson, Lincoln and Roosevelt and for the trade union movement to follow the example of Kier Hardie and others like him.

QUESTION OF EAST VERSUS WEST

Minister Of Posts And Telegraphs On Indian Question

As a result of negotiations, the chances are that the Agency-General for the Government of India will return to South Africa, said the Minister of Posts and Telegraphs (Mr. Muellet) in a speech at Paarl (Cape) last week.

Economically South Africa was feeling the pinch over the trouble with the Indian Government, and General Smuts had been approached time and again with a view to settling the matter with India.

South Africa needed fifty per cent. of the world monopoly of jute. America had bought up the Indian jute crop, but on this point she did not say to South Africa. The United States had accepted an embargo on jute bags, giving at her season the bag shortage in America.

Mr. Muellet appeared for the colour question to be kept out of politics, which, he said, would never so long. This problem would need the most dispassionate consideration. The world misjudged South Africa on the colour question, but South Africans knew that the world's knowledge of the colour question here was based on the facts.

The world would never solve the colour question by force. The world must view the colour question in a new light. This great problem was one of East versus West, with Africa in between. If South Africa solved this question, it would be solving the great question of East versus West.

PROGRESS ON THE ANTI-TB FRONT

THERE has been a heartening response by the Indian girls to the appeal for nurse-aides made by the Friends of the Sick Association. More than thirty girls have so far enrolled and written their preliminary examinations, and it is expected that a group of forty will commence training on June 1. This gives the lie very forcibly to the allegations made from time to time by European racists that the Indian girl will never take up nursing as a profession.

The fact that so many have answered the call is a clear indication that there definitely is a will to serve amongst Indian girls. Given more encouragement by their own community, and afforded greater educational and training facilities by the authorities, there is no reason why in time the Indian community should not have enough trained nurses to look after its own sick. But the campaign for more nurses will go on. The Indian community cannot afford to rest until there are at least one hundred nurses available.

The FOSA is having a training course for its own members on May 24 and 25. Lectures will be given on how to deal with TB cases, the method of approach to families and so on. A talk on Tuberculosis will be given by Dr. P. J. W. H. of the King George V Hospital, and Dr. Douglas Hooper, Assistant Medical Officer of Health and TB Officer for Durban, will give a talk on the work of the TB

Section of the City Health Department.

The Working Committee of the Association has invited the Indian Doctors' Association to appoint one of its members to the Committee, with a view to bringing about closer co-operation between FOSA and the medical fraternity.

The new children's ward at the Fosa Settlement, Newlands, is nearing completion and is expected to be opened in June. There were more than 60 visitors to the Settlement during the past four weeks, including 14 4th year medical students from the Witwatersrand University and 38 Social Science and 1st graduates from the N.U.C.

Dr. P. J. de Vos, head of the Social Science Department, is conducting research on the incidence of tuberculosis.

Dr. S. Thompson, an orthopaedic surgeon, has accepted the position of hon. Orthopaedic Consultant to the Settlement and he visits Fosa monthly. There are four orthopaedic TB cases there.

A beach cottage project was mooted some little while ago for the patients from the majority of their TB treatment, and a start has been made at La Mercy on land leased by Mr. R. Randhartia of Phoenix, Patients and contacts will be taken there at intervals to have all the pressures that the beach and the sea can make possible. —Contributed.

ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE

SMUTS—CAUSE OF INDIAN TROUBLE

TO THE EDITOR "INDIAN OPINION"

SIR—South Africa has recently partaken in a war against the world. It was the only country in the world to witness guns of the worst examples of racialism manifested in the world today.

The Indian Boycott movement was started by a few uneducated farmers and the agriculturally interested sections in the Indian community seized a grand opportunity and are exploiting the position to the full. These African capitalists are by no means concerned about the farmers who are without hope. They are merely making in on prejudices to establish themselves in business.

It is nonsense to say that India started this boycott, because it

is Smuts who first passed discriminatory legislation. The history of the war between the South African and Indian Governments and that between our government and the Indian community is the same. The dispute was settled on an international plane, and the S.A. farmers have an obvious course to adopt that is to apply pressure and force the Government to settle the difference with India and so get the trade embargo lifted.

To keep on raving about race and colour differences will not bring them boys and the financial interests inferred to above will not refund the farmers any losses through crops not reaped.

—T. G. CHANAN.

THE outstanding feature of this week's events is the following joint appeal for peace signed by Gandhi, and Mr. Jinnah on the Viceroy's initiative.

"We deeply deplore the recent acts of lawlessness and violence that have brought the name of India and the greatest misery to innocent people, irrespective of who were the aggressors and who were the victims. We denounce for all time the use of force to achieve political ends, and we call upon all the communities of India, to whatever persuasion they may belong, not to refrain from all acts of violence and disorder, but also to avoid both in speech and writing, any act which may lead to violence."

Gandhi On His Peace Message

On the 14th Gandhi hinted at the possibility of his undertaking a fast if the reports of the ferocity of trouble in Noakhali proved correct.

However, did not mean that fasting was a certainty, he said.

Gandhi also referred to his talks with the Viceroy at Delhi and said that both in public and private conversations the Viceroy declared that he was going to be the last Viceroy of India, and that also only up to June 3, 1948.

Gandhi felt that the Viceroy was honest in his profession. The British were already going for transfer of power. Gandhi felt that he realised that the transfer of power must be peaceful if Britain was to escape the charges that during its reign of more than a century, they had

amongst ourselves. It was a bad sight that while freedom was almost within their grasp, they were fighting amongst themselves.

He said that he was not sure of Congress whether in the

it were trying their best to grasp freedom and to establish peace in the country, striving to find at least the major portion of the evils of the old order.

Gandhi is reported to have advised the Arabs to show generosity and magnanimity in their treatment of Jews but in the evening if the Jews insisted upon entering Palestine with the help of the British and the Americans, and wanted to take forcible possession of their land.

On the 15th he is reported to

black or set in a motion as in Gandhi, then before the whole world. He had agreed the appeal of the Hindus but of all religions.

Sardar's Endorsement

Sardar Patel, in endorsing the

OUR INDIAN LETTER

Baroda, April 23, 1947

JOINT PEACE APPEAL

At Bardoli

make a worthy contribution not only by featuring the appeal prominently at intervals or whenever tension and communal feelings threaten to get the better of human reason or judgment, but also by bearing it in mind in the treatment and presentation of communal matters. A moment's reflection on the appeal may prevent a hasty word or deed from doing incalculable harm to life and property.

Appeal To League And Princes

Sardar Patel made a number of important speeches during his visit to Bombay and Gujarat last week.

of the country. "But if at all there should be partition, the partition can be only settled between us."

To the Princes he said: "No Prince should think that the entry of his State was conditional upon his willingness to enter the Assembly. If the Princes do not transfer power to the people, there is no power over which one can save them from civil and self destruction."

Sardar Patel appealed to all the forces in the country to leave off playing power of politics and not in the way which would make India worthy of freedom. "After two hundred years of struggle, India is becoming free. The British are leaving without any bloodshed. Those whose work is making at India will be watching whether India is a nation of maintaining her freedom or will revert back to the position she was when British rule was over."

At Surat

At Surat Sardar Patel said that before the war, Japan was the only power that occupied an important position in Asia. But Japan has failed England, attempted empire building and was now down. Europe and Asia were tired. India could

with the free countries of the world. We should build up our commerce and industry. We should spread our culture and the message of love. We do not want to spread our superiority over other countries. India has always a message of love to her neighbours. And it is important that we should prepare to assume responsibility of the country's administration if we are to shine in future."

At Bardoli the Sardar referred to problems of rural economy and advised peasants' proprietors to treat agricultural labour with sympathy and understanding.

Give them reasonable wages, if you cannot afford it do the job yourself. Do not aspire to become their bosses. If you dream of becoming feudal lords, then the labourers will definitely conclude that British slavery has been replaced by Hindustani slavery. You must regard your labourers as your own brothers. Remember that it is only those who work with their hands and feet that will survive. Do not despise manual labour. Do not exploit the manual labourer. You can not make human beings your property. Forced labour is only a kind of slavery. Do not seek to build your happiness on the sufferings of others. I speak to you after a study of world trend and from my own experience. Therefore do not disregard my advice." The Sardar also gave some wholesome advice to agricultural labourers. He urged them to discard habits such as drink, to improve their education and not to desire more than their due.

The States

He said that the States should be united to form a Union against the wishes, and if any part of the country wanted to remain out of it, it was welcome to do so. "We on our part will then deal in what sort of relations we shall have with them. All those who do not join the Constituent Assembly now would be regarded as hostile States, and they will have to bear the consequences of being so regarded. Our plan at present is to liberate as much of India as we can—half or three fourths—and then to deal with the question of independence for the rest. I know we had a million a lot of difficulties. But sometimes one has to pay a high price in the interests of the

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Punjab And Bengal

It is interesting to these two provinces, Pandit Nehru said that the Congress had been very much

but had recently off practical considerations, passed a resolution joining the division of the Punjab. It had done so because there was no way out of the situation. The question here again was not of desirability but of facing reality. There was no other course but for the Punjab to be divided—and it would be divided. The same thing applied to Bengal.

Congress Plan

On this subject the usually well informed writer "Gandhi" writes in *The Times of India*: "The Congress plan seems to be twofold in concept by giving effect to the State Paper it will not only prove its honesty of purpose but make it easy for the Princes to accede to a limited Union on terms of their own choice. If it is eventually decided to divide the country, then those parts which wish to join the Union will be ready and prepared to receive power allotted to that area. In any case, the Congress is anxious not to lag behind in respect of time; it wishes to co-operate with Britain in the fulfilment of the decision to quit India before the 4th July."

No Faith In League

"Minority communities in the Punjab have lost confidence in the Muslim League and if a League Ministry is formed on the province in spite of the minorities' opposition, it will not be allowed to function, and Hindu and Sikh will declare the extinction of an independent State with parliamt government and will

the League Ministry." Thus said Sardar Gyan Gurmukh Singh Mundra, a prominent Congress Sikh leader from the Punjab and a member of the Executive Committee of the Punjab Provincial Congress in an interview with the *Free Press of India* at Calcutta on the 14th.

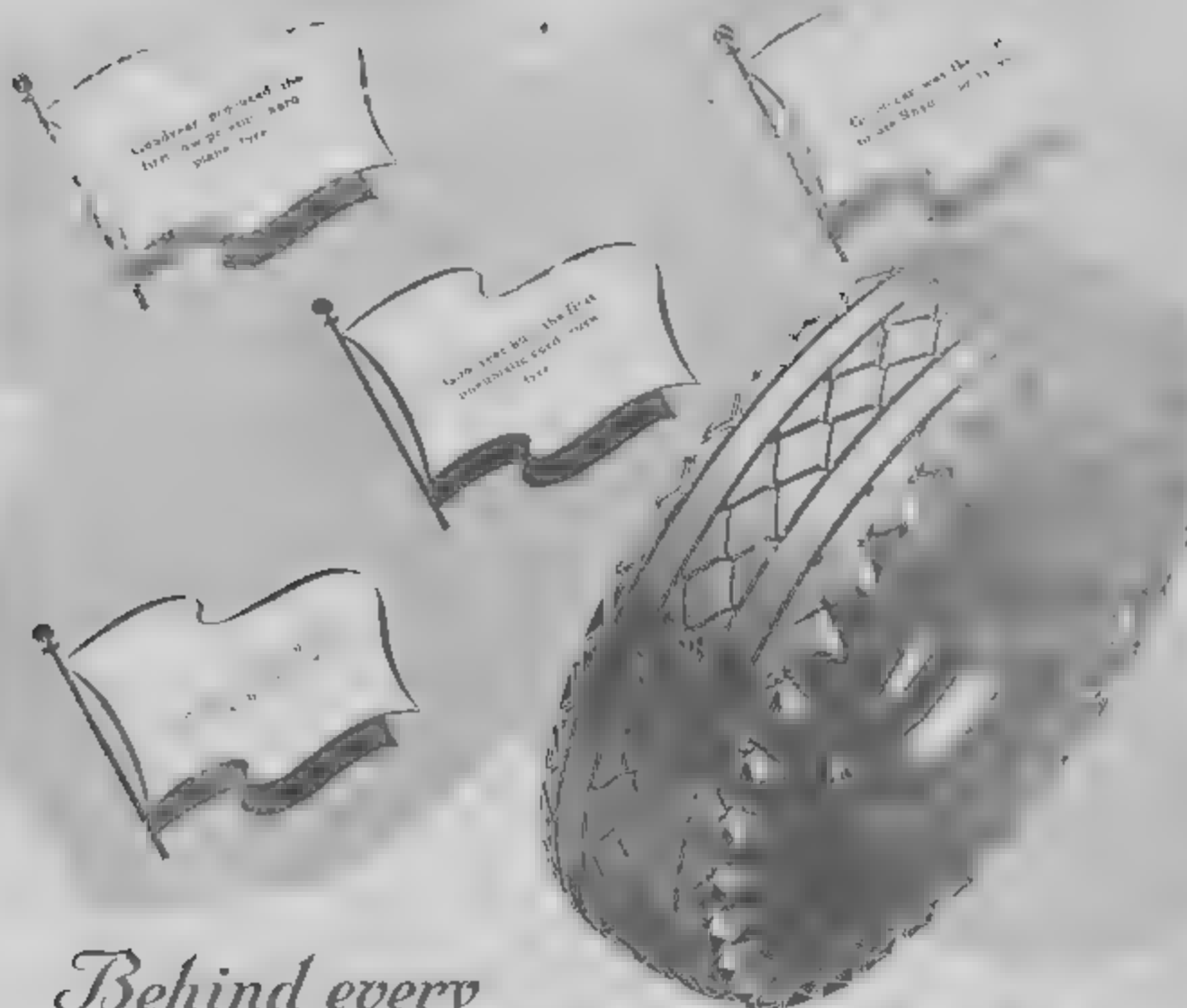
Sardar Gyan Gurmukh Singh declared that the partition movement in the Punjab was daily gaining ground and those who

who previously opposed partition have now reconsidered their position in view of the

in the Rivalpindi division. He felt that the establishment of two Ministries was the only solution to avoid further bloodshed.

Asked about the recent com-

Gurmukh Singh said: "I can say without any contradiction and with full sense of responsibility that the whole drama of the Punjab disorders was pre-arranged and engineered by the



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—જરૂરી સુચના—

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—ખરીદતી વખતે યાદ રાખો—

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—મ.પદે-વરર અને હાવરે દેશીયતર—

અ.પદે-વરર

ફોન ૩૩-૪૧૫૨.

માસ્ટર મે. રાન

અહીંના સમય.

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ટેલિગ્રાફીક એડ્રેસ: "કાન્જી"

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Edited by
MAHATMA GANDHI
IN 1903

No. 10, 11

Friday 3 May 1947

Registered at the Post Office as a Newspaper
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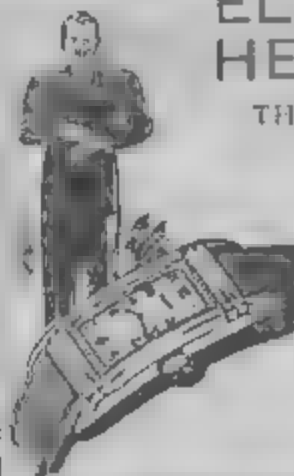


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Levi Sanchez, 49, said his

THE KING'S SPEECH ON SOUTH AFRICA

'TREK' ON S.A.'S FOREIGN PROPAGANDA

A Telespeech given in honour of the Royal Family by the City of London, in the ancient Guildhall, on Thursday, May 15, the King spoke of his South African tour.

In the course of his speech, His Majesty said:

South Africa has now grown to full measure of manhood. Her future and decisions that affect it must be her own, but she is one of our great family and we in this old country, who still sit, so to speak, at the family heart, can do much to help her by co-operation, provided—and this is most important—that our co-operation is based on know ledge.

She is engaged on a task which I believe to be unique in the world—nothing less than that of adjusting almost from day to day the progress of a white population of well over 2,000,000, whose future must always lie in South Africa, with that of a far greater number of other peoples very different in race and background—Coloured, Indian, and, above all, African.

There is no easy formula for the wise discharge of that formidable task. It calls for breadth of vision, human sympathy and statesmanship based on experience, and it is essentially the task of the people who live there.

That the mass of the African people have gained and are gaining immeasurably in health, happiness and prosperity from their contact with the civilisation of Europe, I am well assured. That much more remains to be done, nobody knows better than the South Africans themselves.

But they are in no way dismayed by this or any other of the tasks that lie before them.

If from among my many stirring recollections of my tour I had to single out one as outstanding, it would be my realisation that the faith of the South Africans in Britain is not only unimpaired, but has become stronger on account of her unflinching effort in the war and in peace. This more than anything renewed my pride in the past and strengthened my confidence in the future.

Moreover, the South Africans are convinced that the mission of Britain in the world is not ended, but is only entering upon a new phase.

In the wake of imperialist expansion in the last century Britain played a great part, on which opinion in South Africa and elsewhere was deeply divided. Now as the South Africans see it, another and a finer mission is opening out before her. Her heroic and tragic sacrifices and new moral prestige, which has come

to her, have prepared her for a new role in world affairs. In the supreme councils of the world she speaks not merely with authority based on physical force and war potential, but also with a moral authority such as only the great experience of the centuries of men and human affairs can give.

The South Africans feel most strongly that the world needs Britain now more than ever before and there is firm faith in her ability to weather the present storms and to continue to play a noble part in shaping the future of the world.

For myself, I share that faith. I shall hold on to it till the end of my days. Come what may, nothing will ever shake my belief that this old country—old in history, old in experience, old in achievement—is at heart as young and as vigorous as she has ever been.

Labour Speakers Deplore Incitement To Violence

At the Transvaal Congress of the South African Labour Party last week, Mr. H. Pereira drew attention to a statement in *Die Nieuwe Orde* in which physical violence against people who possessed certain views on the non-European question was advocated.

Mr. Pereira stated that the *Orde* had said: "We must drive the people of every race, colour or politics, who are found guilty of criminal incitement to violence."

Miss Margaret McKenzie, supporting the motion on said she was against corporal punishment but if its infliction on persons found guilty of incitement to violence would help to stop such incitement, she favoured its application.

The motion was carried unanimously and it was agreed that the resolution be forwarded to the Prime Minister and the leader of the Labour Party in the House of Assembly.

[Note: This is the only voice we have to let them know we do not favour the use of physical violence against Europeans and those who support them.—Ed., I.O.]

Trek, which had ceased publication for some time, has reappeared in a different form. It is now incorporated with *S. A. Opinion*. It is still published monthly but it announces in its current Number that preparations are being made to turn it into a weekly. It is printed in Johannesburg and published by the Central News Agency. The following interesting piece of news is culled from *Trek*:

Ever since South Africa was hard put to it to defend itself at U.N.O., the Government has apparently been bestirring itself in the direction of upholding South Africa's good name from alleged slanders. Into the Press of Britain and America there has percolated quite a steady trickle of letters and articles the purpose of which is to give the world a less jaundiced view of our internal affairs, more particularly in their bearing on the Coloured question.

In a letter which appeared over his signature in the English weekly, *Spokesman*, Prof. Haarhoff gives an exposition of South Africa's case. It conflicts so markedly with his liberal professions that we propose to give it in full.

—While U.N.O. was comfortably criticising the South African attitude to the native races a few weeks before Christmas the following thing happened in a Transvaal village called Koot, thirty miles from Johannesburg. Mr. Kraakman, a bricklayer, we with his wife to a church service, leaving their five children in the house with their grandfather. Between 9 and 10 o'clock a native entered the house and kidnapped two little girls—Betty, aged seven, and Hester, aged nine. He carried them to a plantation. Here he struck the young child down with a heavy stone. The older sister pleaded with him: "Don't kill Betty. She is the apple of my father's eye. Rather kill me—but wait until I have received my Christmas present." She was told that her turn would come. By this time, the younger child had revived. The native dragged her by the leg to a hole in the ground, leaving a blood, and beat her to death with stones. Thereupon he carried Hester to a haystack, into which he pushed her, telling her that he would kill her the next day.

"We must avoid racial generalisations, but we must also face facts; and one of the facts our abstract delegates at U.N.O. tend to forget is the existence of primitive savagery, alien related to witchcraft, in a very large portion of the native population. It is our duty to give them all facilities for advancement, and, as a Liberal, I am opposed to the colour bar (which is not, however, applied in the universities), but we must take one step at a time. It has happened frequently that people from England, by applying a too sudden social acceptance, have run into disaster. I have personal knowledge of a case where a woman came out and was full of condemnation of the South African attitude to the native, but so misunderstood her own houseboy that one day he put a dish-cloth round her neck and strangled her.

"In another case a woman, having puzzled her house-boy by a familiarity so different from what he was used to among his own people, found him becoming offensive, rang up the police, and was killed with a rolling-pin by him while she was telephoning. A Russian delegate at U.N.O. condemned South Africa "because there were no native judges there." He forgot that the process of civilisation is slow and that it is fatal to miss out intermediate steps. The small minority of Europeans in South Africa has a difficult task. They need the help of sympathetic understanding."

We will limit ourselves to saying that, despite Prof. Haarhoff's local protestations, it savours strongly of the worst form of propaganda, in that, wittingly or unwittingly, the writer condemns a whole category of people for the misdeeds of a few. Any Native could flatter out Prof. Haarhoff by selecting from the *Orde* a few samples of distasteful crimes committed by white men. And there are many. This species of "black peril" propaganda may be suitable for Carolina (in the Transvaal or the Southern State of America), but certainly not for the English reader. Mr. Haarhoff tells us that "the small minority of Europeans in South Africa has a difficult task." It will not be made easier through the employment of faulty advocates of its case. Along the above lines, the liberalism of this Professor of Classics will soon be as the ruin of Athens.

NATAL INDIAN TEACHERS DEMAND BETTER SALARIES

THE Natal Indian Teachers' Society met at Sastri College on Friday, May 16, to discuss a demand for salary scales equivalent to those received by European teachers.

In 1944 the Beetham Commission recommended a ratio of 70 to 100 in respect of Indian and European teachers' salaries. The recommendation was put into effect in 1945, but since then the European teachers' salary scales have been increased. The Indians' salary scales are unchanged. Indian men teachers are now getting less than European women teachers. Indian teachers are demanding the same pay for the same qualifications.

Mr. N. K. Sham, secretary of the Society had received a letter from the Provincial Secretary stating that new salary scales for Indian teachers would not be contemplated.

Mr. T. M. Nacker, president of the Society, discussing the suggested mass resignations and strikes, said that these measures would only be adopted after mature consideration. He did not want teachers to be emotional on the subject of increased salary scales, but if all efforts to gain them failed the only course left open was to stage demonstrations. "We will not lie low until we are given equality of treatment with all other salary groups in this country," he said.

It was stated by speakers at the meeting that Indian teachers had been told by the Province that they could not have increased salary scales until they improved their teaching qualifications, and that Indians were debarred from obtaining these qualifications.

Resolutions were passed at the meeting expressing dissatisfaction with the Provincial Administration's decision not to improve Indian teachers' salary scales, urging a greater degree of co-operation between the teachers' representative organisation and the Administration, and asking for equality with European teachers in conditions of employment and salaries. A further resolution empowered the Society's executive committee to act as they thought fit in an attempt to bring about increased salaries.

It was decided to forward these resolutions to the Administrator. The South African Indian Congress was also to be informed of the dissatisfaction of the Indian teachers with a view to the topic being brought up in Parliament.

NEW LABOUR PARTY TO CONTEST BENONI SEAT

The new United Labour Party will contest the Benoni seat at the by-election which will result from the death of Mr. W. B. Madoley. It was stated to the Press by Mr. J. R. Shorten, former financial organonist of the South African Labour Party, Mr. Shorten stated that he spoke with the authority of Senator U. L. Hendrikse, who said Mr. Madoley was a member of the U. L. Hendrikse.

We sincerely hope that the South African Labour Party will put forward one of its strongest candidates for this by-election, in order to test the relative following of the two Labour Parties," he said.

We are convinced that the principles for which Mr. Madoley gave his life will be an eternal guide again by the Benoni electorate. We trust the voters of Benoni will present a front, which will be an example to the public of their disgust at the cavalier treatment meted out to Walter Madoley by those who caused him to resign from the South African Labour Party.

His death did not mean the end of the struggle for the principles for which he stood, said Mr. Shorten. Although his name and demise had helped the publication of the full programme and policy of the new party, the main principles were

to continue the opposition to the Indian Franchise and Land Apportionment Act, not because it was unjust but in the opinion of the Party it was too liberal and to protect the interests of skilled European workers, and to prevent the lowering of their standards by means of such measures as the G.O.T.T. scheme for natives.

The new party would also endeavour to secure the introduction of the main economic principles, such as a State bank, State pricing, State food, State cold storage, State bottling and State housing, for which Walter Madoley fought all his life.

The following was the voting in the 1945 general election:

W. B. Madoley (Lab.)	5,188
D. W. Rooker (Nat.)	1,394

Labour majority 3,794

NATIVE EDUCATION

A recent report of progress it will be 46 years before all the children between seven and 16 will be in school. Dr. A. Kerr, principal of the Native College at Fort Hare, told the Christian Council of South Africa last week.

"The growth of the Native population in 1945 is estimated to have been 4.67 per cent. per year. The growth of the Native population during the same period is 4.67 per cent. per year.

The number of Native teachers increased from 1940 to 1945, but, in spite of this, the number of the teachers employed in Government-aided schools were still not fully qualified, even in 1945.

"Another sobering fact is that in 1945 for every 100 only eight reached Standard 4, and that such a situation exists at the present time.

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INDIA'S EMBASSY IN WASHINGTON



On the right is the Indian Embassy, the residence of H. E. Mr. V. K. Krishna Rao, Indian Ambassador to the U.S.A., at 2700 Macomb Street, Washington.

OUR INDIA LETTER

(FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT)

Baroda, April 30, 1947

STATES AND C. A.

The Punjab

Mr. Mahabadi of Bihar in a statement, says that the States which decided to participate in the work of the National Assembly decided to do so certainly not due to any pressure from anyone, much less the Congress. They joined because they considered it to be in their best interests as well as in the greater interests of India. "We were prompted to do so by the sense of partnership which we could not resist at this critical moment."

Acharya Kripalani, in a speech at Jaipur, asked the Princes to be "wise enough to resign their constitutional monarchies on the 26th of July."

A speech by Oppen was made at the 100th anniversary of the times and of just himself. He said that Cochin would continue to remain part of the mother country even after Jan. 1948. "I sincerely believe in constitutional rule and democracy, and I am determined to see it established firmly in my time. Cochin is joining the Constituent Assembly at 11 o'clock in a day when a Cochinote is as free as the right to call a man an Indian. "I would ask you all to remember," he added, "how bit by bit, because we were divided and fragmented, every part of our country lost its independence and had to pass through more than a century of enslavement. Let us not repeat the same mistake."

But he is endorsing the "wise and statesmanlike" lead of the National Council as "The Congress has never interfered anything but warmly for" the "Peaceful Union. It has given constant proof of its helpful attitude in the mutual relations of British India and of the United India." "After all,"

not going to be the driving force of any one party or organization; is the shaping of its destiny, and the better their prop'ns, and all weapons of judgment—must take their place.

Index of Authors

Flight Kenneth Kassar
Home Minister, Asst
Kassar
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on the Bengal border for an in-
tention of Assam, would be dis-
tributed but not yet in a way to
out. Some people from Bengal,
he added, were busy searching
Assam.
The idea was to initiate the in-
vasion of Bengal by linking
the
the country

Shri Bhimdev Sachar and Balar Swaran Singh, on behalf of the Congress and Sikh Parties in the Punjab Assembly, have submitted a joint representation to Pandit Nehru, Vice President of the Interim Government, demanding the immediate installation of two or three regional administrations in the Punjab with separate Ministers under one Governor, as an interim and transitional arrangement to restore responsible government in the Province. "Any government," they say, "in which the Muslim League is a dominant partner, will not inspire confidence and will fail to protect the minorities." They wish to see Punjab divided "into two, and if necessary into three, autonomous provinces." What they have suggested above is an interim measure. "We must make it plain," they add, "that in the existing circumstances we are not prepared to co-operate with the Muslim League for forming a single Ministry for the whole of the Punjab."

Lawlessness In N.W.F.P.

Cutting of telephone and telegraph wires, invasion of the radio station at Peshawar by veiled Muslim women and cracking by them of glass pane flower pots etc., armed combats with police parties, and inciviliism—these are some of the acts of lawlessness by Muslim League demonstrators in the N W F P. Retelling the outrage of the luminous resignation of the Frontier Ministry or of a fresh election, Sardar Patel has lost the League movement or the cloak of the crusade.

held on the 27th, the speaker
in his address expressing full confidence
in the present Frontier Congress
Administration and strongly condemn-
ing the reaction of the League
following the Red Shirt workers.

guided by the Frontier Gandhi, have decided to undertake a village-to-village and house-to-house tour of the Province.

"The present disturbances in the country naturally lead me to suspect that there is a big plot of conspiracy behind it," said Khan Abdul Ghafoor Khan. "It is not the love of God, Islam or love of their country but it is the love of their departing English masters, whom their friends do not like to go from India. There seems to be an organized attempt to create a situation that Indians themselves may request the British people to remain in India."

Addressing a Press conference of foreign and Indian journalists, Khag Abdul Qadir Khan said, 'Mr. Jinnah has got no influence in the Frontier Province, because in spite of his appeal, there is no end to the looting, killing and arson. All this can be stopped in a minute and there can be perfect peace in N.W.F.P.'

In spite of the bitter relations of the Labour Government and the Viceroy to hand over power to India by June 1948 Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan advised Mr. Chachnelli and his agents were trying to create an atmosphere in India, on the basis of which Mr. Chachnelli might be helped to come back to power.

Bengal

The Cawtha Jaily, the Statesman, has announced its decision not to conform to the Bengal Government's order about press censorship. The result of a "kallipoli" on the question of the participation of Bengal, held by the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, showed that out of 5,342 answers received, 18.1 per cent

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Dr. Bhayansprasad Makhherjee said that the principles of the partition of Bengal must be accepted with the least possible delay though its execution might take time. "Even if Pakistan is not conceived and come from of a weak and loose centre, as yet is or in the Cabinet Mission scheme is accepted by the Muslim League, we shall demand the creation of a new province composed of the Hindu majority areas in Bengal."¹

League Marbles in Bengal

A memorandum submitted by
the Local Congress Assembly

farily to the Interim Government last month contains startling revelations about the League misrule in Bengal since 1937. The salient points are as follows: (i) Huge deficits which may go up to about Rs. 12 crores in 1947-48, (ii) all sources of revenue exhausted, (iii) huge increase in revenue not spent on education building activities but simply wasted, (iv) sole purpose of administration is to provide more jobs and contracts to party men and to pursue an aggressively communal policy, (v) increase of corruption—a large number of glaring instances of this have been given, (vi) progressive deterioration and strangulation of industry, (vii) programme of preparation of the masses and dispirable condition of the middle class. Instances have been given of several schemes having been given up after lakhs of rupees were spent over them, (viii) favoritism towards Muslims in education.

In primarily majority Muslim areas, the minorities have no right to have a separate school authority and funds, a right extended to minorities all over the world. In the light of these revelations, the memorandum signed upon the Interim Government must be the necessity of its immediate inquiry and the stopping

C.A. President Speaks Out

"Whatever the colors of the constitution that may have to be drafted, whether for one individual family or only for parts of it, we shall see to it that it gives satisfaction to all concerned," said Dr. J. H. P. Smith, president of the American Society on the subject.

"We too have assumed

of May 10, 1845, which contemplated a Union of the different Provinces and States within the country, it may be that the Union will not comprise all the Provinces. If not unreasonably pressed to do so, we shall have to be content with a constitution for a part of it. So that now we are at about times that our

Integral Part Of India

42. x. y. z. 14-0. Stating
would be interesting part of trial

The Struggle Goes On

ON May 10 nine roadsters, seven of whom had come from the Transvaal, went to jail for trespassing on Corporation land in Gale Street. One was sentenced to three months and the rest to £10 or 30 days' imprisonment. Seven Durban residents were each sentenced on Wednesday to £3 or 30 days' imprisonment. The last was led by 52-year-old Albert Thomas, a lawyer.

Since the UN decision in December, 261 resisters including 67 from the Transvaal have been imprisoned, bringing the total of resisters sentenced to 1726. For a few months now the Natal Passive Resistance Council has decided to send in only one batch of resisters a week, and not daily as was the case before the UN decision.

Northern Ireland M.P.s Divided On Address To The King

POSITION members in the Parliament of Northern Ireland forced a division on a resolution asking the House to present an Address of Welcome to the Royal Family on their return from South Africa.

The motion, to present the Address was carried by 25 votes to 7.

Mr. H. D. Diamond, Socialist Republican member, speaking against the motion, which was proposed by the Prime Minister, Sir Basil Brooke, said: "I have no grudge against the Royal Family, but I resent this (our being made an occasion for a display of imperialism."

Nationalist members who walked out of the Chamber when the resolution came up for discussion refused to take part in the division.

**Dakshina Bharat Hindi
Prachar Sabha**

Hindī Prithvīnāth of Vālmīkīnagar, Tumbhuk, is a recognised centre to conduct the recitation of Pāhalīnāth. Hindī Prithvīnāth, Madras. The following is a list of the names of the

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Things In General

Provisions Of Native Trade Union Bill

The Industrial Conciliation (Native) Bill, providing for the regulation and regulation of native trade unions, the prevention and settlement of disputes between employers and native employees by agreement and arbitration, was published in a Government Gazette Extraordinary on Friday, May 11.

[illegible]

NATIONALIST CALLS INDIANS PARASITE

IN the House of Assembly last week on the Social Welfare Vote (£4,041,000) Mr A. L. Ludich (Nat., Lichtenburg) said he strongly protested against the granting of family allowances to Italian who were parasites and not an asset to the population.

Mr. R. J. Du Toit (U. Cape Prov) said that Mr. Lucas' speech had been heaped coal on the fire at a time when there was a possibility of a peace settlement being reached between the Government and the various coloured groups.

M. A. Ciliera (U. P. Zontpansberg) said that he hoped the Government would one day grant family allowances to Natives.

Mr. H. J. Klopper (Nat, Vrededorst) said that he opposed family allowances for Indians. The Indians were not citizens of South Africa and should be put in their place, as had been done in the Transvaal and the Free State.

—(In the Transvaal they are segregated and in the Free State they are not allowed to enter)

of the Act and new trade unions to register within three months of the date of their establishment. The Bill provides for a central mediation board to settle by agreement or otherwise, or arbitrate in disputes between employers or employers' organizations on the one hand, and native employees or native trade unions on the other. The board will have five members. One will be appointed by the Governor-General and will be chairman. One will be appointed by the Governor-General for his knowledge of the native labour industry. One will be an officer of the Department of Labour. One will

be an officer of the Department of Commerce and Industries, and one will be an officer of the Department of Native Affairs. The Bill also provides for the establishment of local mediation boards of three members. No employee who is employed in the specified areas, or who belongs to the class of native employees specified, may take part in a strike, or in the continuation of a strike, and no employer of such native employees may take part in a lock-out or in the continuation of a lock-out.

TB NURAN AIDES

More than thirty Indian girls have responded to a call by the Friends of the Black Association, for TB nurses and nurses. Of the 25 who received the preliminary examinations, 23 passed. Three girls have now been put on ward duty. It is expected that a further group of 40 Indian girls will begin training on June 1. "It is encouraging that, despite all the discrimination against Indian girls—prejudice, custom, lack of education—so many of them have come forward," says the Association. "There is still, however, an urgent need for more Indian girls to come forward to train for the general nursing certificate. But there is little doubt that given the educational opportunities, the training facilities and the sympathy and help of the white girl workers for general nursing, more Indian girls will come forward."

WHAT RACE DO YOU BELONG TO?

Hector Jan Mamryk, the Deputy Prime Minister of Czechoslovakia was admitted to the U.S.A. He had to go through the usual immigration procedure in New York, filling out a form giving his name, birthplace, age and...

When Masaryk came to the long 'race' on the form, he thought for a moment and then wrote simply: 'Human.'

"But, Mr. Masaryk," protested the immigration officer, "that isn't what it means. You come from Czechoslovakia, why don't you write 'Czechoslovakian F'?"

"The Czechs, Slovaks and Poles are not a race," Mr. Masaryk replied. "They are just a nationality made up of Czechs, Slovaks and Poles and other peoples. I am a

is characterized by rationality
but I belong to the human race.
— *American Unity*, a monthly
run by the Council Against
Intolerance in America.

Egypt Demands Withdrawal Of Troops

THE Egyptian Prime Minister, Nokrashy Pasha, in a statement denounced the immediate withdrawal of British troops from Egypt and declared that Egypt could not accept the continuation of the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of 1936.

The continued presence of British troops infringes upon the sovereignty of a free State and an independent nation. We demand unanimously that these troops be completely and immediately withdrawn.

"We cannot accept the continuation in force of a treaty which is contrary to the Charter of the United Nations," Domokosy Pászai said.

"British troops have no more right to stay in the Sudan than they have to stay in Egypt. We are going to the United Nations to obtain a just settlement of our dispute with Great Britain."

WANTED

Three qualified teachers are very urgently required to teach Urdu and Arabic at the Dundas Islamic Madrasah. Salary from £10 to £20 per month according to applicant's experience and qualifications. Annual increments of £2 and £10 is reached. A new house comprising: bedrooms, lounge, dining room etc., furnished, and all modern comforts, will be provided free of charge together with light, fuel and food. Successful applicants who are married will receive a special marriage allowance not exceeding £10 per month according to the size of their family. Applicants must not be fully over 40 years of age and have completed 10 years of schooling. For details apply to the undersigned.

Apply starting when to commence duties and age, to
CHAIRMAN, Danden and District
Muslim Society, P.O. Box 21,
DUNDEE.

Also post copy of application
direct to Commissioner for Immi-
gration and Asiatic Affairs,
P.O. Box 244, PRETORIA.

Note—The Madras, where applicants are required to teach is one of the most up-to-date Madras in the country, well-lighted, heated, and providing staff rooms for the teachers together with large assembly hall, canteen, sports ground, etc. etc. I have said all that one needs to know. The building is just newly built at a great cost.

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INDIAN OPINION

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Page 1

Indian Opinion

FRIDAY 30TH MAY, 194

N.I.O. Deputation

THE "Moderates" have become the favoured ones of General Smuts and the South African European Press. They are getting all the help and publicity they desire from these quarters and perhaps they will get a few large crumbs as well just to spite the Congress and to draw the Indian people to their side. General Smuts has given undue prominence to these people knowing full well that they do not represent the Indian community and have no right to speak on their behalf. This, in our opinion, is a violation of one of the fundamental principles of democracy. It is, moreover, an affront, which our community with any self-respect would quietly put up with.

High Commissioner

The question that has emerged from the interview granted by the Prime Minister to the deputation of the Natal Indian Organisation is the re-appointment of the Indian High Commissioner. General Smuts told the deputation and later the Senate that Pandit Nehru had made an approach to him by showing his preparedness to be helpful in carrying out the resolution passed by the United Nations last year, but that he had replied asking the Indian Government to send back their High Commissioner in order that through this channel an exchange of views in regard to the resolution can be made. Pandit Nehru in return said that the original cause for recalling the High Commissioner—the Asiatic Land Tenure Act—had not been removed. General Smuts thinks that it is not an answer to the proposition put up by him, namely, that if negotiations with regard to the United Nations' resolution were to be conducted it would be proper to do so through the High Commissioner. He is

strengthened in this view by its endorsement by the Natal Indian Organisation.

We Do Not Endorse It

We, however, do not endorse that view and does Congress which represents the Indian community. The South African Congress had unanimously asked the Government of India to recall the High Commissioner and to impose economic sanctions on South Africa as a protest against the passing of the Asiatic Land Tenure Act, aptly described as the "Crisis Act." And that step was taken. Circumstances have since not changed as to justify the step to be retraced by the Government of India or to justify the Indian community of the Union to ask for it to be retraced. The position has in fact worsened after U.N.O.

General Smuts on his return from U.N.O. stated in a questionable terms that the Asiatic Act had come to stay and that it would under no circumstances be removed from the Statute Book, and the Prime Minister has kept his word. Congress has become unpopular among the rulers of South Africa for awakening the Indians to their consciousness, which, of course, has naturally discredited South Africa in the eyes of the civilised world. This was a terrible time for the Indian community and it must be said to their credit that they have stood the test well. But our success is a source of embarrassment to the rulers, who are ever alert in looking for some weak spot. The stalemate was worrying them and a little mention in the "democratic" country a section of Europeans have taken the law into their own hands and have retaliated, in rather an unbecoming manner, against India's sanctions, which have hurt them, by staging a boycott of local Indian traders—a step which

has unofficially been sanctioned by the Government. Economic pressure is being brought all round on Indians to bring them to their knees.

Suicide

This has made some of our vested interests to squeal and therein the rulers, to their joy, have found out our weak spot, and a little pressure on it has brought into being the Natal Indian Organisation. The latter are being exploited to disrupt our forces and to make us commit suicide so that the hands of our oppressors remain unshaken. Shall we allow ourselves to be slain like brave men and women for the sake of human freedom, for which two Great Wars have been fought or shall we meekly submit to the will of the oppressor, which amounts to worse than committing suicide? That is the question that every individual has to ask his own conscience. If we adopt the latter course, as the Natal Indian Organisation would have us adopt, then there is no question of our asking for any help from the U.N.O.

High Ideal

If we but submit to the Asiatic Land Tenure Act the Government is prepared to grant all the facilities we desire within the limits of the Act. There is no need then for a representative of India to guard our rights. Nor do we deserve to have one. India has not to watch over the material interests of a spineless people who would sacrifice their self-respect for a mess of pottage. She has to guard the national honour of four hundred million people. It was for that that our brave men and women suffered assaults, abuses and imprisonment at the hands of our oppressors. It was that high ideal for which our case was taken before U.N.O. and was supported by the civilised nations of the world. Are we now going to lower it and lower our heads to the depth of degradation? God forbid.

The Only Course

Then, coming to the real issue, what General Smuts has said about sending back the High Commissioner is all cannot be. Where there is a will there is a way. But unfortunately at this end there is no will. Not even a hundredth part of an such of ground is to be sacrificed from the other end. A round table conference is the only course for an amicable solution of the Indian question. For that there is no need for the Indian High Commissioner to believe. All that was possible for the High Commissioner to do was done at the time the Asiatic Act was being passed.

It is as much courtesied to ask to be represented as well, such a conference could either be held in India or in South Africa. It would be in the interests of the Union to have it here so that the representatives of India could have a first hand knowledge of the conditions in this country and would be able to acquaint themselves with the difficulties of the rulers as well as the ruled. This is, however, a question best left to the respective Governments to decide as to the terms on which the conference should be held. Our struggle in South Africa is for equality in the eye of the law. This is the basis on which any round table discussions can and should take place.

Welcome!

WE heartily welcome back home Dr. Y. M. Undoo and Dr. G. M. Nair. They have been away for three months within which they have made an extensive tour of India. They have met leaders of all shades of opinion; they have addressed many public meetings; they have had the opportunity of acquainting India with the position of Indians in South Africa and also the opportunity of receiving wise guidance and sound advice from our revered leaders. They have met Dr. B. R. Ambedkar and Pandit Nehru. They have

had the rare opportunity of meeting great personalities from all over Asia, who had attended the recent Asian Conference in Delhi. They have seen the working of the Interim Government in the midst of the worst communal riots. We have no doubt they have come richer in experience and in vision both of which will stand them in good stead in the responsible task that awaits them here.

The Provincial Conference

THE opening of the first Provincial conference of the Natal Indian Congress will take place tonight at the aforementioned Durban Seva Samra at 1, Lorne Street, Durban, and will sit on the two following days. The opening will be performed by Senator Basson, whose name is well-known to all our Europeans as one who has been a staunch supporter of their cause. For an

European to take up the cause of the non-Europeans in South Africa is to estrange himself from his own people even to the extent of being ostracised. It is, therefore, by no means a small sacrifice on the part of Senator Basson to have kindly responded to the invitation of the Natal Indian Congress to perform the opening of to-night's Conference, and, we have no doubt, it will be gratefully appreciated by our community. While wishing the conference every success we would like to lay particular stress on the need for moderation. We should be moderate in our speeches and they should be brief and to the point. If this rule is observed we shall get through our work quickly without much time being wasted. Secondly our resolutions should be couched in moderate and dignified language. We hope this advice will be accepted in the spirit in which we have ventured to give it.

"HIGH COMMISSIONER MUST RETURN"

—SAYS GENERAL SMUTS

REPLYING to the "Indian Press" during a review of his policy in the Union on Tuesday, the Prime Minister, General Smuts, said that the Vice President of the Interim Government of India, Pandit Nehru, had written to him to say he was prepared to be helpful in carrying out the resolution passed by the United Nations last year.

"I have answered that I welcome his approach, but I think the best way to deal with this matter is for the Indian Government to send back her High Commissioner, in order that through that channel an exchange of views in regard to the resolution can be made.

It is quite impossible in a matter of this sort to conduct negotiations by correspondence. The only channel for negotiation is the Indian High Commissioner.

"The High Commissioner, it should be remembered, was not withdrawn from South Africa. He was recalled for consultations with the Government. The office of the High Commissioner remains in the Union and is functioning, but consists only of minor personnel with whom I cannot conduct negotiations.

"Pandit Nehru does not seem to be very willing to send back his High Commissioner, but

says the original cause for this is the fact that the Indian Government has not yet accepted the United Nations resolution.

To my mind that is the answer to the proposition which I put up, that is, if we have to conduct negotiations with regard to the United Nations resolution, then it is proper that we do so through the High Commissioner.

"In the meantime a deputation from the Indian community was interviewed me. A new organisation of Indians has been started in the Union called the Natal Indian Organisation. The old organisation was the Natal Indian Congress. That was the organisation that appealed to India and has set in motion the present difficulty. There is a difference of opinion among the Indian community and part of them have founded this new organisation.

"They have a right to be heard, and I am prepared to receive them. But I am not prepared to receive them through the High Commissioner. I have already said that I have no objection to their return.

Senator van Zyl: What portion of the Indian community does the new organisation represent?

The Prime Minister: We do not know. There is a difference of opinion between the two sections and time only can show which of them commands the majority and which is the real representative of the Indian community.

MODERATES 'HIGHLY PLEASED' WITH SMUTS'S RECEPTION

A DEPUTATION from the Natal Indian Organisation, a body composed of a few Indians calling themselves "Moderates" was granted an interview by the Prime Minister, General Smuts, on Thursday, May 29. The deputation was led by Mr. A. I. Kajan. The Minister of the Interior, Senator Clarke, the Administrator of Natal, Mr. D. E. Mitchell, and Senator D. G. Shepherson were also present.

A memorandum submitted to the Prime Minister conveying the resolutions of the inaugural conference of the organisation was read.

"While adhering firmly to the fundamental principle of human rights as a right of man, the conference was conscious that these rights can best be realised as a result of goodwill and understanding and negotiation with the Government, the European community and other dwellers of this land."

The memorandum said the organisation would seek the repeal of the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act by all "constitutional" and "legitimate" means.

It was submitted that the Government of India, so long as Indians were denied the franchise was entitled to oversee the welfare of South African Indians by virtue of assurances given by the Imperial Government and the Natal Government to Indian settlers who were invited to Natal, and that this right was strengthened by the Capetown Agreement of 1927 and reaffirmed by the Conference of

The delegation asked for a meeting with the representatives of the Union Government, the Government of India and of the South African Indian community.

The deputation after meeting General Smuts, reported to the press that they were "highly pleased" with the Prime Minister's reception and were optimistic about the possibility of solving Indian problems in the Union.

Official Statement

An official statement from the Prime Minister's office on his discussions with the Natal deputation said that the Prime Minister had received the deputation that he had taken note of the statement by Pandit Nehru to the Indian Legislative Assembly when he expressed his willingness to co-operate with the Government without any consideration of prestige, to implement the resolution passed by the United Nations to find a solution to the problems of Indians in South Africa.

The statement stated that he had received a communication from Pandit Nehru and that he had replied requesting

the Government of India to resume diplomatic relations with the Union by sending its High Commissioner back to South Africa for discussions.

The reply he had received from Pandit Nehru indicated that the Government of India was not in a position to adopt this course in the present circumstances.

The Prime Minister, however, agreed to make further efforts to persuade the Government of India to re-post its High Commissioner so that the Union Government could initiate discussions to bring to an end the unhappy state of affairs in which the Indian community of South Africa finds itself.

Without this personal channel of communication it was difficult to begin discussions and overcome the obstacles to the ending of the present impasse between the two Governments, the Prime Minister said.

He agreed with the delegation that they should use their influence with the Government of India to that end. He referred to the large number of telegrams he had received from representative Indian groups and bodies supporting this view.

The Prime Minister told the delegation that he was happy to receive them and welcomed the various constructive suggestions made by them.

Of the Indian Advisory Board General Smuts said he would not proceed with its appointment if it was unacceptable to the Natal Indian Organisation, but in his view there were many day-to-day matters of administration directly affecting the Indian people on which he would like to have the views of the Indian community without the necessity of having to arrange for a deputation.

These matters included housing, education, social welfare, and the provision of civic amenities.

He suggested that the Natal Indian Organisation should appoint a small committee which would be available for consultation with Ministers. He said there was no intention that such consultations would impair the right of the Indian community to maintain its principle of representation on such a basis as the community may demand.

N.I.O. CABLES PANDIT NEHRU NATAL INDIAN CONGRESS (PIETERMARITZBURG BRANCH)

THE Natal Indian Organisation, after interviewing General Smuts on May 22, sent through the Office of the High Commissioner for India, a cable to Pandit Nehru, head of the Indian Interim Government, asking him to send back the Indian High Commissioner immediately. That was the only way, the cable said, in which negotiations leading to a round table conference between the South African and Indian Governments could be initiated.

A cablegram to Pandit Nehru, as well as to Mahatma Gandhi, Mr. Jinnah and other prominent leaders in India, urging the Government of India "to take conciliatory action now" with regard to the South African Indian question, was sent by the chairman of the South African Indian Congress, Mr. A. J. J. J. J.

The cablegram says "I have taken note of General Smuts's statement, which he made as a result of the deputation of the Natal Indian Organisation which met him.

"In my opinion, it is an encouraging sign and an indication of the Union Government's desire to solve the deadlock and meet the situation in the spirit of the United Nations resolution.

What A Former High Commissioner Says

A Hunter's message from New Delhi dated May 25 states that Sir Syed Raza Ali, the former Indian High Commissioner in South Africa, advised South African Indians to be patient.

"It's prejudicial to hard and long-standing issues involving international complications cannot be expected to be settled in a few months," he said.

"India has done her duty to her children in South Africa and the next move lies with General Smuts. We should rely on the justice of our cause and refuse to allow him to snatch the fruits of our hard won success at the United Nations General Assembly by acting in haste."

'Moderates' Cable To Sir Raza Ali

The Natal Indian Organisation on Tuesday sent a cable to Sir Syed Raza Ali, who is reported to have described the Organisation as being the result of an unholy alliance between big Indian money in the Union and General Smuts, "who knew how to extricate himself from a tight corner."

The cable, which is signed by the president and the secretary, Mr. A. S. Kajee and Mr. P. R.

Pathe, respectively, has also been addressed to other Indian leaders.

Pointing out that Sir Syed Raza Ali has probably been misinformed, it asks three questions.

"Are we wrong, in the spirit of the United Nations, in striving for diplomatic relations to be resumed leading to round table discussions between India and the Union for solving the Indian problem? We believe that our attitude is in conformity with the statement made by Pandit Nehru in the Indian Assembly.

"Are we wrong in endeavouring to obtain the status of full citizenship and, at the same time, to live in peace, harmony and goodwill with Europeans and other dwellers of this land and in co-operation with the Government and other agencies for solving our day-to-day needs of housing, education, health and civic amenities.

"Are we wrong in trying to keep separate the Indian cause from the African cause."

"The Natal Indian Organisation stands for these principles which are not inconsistent with the South African Indian Congress resolution of 1946, which also called for round-table discussions and in failing this it called on India to withdraw its High Commissioner," the cable continues. All the organisation has asked General Smuts is to press for a round table conference in terms of the resolution of the United Nations.

"We shall be glad to have your telegraphic advice."

The annual general meeting of the Natal Indian Congress was held at the Congress Hall on Sunday, May 25. It was presided over by a large membership of a few hundred the Congress had today grown into an organisation of over 2000, thereby making Congress truly representative of the Indian people in Pietermaritzburg.

The following office-bearers were elected:—Chairman Mr. B. K. Naidoo, vice-chairmen Messrs. F. Satyapal, J. M. David, V. G. Naidoo, Gordon Naidoo and T. Ramkulan, joint hon. secretaries Messrs. K. M. Pillay and S. B. Mungai, treasurer Mr. V. Moodley, committee members R. M. Pillay, R. P. Naidoo, R. G. Pillay, Billy Peters, P. T. Pillay, A. Mota, L. T. Ramdeen, K. B. Pillay, R. V. Kera and Rev. Brahmo.

The following were elected delegates to the Provincial Conference of the Natal Indian Congress which is to be held on May 31 and June 1: Messrs. B. K. Naidoo, F. Satyapal, R. G. Pillay, Gordon Naidoo, V. G. Naidoo, Billy Peters and V. V. Moodley with Messrs. J. M. David, K. M. Pillay and S. B. Mungai as representatives.

At the conclusion of the meeting several members spoke condemning the attitude of certain Indians in dividing the community by the formation of the so-called "moderate" group which were not representative of the Indian people or the Government of India.

A resolution re-affirming its faith in the present policy

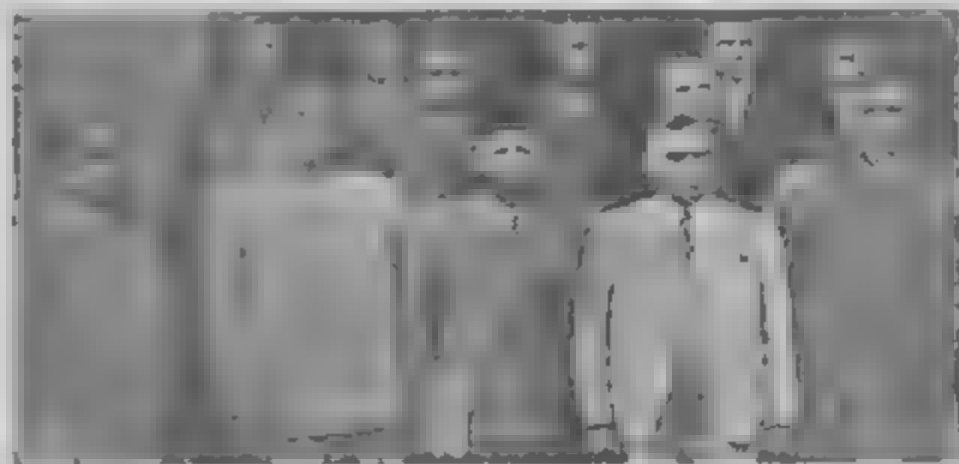
permeated by the Natal Indian Congress in matters connected with the Indian people, and condemning the action of the so-called "moderate" group in forming the Natal Indian Organisation, was passed. The resolution also declares the recent negotiations with the Prime Minister, whose standpoint is totally opposed to the Natal and Transvaal Indian Congresses, and is aimed in the main at discrediting and undermining the present undisputed leadership of the Indian people.

NO PEACE UNTIL IMPERIALISM IS ENDED

A demand that the British should evacuate the whole of the Nile Valley and a request for the Americans to take up their cause are contained in an advertisement issued by the extremist National Youth of Egypt Party and published in the New York Times.

The advertisement, which also contained a photograph of King Farouk, was headed in black type: "An appeal from the Egyptian-Sudanese people to the American people, to United Nations delegates of all peace-loving nations to demand that the British should evacuate the Nile Valley and the Sudan and that peace in the world can only be achieved if we put an end to imperialism."

"MODERATES OR BETRAYERS?"



who interviewed the Prime Minister last week

Front row (left to right): Messrs. A. B. Moosa, Z. J. Haffeejee, Hajon A. S. Kajee (president), P. R. Pathe and A. L. Kajee.
Back row (left to right): Messrs. V. K. Pillay, G. Bux, R. S. Khan, K. S. Pillay, C. M. Appala, J. G. H. Kathrada and G. N. Moosa.

OUR INDIAN LETTER

Baroda, May 7, 1947.

"LET DIVISION BE COMPLETE"

N.W.F.P. Ferment

Mr. Khanna, Finance Minister, Frontier Government, said that during the Muslim League movement in the Frontier about 400 persons were killed, 150 attached, 300 forcibly converted and 50 of them kidnapped, 1000, houses and shops were burnt. The Viceroy, addressing tribal people, on the 4th, said: "The relationship between yourselves and India,

government to yield to the force of arms rather than the force of reason, he asked. The speaker had expressed his doubts as to the wisdom of issuing the joint appeal unless it was certain that it meant for both the signatories all that the words thereof conveyed."

On the 2nd Gandhi said that it was up to the Qaid-e-Azam and his lieutenants to inspire trust in the minds of minorities in the

MR. JINNAH is a statement issued on the 1st asks for a "national home and a national state in our homelands which are predominantly Muslim and comprise six units of Punjab, N.W.F.P., Sind, Baluchistan, Sindh, and Assam." He is not on the 1st, the he says, "that if the Hindu minorities in Pakistan wish to emigrate and go to their homelands of Hindustan, they will be at liberty to do so, and vice versa." He wants an exchange of population between the two States, and a division of the defence forces as well.

Dr. R. S. Prasad, in a rejoinder to Mr. Jinnah, shows how the partition of the Punjab and Bengal is the basis of the Muslim League's demand, how it will reduce the magnitude of the minority problem, and how recent happenings have left no choice in the Hindus and Sikhs. If a demand comes," he concludes, "Mr. Jinnah insists to it, and come, then it should be an complete and thorough as possible, so that there may not be left any room for contention or conflict. If that requires a division of defence forces, that should also be brought about, and the sooner the better.

"Congress quite rightly insists," says the Times of India, "that if India is to be divided, Pakistan must not include contiguous regions where the Muslims are not in a predominant majority, and for that reason parts of Bengal and the Punjab must be detached from the proposed separate Muslim State or States. Population figures support the Congress claim."

Joint Appeal Useless

On the 1st Gandhi referred to the continued violence in the Punjab and the N.W.F.P., and said that the purpose of the appeal seemed to have been entirely defeated in practice. In his opinion both the honour of the Viceroy who was instrumental in bringing about the joint appeal and of Qaid-e-Azam Jinnah were involved. He held that it was not open to Jinnah Sahib to plead that his followers did not listen to his appeal. That would be cutting the whole ground from under his feet because he was the undisputed president of the All-India Muslim League which claimed to represent the vast bulk of the Muslim population. Where was the authority of the League if the Muslims resorted to violence for any purpose and which was summed up in the word 'shame' written by

NON-VIOLENCE, ONLY WAY

GANDHIJI has issued the following statement to the Press: Mr. Cachalia, honorary Secretary of the Transvaal Indian Congress, cabled for a message on the Rally which was to take place in Johannesburg of all the non-European races in the Union of South Africa on the question of racial disabilities in the Union.

The question is most intricate and almost baffling. It is intricate enough when confined only to the Indian disability but the inclusion of all the races while logically correct is fraught with grave danger, if the struggle is not kept to the highest level and is not firmly based on truth and non-violence.

"I wanted to warn the organisers of the rally against rhetorical display or raising false hopes and to advise them to carry their demonstration with dignity and restraint. Let no one doubt that the salvation of all the exploited peoples of the earth and therefore of the world lies in the strictest reliance on the calm on whose one face is written truth and the other non-violence in large letters. Sixty years of experience has taught me no other method."

South Africa.

An A.P.L. message from New Delhi dated the 4th runs as follows: "There is no truth, it is understood, in reports from South Africa that resumption of diplomatic relations between India and South Africa is imminent and that the Indian High Commissioner will shortly return to South Africa. However, it is not considered unlikely that South Africa may make a move in this direction.

It is pointed out in this connection that, to succeed, such a movement must be backed by some definite indication that the Union Government will act upon the recommendations of the General Assembly of the United Nations."

Scholarships To Africans

An A.P.L. message from New Delhi says:—In response to a request from African leaders addressed to Kaula Jawaharlal Nehru, the Government of India have decided to award five scholarships this year to African students from East Africa for studies in India, says a Press Note. The scholarships will be of the value of Rs 200 per month and will be tenable for a period, which will ordinarily enable the selected students to acquire the necessary degrees or diplomas.

based on your treaties with the British Government, will be continued with the future India on the basis of the treaties which you will enter into. It is called upon to negotiate with the appropriate authorities." A deputation of Hindus and Sikhs which waited on the Viceroy said that if the communal propaganda carried on by the Muslim League was not promptly and effectively checked by the Government more tension-laden loss of life and property was seriously apprehended by them. The deputation was not anti-Muslim but anti-Hindu and anti-Sikh. Apart from the support of the non-Muslim Members in the Assembly, the present Ministry had the

support of 21 Muslim members as against 16 Muslim Leaguers in the Legislature. "It is foolish to expect that section 23 could be applied in the N.W.F.P. where the Ministry has the solid support of a good majority of the Legislature," said Sardar Patel.

When Abul Kalam Khan said: "I fail to understand the anxiety of Mr. Olaf Caroe to see the Congress Government out of office and to have the provincial governments held under his own regime. In my opinion the British plan seems to be to help the Muslim League in the Frontier Province in order to make the Frontier and part of the Punjab or a buffer state between Russia."

He recalled how sometime back Mr. Olaf Caroe told the Frontier Ministers to remember that there was nothing common between them and India and if they would agree to get out from the Congress, he would give them all his support.

The Frontier Governor is the conspirator in the "so-called League movement in the Frontier," whose sole purpose is "to up Pakistan against Pakistan and create chaos in the Frontier Province," said the Frontier Gandhi at Lahore on the 4th.

I feel afraid that the nefarious deeds of the British Governor will lead to irreparable bloodshed. It is a bloody cry extend to hand over power to friend of the British or else there is no meaning in fresh election for it was only a year ago that the Pathans gave a verdict in one favour."

Bengal

Dr. Bijuwan Prasad Mukherjee declared that the movement for the partition of Bengal was growing every day and would soon become irresistible. This demand was held irrespective of whether India was divided or not. "The contiguous Hindu majority area in Bengal which, according to us, must be constituted into a separate province, will cover about 15,000 sq. miles and will have nearly 24 million people. This will be almost as big as the population of the entire Punjab."

Mr. Jinnah has raised the question of transfer of population and property. I doubt if millions of people can be easily transferred from one part of the country to another. But even supposing that it would be possible under state supervision, a divided Bengal will make this task much easier than an undivided Bengal. If Bengal is not divided more than twenty five million Hindus have to be transferred heaven knows where. But if Bengal is divided it will be a question of exchange of population in respect of

about six million Muslims, in Hindu Bengal and eight million Hindus in eastern Bengal.

There are loose talks of a sovereign Bengal. Let me say with out hesitation that the Bengal Hindus will not be drawn into his trap. The constitution of sovereign Bengal will be, of course, ruled by the Muslim League majority and their first act will be to link up the province with western Pakistan. We want to reclaim a part of the Indian Union and we shall make no compromise on this point. Further, sovereign Bengal will ~~be a part of~~ be a part of ~~the~~ the ~~Indian~~ Indian ~~Union~~ Union will have no outlet and will be ultimately forced to agree her to ~~the~~ the ~~Indian~~ Indian ~~Union~~ Union.

British Cabinet Approves Viceroy's Plan

THE full British Cabinet is understood to have given its broad approval of the Viceroy's plan for the transfer of power to India at a special Cabinet meeting on Friday May 23, according to Reuters political correspondents.

The Cabinet meeting followed the meeting of Indian experts with the Viceroy at which the last three were put to the Viceroy's plan. This he will present to the Indian leaders at a round-table conference at Delhi on June 3.

The plan lays down the procedure for handing over British power to an independent India within the next 15 months.

Results

A just and equitable division of the Punjab is the only solution of political problem in the Province, says a resolution unanimously passed by a convention of Khudai and Khudai legislators which met in New Delhi. Master Tara Singh demanded partition on the basis of immovable property held by Muslims and non-Muslims. Late Pt. Motilal Nehru, Sardar Bhanu Singh, and Sardar Harnam Singh, after an hour's talk with the Punjab Governor, told the Press that the Governor assured them that one-party government would not be allowed to rule the Punjab. They added, "After our talks with the Governor we can say that partitioning of the Punjab is a certainty." "The division of the Punjab is inevitable and is expected to be announced quite soon," said late Pt. Motilal Nehru in a lecture on the "Situation in Punjab" at the Punjab Legislative Assembly in Delhi.

1970-1971 31m 7' 16"

No Suspension Of Movement

(On the 7th Mr. Jinnah issued a statement on the Frontier situation, in which he endorsed the decision of the Frontier League leaders not to suspend their nationalist activities. He asked the Muslims of Laghore, however, to remain peaceful and not to resort to violence or force. Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan, on the other hand, foreboded bloodshed in the Frontier Province on a huge scale in case the proposal to hold fresh elections was given effect to. Dr. Khuda Sahib, the Premier, declared that the Peshawars would not tolerate any thing forced on them unjustly. Referring to the formation of the Zakia Pakhtoon, a body believing in violent defence, Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan said it was a direct reaction on outcome of the violent movement pursued by the Muslim League in the Frontier Province. "The object of this party is to defend and not to offend." He, however, reiterated his own strong faith in

Candbiji On Partition

Gandhi, referring to his visit to Mr. Jinnah on the 5th said that there could never be agreement between them on the question of the division of India. He could not bear the thought of it. He held that it was not only bad for Hindus, but was equally so for Muslims. He was a joint signatory to the document of 1929. They had agreed. That is now imposed on him the duty of looking upon death if either Hindus or Muslims desired it. Let Judges of Bihar and Allahabad of Nagpur, remember the fact, he had earned the right to fast by the services which he had rendered.

"The thought that is uppermost in my mind is that we are on the 12th, 'in how to combat the goods rule that seems to be fast gripping us. This is a day of all India. Perhaps it is true more or less of the whole world. Let it not be said by the younger generation that we were trying to learn how to lose the liberty before it was even gained.

Partition On The Anvil?

It is reported that the Government proposes to divide the

Punjab into two parts of 17 and
 12 districts. The "Pakistan"
 paper says: "The large lands are
 the province. The Times Of India
 supports the claims for the divi-
 sion of the Punjab and Bengal in
 case the Muslim League insists
 on a division of the country. Mr.
 Iqbal Khan Noon says: "If
 they divide the land of the
 rivers with its common irrigation
 system, they are laying the
 foundation of future wars." The
 argument applies with much
 greater force to the demand for
 the division of India. Sardar
 Swaran Singh said: "The live-
 issue is now the mode of par-
 tition of the Punjab, and not the
 prospect thereof." The Janata
 of Utteram Singh has declared its
 opposition to the division of
 India as well as that of the pro-

Conflicting Views

Handar Pand declared on the 5th that the present situation outlook of "eventually neutral but holding power is a way of propagating civil war" and "war would be broken at once if power were transferred to the Central Government as it now stands."

"Transfer power to the Central Government, Sardar continued "Let the Viceroy go out and not interfere. Then you have a strong centre which would be capable of dealing with the problems facing the country, particularly in such places as the Punjab and the North West. There would be peace in the country."

States And C.A.

The Deccan States have decided to join the Constituent Assembly. A report from New Delhi says: "Following a talk between the Jam Sahib of Nawannagar and Sardar Patel, the Jam Sahib, it is understood, has assured Sardar Patel that he and his group of Princes of Kathiawar, Gujarat, Rajputana and Central India will enter the Constituent Assembly at a very early date."

Many Indian States had already come into the Constituent Assembly, said Dr Rajendra Prasad at Bangalore, and he hoped the holders long, other Indian States would follow suit.

Dr. Gopaldas Doshi, Teacher of Sanskrit in Kathiawad, has been reinstated after a lapse of 22 years. His godi was taken over by the Government in 1921 for taking part in the national struggle for Swaraj.

Non-European's Place in Free Hospitalization Scheme

A STATEMENT giving a general outline of Natal provincial policy is contained in a report on health services submitted to the Natal Provincial Council by the Administrator, Mr. D. E. Mitchell, on Monday, May 26, the general principle of free hospitalisation in the Province of Natal has been accepted.

On the question of pro-
vise, the statement sets out
that it is accepted that, as
means per se, European hos-
pitals should provide separate
accommodation and facilities
for coloured patients.

The policy of providing separate facilities for Indians will have been solved.

With regard to Natives, the principle of separate hospitals is accepted, but when they are so situated that they can be administered in conjunction with a European hospital that arrangement will be adopted.

Additional professional and technical assistance is prepared to assist the responsible authorities in the matter by making available, for training purposes appropriate institutions under its control.

The practice of granting humanities to selected personnel to take special courses is being extended.

Benzal

Mr. Subramanyam, the Bengal Premier, wants an undivided Bengal in a divided India.

Dr. Prafulla Chandra Guha, a member of the Congress Working Committee, refers to the League's demand for a division of India, and says: "I do not say that we might consider it to be, there is no alternative to the division of India. As far as I hope, that is a superior solution of the problem. I do not say that there would be a reunion, and India would be stronger and more respected thereby. I hope I shall live to see that glorious day. But just at present division is bold."

biological ...

On the 10th Gandhiji said at Ontario that if there was a partition of Bengal, the Muslim majority would be responsible for it, and what was more, the Muslim Government that was in power. If he was the Prime Minister of Bengal, he would plead with his Hindu brethren to forget the past. If the Prime Minister could possibly take up that attitude, he would undertake to go with him from place to place and reason with him in audiences, and he made bold to say that there would not be a Hindu opponent left of the unity of Bengal. He believed in the sovereign rule of the law of love which transcends all distinctions of race, colour, caste or creed.

THE AIMS OF NIO

A LEADING article in the *Burger* says that the new Indian organisation is different from the Indian Congress only in its language. It is not the same.

... the ...
... told the *Natal Daily News* that this is not correct. His group are not asking for social or political parity with ...

They do not want to buy property in European areas. What they are pressing for is better conditions in the areas which are already in ... and they oppose the ... Representation Act ...

improved conditions

"I do not want a ...

much rather live in an Indian area, among people whom my ... I understand. But because a ... reads lack the amenities, I require ... water, sewerage ... I have to look to the ... for these ...

"If we are assured of better

... to ... that the demand for property in ... European areas is dropped."

Unrest in Sind

"The Hindus of Sind have nothing to say so long as the ... labour reservation," said ... Minister of Sind, said Prof. ... a Congress leader of Sind in a joint interview at Bombay. But ... by a ... in which

... the Hindus will demand the area of lower Sind comprising Karachi, Hyderabad and Thar-parker districts. The Sind ... are ... the ... of Sind.

If Sind is to be ruled by any ... it will be due to representation of all India politics.

A conference of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha, which met at Karachi, made a demand for the partition of Sind. The Sind University Act, passed recently ... of Hindu opposition, has given cause for much alarm.

"It is we who keep the peace in the face of grave provocations," said Prof. Malhotra in a rejoinder to Mr. Jinnah. The methods used in the recent elections, he said, were "force, fraud and threat." "Now that the League is in power, we have a bunch of laws which are thoroughly communal."

Sind Hindus have been considering the question of migration, particularly after the recent happenings in the Panjab and the Frontier. Gandhiji, whose advice was sought, said: "Suffer bravely but non-violently and

Jehudi and Sind found the ... outside the main body of India. In that contingency, such issues as the rights of the minorities on both sides will have to be settled first.

Temple Entry

The famous temple of Vitthoba at Pandharpur (Bombay) has been opened to the Harijans. Shri C. Rajagopalachari, speaking at Madras on the 12th congratulated the people of Tamil Nad for the spectacular manner in which they carried out the reform of throwing open temples to Harijans. This great reform he said was belittled by some who taunted them by saying that this in no way improved the economic conditions of the Harijans. But he could say that poverty was continuing to kill and would vanish in course of time if they worked hard and increased the country's wealth by producing more. Now with the removal of this blot on their civilisation no foreigner would point his finger to India and accuse her of denying equal freedom to all her citizens.

UNO DECISION ON INDIANS DEFENDED

DR. SAMUEL FIELDING, honorary secretary of the United Nations Assembly last week defended UNO's decision on the ... in South Africa, when he addressed the Johannesburg ...

He said, "The average South African was made to feel highly insignificant over the decision of UNO. He was easily swayed by the politicians. However, a certain depth of thought and comprehension is necessary to understand fully the wisdom of ...

"Assuming that South Africa had been allowed to number case before UNO, would it not have meant ...

... that South Africa, and, for that matter, any other State, would have been a ... legislate against any other section of humanity that might become inconvenient at any particular time?

... in a change of Government, possibly even the British?"

GEN. SMUTS SEES BRIGHT DESTINY FOR S.A.

General Smuts, who was in London on May 14, was interviewed by Mr. John Buckham, Correspondent of the *American Times*. In the course of his interview General Smuts said, with the European's impending departure from Asia, he was sure that Communism's stability ...

... appears to be on the verge of far-reaching unrest, China is deep in it, Japan is completely submerged in defeat. The ball is now in Asia's court. It is for their people now to rise to their responsibilities.

In South Africa, the correspondent continues, General Smuts sees a bright destiny in a clouded world. He does not think the political emancipation of the coloured races in Asia ... any shadow over the future of the small white nation ... "Never lose sight of the fact that ... of the highest quality ...

... 300 years we have maintained our ... of the heart of a great, indigenous black population and we have made a major contribution to its advance.

"Today we are among the best run countries in the world. When the British Royal party were here recently, they were amazed to see how we confront our grave problems yet keep ourselves happy and our country on an even keel. Only the other day we paid the United States our full ten-tenne debt, in cash—at a time when other countries are begging for help.

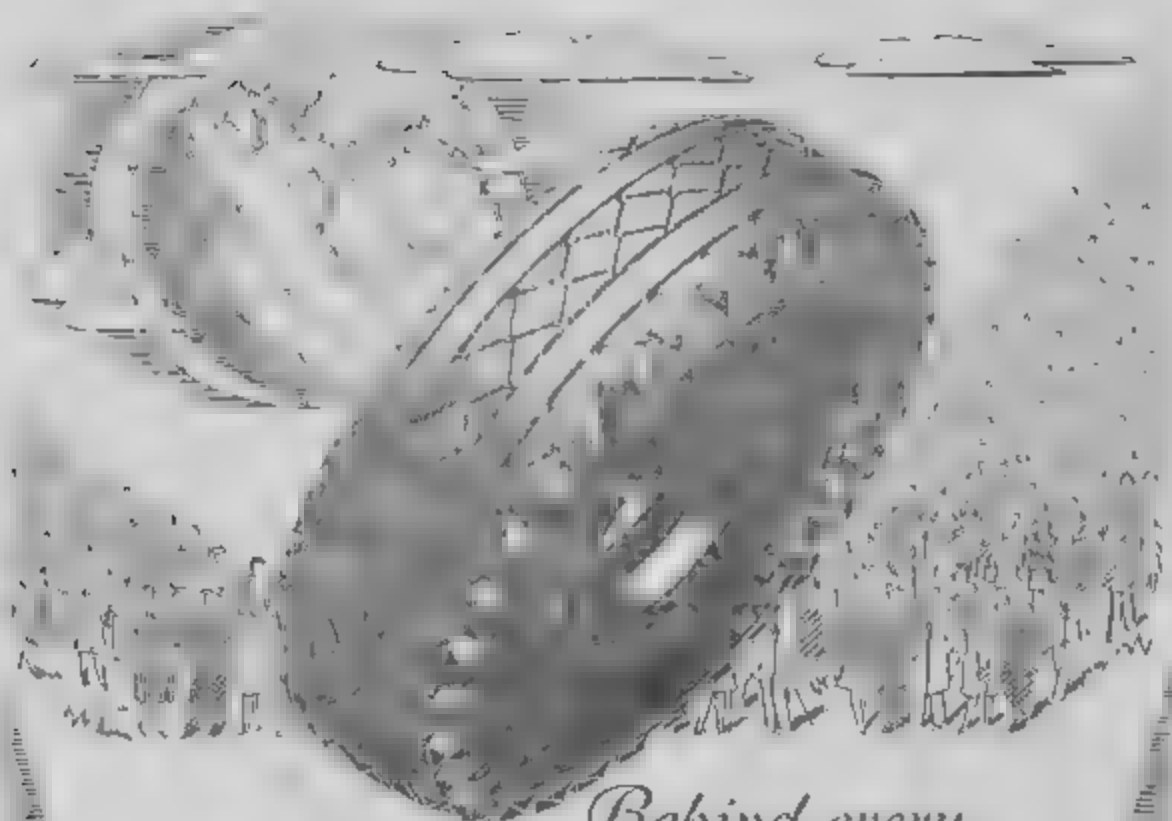
"Here in South Africa we do not believe in fairy-tale words and in by night shibboleths. Nor do we set much store by the advice of people who tell us how to run our country when their own are wallowing in disorder and misery. We believe in the old-fashioned virtues that have made us what we are: industry, frugality, stability, humanity and decency—the virtues of our ordinary human creed.

Shri H. L. Mansukhani, in an article in the *Free Press Journal*, says: "Sind Hindus realise that today they are sitting on top of a volcano. There are sparks all around, and on any pretext, anything may happen any day. Till today the real secret of peace has been sheer subservience of Hindus to Muslim, humiliations and various other acts which provoke retaliation. In Karachi it is reported that henchmen are charging ... from Hindus and ... the money thus collected is in the Muslim League National Guards. From Dada, forced collections are said to have been made from Hindus for the expenses of the League district conference. Any resistance would be seized upon as an act of aggression on the part of Hindus and ... would be the result."

death. But if you cannot do that and must make a disgraceful surrender of all including honour, your womanfolk and religion, in that case the only safe and proper course for you to take is migration and that not singly but of all the Hindus and their non-Muslims."

Atmarya Kripalani explained how migration would take place. This according to him, was the extreme course to be followed ...

... was ... of ... and people of some persons would be detrimental to the interests of the minorities in the province. It would weaken their case now and in the future and sustain Pakistan. He had no apprehension whatsoever about the future of the minorities in Sind, even if the country was



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2168, 2169, 2170, 2171, 2172, 2173, 2174, 2175, 2176, 2177, 2178, 2179, 2180, 2181, 2182, 2183, 2184, 2185, 2186, 2187, 2188, 2189, 2190, 2191, 2192, 2193, 2194, 2195, 2196, 2197, 2198, 2199, 2200, 2201, 2202, 2203, 2204, 2205, 2206, 2207, 2208, 2209, 2210, 2211, 2212, 2213, 2214, 2215, 2216, 2217, 2218, 2219, 2220, 2221, 2222, 2223, 2224, 2225, 2226, 2227, 2228, 2229, 2230, 2231, 2232, 2233, 2234, 2235, 2236, 2237, 2238, 2239, 2240, 2241, 2242, 2243, 2244, 2245, 2246, 2247, 2248, 2249, 2250, 2251, 2252, 2253, 2254, 2255, 2256, 2257, 2258, 2259, 2260, 2261, 2262, 2263, 2264, 2265, 2266, 2267, 2268, 2269, 2270, 2271, 2272, 2273, 2274, 2275, 2276, 2277, 2278, 2279, 2280, 2281, 2282, 2283, 2284, 2285, 2286, 2287, 2288, 2289, 2290, 2291, 2292, 2293, 2294, 2295, 2296, 2297, 2298, 2299, 2300, 2301, 2302, 2303, 2304, 2305, 2306, 2307, 2308, 2309, 2310, 2311, 2312, 2313, 2314, 2315, 2316, 2317, 2318, 2319, 2320, 2321, 2322, 2323, 2324, 2325, 2326, 2327, 2328, 2329, 2330, 2331, 2332, 2333, 2334, 2335, 2336, 2337, 2338, 2339, 2340, 2341, 2342, 2343, 2344, 2345, 2346, 2347, 2348, 2349, 2350, 2351, 2352, 2353, 2354, 2355, 2356, 2357, 2358, 2359, 2360, 2361, 2362, 2363, 2364, 2365, 2366, 2367, 2368, 2369, 2370, 2371, 2372, 2373, 2374, 2375, 2376, 2377, 2378, 2379, 2380, 2381, 2382, 2383, 2384, 2385, 2386, 2387, 2388, 2389, 2390, 2391, 2392, 2393, 2394, 2395, 2396, 2397, 2398, 2399, 2400, 2401, 2402, 2403, 2404, 2405, 2406, 2407, 2408, 2409, 2410, 2411, 2412, 2413, 2414, 2415, 2416, 2417, 2418, 2419, 2420, 2421, 2422, 2423, 2424, 2425, 2426, 2427, 2428, 2429, 2430, 2431, 2432, 2433, 2434, 2435, 2436, 2437, 2438, 2439, 2440, 2441, 2442, 2443, 2444, 2445, 2446, 2447, 2448, 2449, 2450, 2451, 2452, 2453, 2454, 2455, 2456, 2457, 2458, 2459, 2460, 2461, 2462, 2463, 2464, 2465, 2466, 2467, 2468, 2469, 2470, 2471, 2472, 2473, 2474, 2475, 2476, 2477, 2478, 2479, 2480, 2481, 2482, 2483, 2484, 2485, 2486, 2487, 2488, 2489, 2490, 2491, 2492, 2493, 2494, 2495, 2496, 2497, 2498, 2499, 2500, 2501, 2502, 2503, 2504, 2505, 2506, 2507, 2508, 2509, 2510, 2511, 2512, 2513, 2514, 2515, 2516, 2517, 2518, 2519, 2520, 2521, 2522, 2523, 2524, 2525, 2526, 2527, 2528, 2529, 2530, 2531, 2532, 2533, 2534, 2535, 2536, 2537, 2538, 2539, 2540, 2541, 2542, 2543, 2544, 2545, 2546, 2547, 2548, 2549, 2550, 2551, 2552, 2553, 2554, 2555, 2556, 2557, 2558, 2559, 2560, 2561, 2562, 2563, 2564, 2565, 2566, 2567, 2568, 2569, 2570, 2571, 2572, 2573, 2574, 2575, 2576, 2577, 2578, 2579, 2580, 2581, 2582, 2583, 2584, 2585, 2586, 2587, 2588, 2589, 2590, 2591, 2592, 2593, 2594, 2595, 2596, 2597, 2598, 2599, 2600, 2601, 2602, 2603, 2604, 2605, 2606, 2607, 2608, 2609, 2610, 2611, 2612, 2613, 2614, 2615, 2616, 2617, 2618, 2619, 2620, 2621, 2622, 2623, 2624, 2625, 2626, 2627, 2628, 2629, 2630, 2631, 2632, 2633, 2634, 2635, 2636, 2637, 2638, 2639, 2640, 2641, 2642, 2643, 2644, 2645, 2646, 2647, 2648, 2649, 2650, 2651, 2652, 2653, 2654, 2655, 2656, 2657, 2658, 2659, 2660, 2661, 2662, 2663, 2664, 2665, 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Indian Opinion

FRIDAY, 6TH JUNE, 1947

The Conference

THE first biennial conference of the Natal Indian Congress, which was held in Durban during the week-end has been an important occasion in the history of the Indian community. For delegates from all Congress Branches were present. Most of the time was taken up in amending the constitution. Important among the amendments were that the Conference shall in future be held annually instead of biennially and Congress will appoint various Committees which will be entrusted with specific matters, such as, health, housing, education, agriculture etc., and such Committees shall be responsible to the Congress Executive. This will divide the work instead of it falling on the shoulders of a few. If these Committees do not become ornamental they will be an asset to the community. The most important work was to deal with resolutions on various matters. Whilst the resolutions were being discussed the election of new office-bearers was being carried on by ballot. It was not possible to deal with all the draft resolutions. A few were therefore passed and the rest left to be dealt with by the incoming Executive.

Appreciation

Whatever their defects and however extravagant their language, one cannot but note with profound appreciation the manner in which the Congress leaders have performed their strenuous task during their two years' term of office. They have not only had to fight against the harsh measures passed by the Government, but they have had to struggle against elements in our own community that have been doing their utmost to belittle and to destroy the good work that was being carried on. Our credit has to be given to the gallant passive resistance, both

men and women, who have unfinchingly and smilingly suffered for the great cause of human rights, and also to those who have generously rendered financial help, without which it would have been well-nigh impossible to carry on the struggle. We have yet to cover a long distance and the path is a thorny one. It is to be hoped that the new set of workers, in whose hands the reins have been put, will prove equal to the task.

Supreme Task

The supreme task before us is to remove misunderstandings created either through lack of knowledge of the true facts or wilfully out of mischief. Those who are after such mischief seem little to realise that they are playing with fire and the spark thereof may set the whole world ablaze. Moderation and truth are virtues to be practised at all times by everyone. Much more so by those who are charged with the responsibility of guiding public opinion. Our afternoon contemporary, the *Natal Daily News* dated June 3 states editorially that "the Passive Resistance movement was intended neither more nor less than a blow against the State. It was launched by Congress which is, in itself, strongly totalitarian in character and bitterly resentful of all other Indian leadership, groups and movements." This is no less an extravagant statement than the extravagant language of some of the Congress leaders, to which our contemporary rightly takes exception.

More Democratic

We believe the present Congress is more democratic in character than it has ever been. It does not resent any other leadership, groups and movements based on democratic principles. Its door is wide open to any such leadership, groups and movements. What it is resentful of is leadership, groups and movements

based on totalitarianism. If our contemporary has in mind the recently formed Natal Indian Organisation, that organisation is certainly far from democratic, and it is painful to think that a Government and a Press that claim to be democratic should have thought fit to go all out to pamper such an organisation just because it happens to serve their purposes. The Conference has brought home to us more than ever the need for fighting from within and not from without, unless you can command the confidence of the masses. Would that the Natal Indian Organisation realised their folly and mended their ways. Our contemporary further goes on to say "Plainly, in the opinion of the Congress party, no one but Congress has the right to negotiate or even to think." This is another extravagant statement to make. Congress cannot, nor has it ever claimed to hold a monopoly over the right to think. As for the right to negotiate it certainly does claim that right by virtue of its services and the confidence of the people it commands. Surely, who else, but the leaders of a movement, could be competent to negotiate? Our Aspirations

Congress has not been lacking in reasonableness either. Both Congress and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, on behalf the Government of India, have been reasonable enough in agreeing to a round table conference being held between the two Governments either in the Union or in India, even with the Statute Book? And with all that our morning contemporary, the *Natal Mercury*, warns us "to realise, while there is still time, that nothing can be gained by continuing to create an atmosphere which is shutting South African opinion out of all sympathy with even legitimate Indian aspirations." While South Africa should know that our aspirations, whether you may like to call them legitimate or otherwise are no other than

for those rights we were encouraged to cherish and asked to win in the Great War. They were the right to live not as helots but as free human beings. To deny those rights does not augur well for the future of South Africa and renders the task of Congress much more difficult than it has ever been. It is a task that will require perseverance, a spirit of self sacrifice and moderation in thought, word and deed.

India And South Africa

THE eyes of the world are focussed to-day on India, whose destiny is in the melting pot. The rivers of blood that have flowed in the past few months in that unhappy land, as a result of a fratricidal war is heart-rending. It is a solace to feel that that has now come to an end. But who knows that a war really ended and that sanity has once more come to prevail upon the people. One can only hope and pray for the best. The British Government's plan for the transfer of power to India, announced by Mr. Attlee on June 3, marks yet another step forward in the struggle for freedom. India's unification to remain undivided has unhappily not been fulfilled. She has to resign herself to the will of Providence. That is the tone in the utterances of all the leaders who have accepted the position. There is no need, however, to lose hope. It is quite possible that when India is left alone without a third party interfering in her affairs that the elements that are at war with one another will see their folly and come together and reconcile themselves to live in unity and harmony. "I want to lessen the pain in your hearts," says Gandhi, "by saying that neither the Hindus, Muslims nor Sikhs have lost anything. Whatever the Viceroy has done can be changed by common agreement between the Indian people." Everything, however, and depends on India herself. It will be up to her own leaders to be united. Let us hope it will be so.

SMUTS—NEHRU CORRESPONDENCE UNION GOVERNMENT INVITED TO NEW DELHI

WHY HIGH COMMISSIONER COULD NOT BE SENT BACK

The correspondence of a great Alliance (as released) for publication the correspondence between the Prime Minister, General Smuts, and Pandit Nehru, Minister for External Affairs and Commonwealth Relations, India, on steps to be taken following the resolution of the United Nations on December 8, 1946.

From Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru to General Smuts, April 24, 1947:

Dear Prime Minister,—The Government of India earnestly desires to act in accordance with the terms and spirit of the resolution passed by the General Assembly of the United Nations on December 8, 1946, on the subject of the treatment of Indians in the Union of South Africa and is glad to offer its co-operation to assist in the implementation of paragraphs 2 and 3 of the resolution.

The text of the U.N.O. resolution is the end of the correspondence.

The Government of India has (therefore) pleasure in informing you of its readiness to enter into negotiations with the Government of the Union of South Africa for the purpose of implementing the resolution of the General Assembly of the United Nations on December 8, 1946.

The Government of India would also like to assure you that it will give its best consideration to any other proposal which the Union may deem appropriate to suggest for the purpose of implementing that resolution.

Allow me to express the hope, on behalf of my Government, that the friendly relations between our two countries, which have been the result of our common difficulties and lead to the speedy restoration of normal and friendly relations between our two countries.

(Signed) JAWAHARLAL NEHRU.

From General Smuts to Pandit Nehru:

Dear Pandit Nehru,—I thank you for your friendly approach and for the opportunity thus given the Union Government to discuss with the Government of India the common difficulties between the two Governments in reference to the treatment of Indians in South Africa.

The Union Government has for some time been desirous of raising this matter with the Government of India, but has been debarred from so doing owing to the absence of the High Commissioner for India who is to be named and

obvious medium for exchanges for such a purpose. Correspondence between the two Governments by cable or otherwise would mean delay and might not achieve their common purpose of finding a solution for their difficulties.

The Union Government would, therefore, suggest; as the most expeditious and effective approach, that the High Commissioner for India should return to South Africa to confer with the Union authorities on the questions in issue and the best means of dealing with them and exploring the way to a satisfactory solution. It is a reason they would welcome his early return to the Union.

(Signed) J. G. SMUTS.

From Pandit Nehru to General Smuts, May 7, 1947:

Dear Field-Marshal Smuts.—I thank you for your message of April 28, 1947.

The Government of India notes with satisfaction that the Union Government is anxious of raising this matter with the Government of India. It is, however, unable to agree that the absence of the High Commissioner for India from the Union debar the Government of the Union from initiating or conducting discussions with the Government of India, or would prevent the achievement of our common purpose of finding a solution to our difficulties.

The Government of India conceives the immediate task before our two Governments as the taking of appropriate and effective steps to implement the resolution passed by the General Assembly of the United Nations of December 8, 1946.

The Government of India therefore requests the Union Government to accept the implementation of the resolution of December 8, 1946, as the common and immediate purpose in which our respective governments can co-operate for finding a basis for the solution of the problem with which our two governments are earnestly concerned.

As soon as the Union Government has acceded to this request a common basis for future discussion would be established. The Government of India would then appoint, without delay, suitable representatives to join with the Government of the Union of South Africa or with such representatives as it appoints for the purpose, in discussion and further consideration of ways and means to resolve our difficulties.

The Government of India would welcome the representatives of the Union Government to New Delhi for this purpose and make all the necessary arrangements if such visits is agreeable to the Union Government. It is, however, prepared to agree to any proposal that the Union Government desires to make with regard to the venue of such discussions.

In inviting the Union Government to accept the implementation of the resolution passed by the General Assembly of the United Nations on December 8, 1946, as the common purpose of our joint endeavours, the Government is actuated by the earnest desire to act in accordance with the terms and spirit of that resolution and in complete loyalty to the principles and Charter of the United Nations Organisation. It is fortified by the belief that in the endeavour to implement the resolution the way to the solution of our common difficulties will be found.

The Government of India desires to state with frankness its position in regard to the proposal for the return of India's High Commissioner to the Union, which you make in your message of April 28. The High Commissioner for India to the Union was recalled for consultations as a consequence of the deterioration in the relations between our two countries of which the General Assembly of the United Nations has taken note. The Government of India has to state with regret that these relations have not only not improved since, but have deteriorated further.

The reasons which determined this course of action, therefore, continue. While the Government of India seeks and hopes for an improvement of these relations and has taken the initiative in endeavouring to secure them, it is unable to revise its decision prior to any actual improvements in such relations. It will gladly arrange for the return of its High Commissioner to South Africa as soon as such improvement takes place.

The Government of India, however, desires to assure you

that the absence of the High Commissioner for India from South Africa will in no way hinder or prejudice its effective participation in the joint deliberations of our two Governments for implementing the resolution of December 8, 1946.

The Government of India would appreciate your early reply to the proposals that it makes and would like to assure you that it will always give its earnest consideration to any proposal that the Government of the Union desires to make.

UNO Resolution

The United Nations resolution referred to in the correspondence reads: "The General Assembly, having taken note of the application made by the Government of India regarding the treatment of Indians in the Union of South Africa, and having considered the matter,

"Firstly, states that, because of that treatment, friendly relations between two member States have been impaired, and unless a satisfactory settlement is reached, these relations are likely to be further impaired,

"Secondly, is of the opinion that the treatment of Indians in the Union should be in conformity with the international obligations under the agreements concluded between the two Governments, and the relative provisions of the Charter;

Thirdly, therefore requests the two Governments to report at the next session of the General Assembly the measures adopted to this effect.

Since Pandit Nehru's second letter was received, General Smuts has been for Natal Indian Organisation at Cape Town that he had agreed to make further efforts to persuade the Government of the Union to return the High Commissioner to the Union. The Government of India would like to state that the Government of India is anxious to bring to an end the present state of affairs in which the Union Government of South Africa finds itself.

Without this personal channel of communication I was unable to begin discussions and overcome the obstacles to the ending of the present impasse between the two Governments. The Prime Minister said:

CHAMBER OF SOUTH AFRICAN INDIAN MERCHANTS

FIRST GENERAL MEETING

The first general meeting of the Chamber of South African Indian Merchants which was to be held on 4th June has been postponed for a few days on account of the circumstances. The meeting will be held on Monday, 10th June. Further notice regarding venue will be given later.

G. C. L. S. N.

Secretary.

WELCOME TO DRS. DADOO AND NAICKER

A MEETING in honour of Dr. Dadoo and Dr. Naicker who returned from India on May 27, was held at the Gandhi Hall, Johannesburg.

"We cannot thank sufficiently the Government and people of India for the unstinting support they have given us, and in return, it is only right that India should expect from each and everyone of us in this country, that we do nothing derogatory to her national honour," said Mr. Nana Sita in welcoming them officially on behalf of the Joint Passive Resistance Council.

Welcoming Drs. Dadoo and Naicker on behalf of the Transvaal Indian women, Miss Zainab Asvat said: In welcoming our leaders I say that we, the Indian women, under their brave leadership will make our fullest contribution in this mighty struggle for full democratic rights. Our struggle is a just one. It is a struggle in which we must succeed.

Both Drs. Dadoo and Naicker made it clear that India's Interim Government wants negotiations with the South African Government, but on the basis of the United Nations resolutions. There can be no question of India sending back the High Commissioner at the present stage.

Dr. Naicker inscribed their opinion to India as an unqualified success. "All groups and parties in India he said, stand united in their championship of our cause."

Dr. Dadoo said India expected South African Indians to make common cause with all oppressed peoples in South Africa. Speaking of the New East he said: "The people of Asia are not fighting a racial war. They want to see the end of imperialist manoeuvres and domination, and the beginning of an era where there will be freedom and democracy for all."

Among the other speakers were Messrs Sorabjee Kustomjee, Dr. Xuma, Mr. G. D. Carr, Mr. Dania Du Plessis, representing the Johannesburg District of the Communist Party and Mr. E. J. Burford of the Council for Asiatic Rights.

Among the resolutions passed was the following: This meeting expressing its sincerest thanks to the Government and people of India for the unstinting support they have given us, and in return, it is only right that India should expect from each and everyone of us in this country, that we do nothing derogatory to her national honour," said Mr. Nana Sita in welcoming them officially on behalf of the Joint Passive Resistance Council.

"This meeting fully endorses India's refusal to send back her High Commissioner to South Africa at the present time, and it condemns the action of those few individuals who have made this request to India against the wishes of the South African Indian community."

Things In General

India Supports Passive Resistance Struggle

AT a press conference in Johannesburg on May 28, Dr. Y. M. Dadoo said, "from the tour of India of Dr. Naicker and myself which lasted over two months, we can say without hesitation that the Government and the people of India are keen to render the South African Indian community whatever assistance they can in their struggle for democratic rights and the upholding of their national honour. Despite the fact that India is at the moment engaged with the colossal problem of the transfer of power

there is hardly a single village in India which has not taken some interest in our passive resistance struggle. The Government of India is preparing its report on the Indian question which she will present to the September session of the United Nations, but before making her report she is willing to go to the furthest extent in helping the South African Government to implement the U.N.O. resolution."

"The Natal Indian Organisation," Dr. Dadoo continued, "has been condemned in no uncertain terms by the Press and people of India, and we have been assured that it cannot command any influence in Government circles in India. Our tour of India has continued as that of a relationship between our India and the Union can prove of tremendous good to both the countries in the fields of commerce, trade as well as in the common task of maintaining world peace through joint efforts in the U.N. But the first impression is that South Africa will change its racist and colourist policies and conform to the principles of the United Nations Charter."

Conference Resolution

The following was among the resolutions passed at the Biennial Conference of the N.I.C. held in Durban last week end. The resolution which was moved by Mr. H. A. Naidoo, was a lengthy one. After a warm debate, in which Messrs. Ashwin Chowdhree, Sorabjee Kustomjee, Manil Gandhi and E. F. Moolie took part, several paragraphs to which exception was taken by the above speakers, were deleted and the resolution was passed in its amended form.

"Conference notes with deep anxiety that barely two years after the atrocious conclusion of the great anti-Fascist war of liberation, mankind is already faced with the grim reality of a war fever growing in intensity with the passing of each day. Imperialism, although considerably weakened by the democratic forces that accompanied the war, still maintains its grip of power over the peoples of the world and is emerging as an

SLOWLY BUT CONTINUOUSLY THE STRUGGLE GOES ON

This batch of Passive Resisters courted arrest on the night of the opening of the N.I.C. Conference (Left to Right) Miss Maniben Nana, Miss Lily Veerasamy, Miss Angie Veerasamy, Mr. Radolph Henry. Miss Maniben Nana, leader of the above batch is the daughter of Mr. Nana Sita, who is an active member of the Transvaal Passive Resistance Council. Miss Maniben has gone to gaol for the second time and has been sentenced to three months while the others have been sentenced to 30 days. Miss Maniben was refused permission to make a statement before the Court.



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INDIAN OPINION

collected by
MAHATMA GANDHI
IN 1903

No. 24 - Vol. XLV.

FRIDAY, 13TH JUNE, 1941

Page 1

Indian Opinion

FRIDAY, 13TH JUNE, 1941

Moral Way The Only Way

IT is a pleasant surprise to us to find a sudden salutary change in the tone of the South African Press in discussing the non-European problem. The *Natal Daily News*, for instance, writes, "It becomes more clearly apparent day by day that the whole future of Southern Africa depends basically upon the co-operation of all races. Without co-operation we do but stultify ourselves and agreements must be secured somehow, however charged the atmosphere is with negation." And the *Star* (Johannesburg) admits that "no approach to the problem that ignores Native opinion will in future have any hope of success."

Besides this we have also before us the opinion of the Bishop of Johannesburg, the Right Rev. G. H. Clayton, who is known for his liberal views on the non-European question.

"At present," the Bishop said in an interview with the *Star*, "there is no sign of agreement either about the goal to be aimed at or about the amount of advance toward that goal possible at the present time. If the principle of trusteeship is granted, for the sake of argument, does the trustee look forward to the time when his ward shall have ceased to be under his tutelage? Is the trustee conceived of as a trustee for a minor who will one day come of age? Or is he rather in the position of a trustee for a lunatic, so that

his trusteeship must last for the whole life of his ward? If agreement could be reached on this fundamental point then progress could be made towards agreement in other matters."

"It is quite impossible to suppose," the Bishop says, "that South Africa can remain unaffected by the immense change in world opinion. Further, the actual position in this country, the situation of the Native people themselves, changes from year to year."

"The immediate necessity for the Europeans in this country," the Bishop admits, "is to make up their minds about the principles that should govern their relations with the Natives."

"A Native policy cannot be hammered out by Europeans only. It must be hammered out by Europeans and Natives working together."

It will be of interest also to note what a leading Dutch Reformed Church clergyman, the Rev. R. J. Raath, of Newlands, Johannesburg, has to say on the same subject:

"The so-called Native problem," said Mr. Raath to the *Star*, "was really the problem of the relation between the European and the non-European races. It was a question of life and death to both sides."

"Europeans must remember that the Natives felt that their very survival was at stake. The Natives must, however, remember that the Europeans felt the same about themselves."

"For us Europeans," Mr. Raath says, "the question at stake is the survival of the

European in this country. If we are honest, this implies maintaining a colour line, which need not mean the repression of the Natives. 'Colour bar' is an unfortunate term, implying the debarring of the non-Europeans from privileges, but a colour line is different."

"I believe in segregation as the only honest Christian solution of the problem. All the talk of just mixing together is moonshine in practice."

"Without segregation the Prime Minister would always be a European so long as the Europeans were dominant and if ever there was a non-European Prime Minister, there would never be a European one again. Under segregation the Non-European could rise to be Prime Minister eventually in his own right."

Dr. A. B. Xuma, president of the African National Congress, is a graduate of several universities and a medical officer of health for Alexandra Township. He has studied at Booker Washington, the famous Tuskegee Institute in the United States, at the State University of Minnesota, at the North-Western University in Chicago, at Edinburgh, in Budapest and at the School of Tropical Medical and Hygiene in London. Yet he has never had a vote, either for a city council, a provincial council, the Government, or even for the Senator who represents Transvaal Natives. He questions the whole theory of parallel development as envisaged by Mr. Raath and is in existence under the present legislation and says, wherever he has seen parallelism in practice—in railway facilities for European and non-

European, in education, social security—he insists that it has meant inequality, with the scales heavily tipped against the Native. Dr. Xuma believes that if Native leaders agree to play a larger part in Native administration and in making Native policy, they can only confuse the issue and deny a just solution. The same is the case, we think, with all the non-Europeans so long as the colour bar laws exist. "If Africans are made to administer the Native policy," he stands, "Dr. Xuma says, they will have to administer their own repression." Dr. Xuma did not believe the Native question could be taken out of politics but, if that were possible, he said, it would not only be an agreement of all the parliamentary political parties, it would require a convention in which all the municipalities of South Africa were represented on a non-partisan basis to mould a new policy for the future and progressive South Africa, in which all races have equality of opportunity and development.

The whole question has been put in a nutshell by Bishop Clayton, we think, when he asks, "Does the trustee look forward to the time when his ward shall have ceased to be under his tutelage? Is the trustee conceived of as a trustee for a minor who will one day come of age? Or is he rather in the position of a trustee for a lunatic, so that his trusteeship must last for the whole life of his ward?" The agreement, could be

reached on this fundamental point then progress could be made towards agreement in other matters.

What seems to have obsessed the minds of White South Africa to-day is superiority complex and fear complex, both of which must be shed if we are to live in peace and happiness in this land and the whole colour question must be considered calmly and dispassionately. The non-Europeans are in a fighting mood to-day because they have become conscious and are no longer prepared to quietly submit to the indignities and injustices inflicted on them. But that does not mean that they are not able or are not willing to see reason. If the Africans have demanded full citizenship rights it does not necessarily follow that those rights have to be granted overnight. What it does mean is that the Government will have to pursue a much more liberal policy than in the past, which must aim at, not keeping the non-European backward in order to preserve White supremacy but leading him forward so as to enable him to be on an equal footing with the White man. If the trustee fails to discharge that duty nature will take its own course as indeed it

The idea of White supremacy, however much it is nurtured, is fallacious. It is unnatural and no amount of frantic effort will enable it to survive. If it is based on moral principles it will command respect and no power will be able to destroy it. There seem to be only two ways of settling this question. One is the moral way, the other is the immoral way. The politi-

cian always draws a distinction between the practical point of view and the moral point of view but he seems always to forget that nothing is practical which is not based on moral principle and even if it appears to succeed for a time it is bound to fail ultimately, for nothing can survive that is unrighteous.

CLASH OF IMPORTANT

THE Indian question in South Africa is a wor-

question which concerns human rights principle versus the non-interference principle of sovereignty," Dr R. Fielding, secretary of the Johannesburg branch of the United Nations Association is reported to have said at a Rotary Club luncheon at Sandton, Transvaal.

The Johannesburg branch was the largest and the most active in the Union and it had expressed itself in no uncertain terms on the Indian problem in this country. In April it had sent a resolution to the Government of Transvaal the boycott of Indian traders and the boycotting of Indian goods.

Whereas politicians and officials the average South African to become violently militant over decisions arrived at by the United Nations, the Association has done much to stimulate a more and more sober outlook.

Stating that the trend of world affairs today was towards universalism, Dr Fielding said that the United Nations' judgment has been a contradiction of the present constitution of the Union.

Upon that judgment depended the question whether the member States would be allowed to do what they liked or whether they would have to sacrifice some element of sovereignty for the sake of law and order.

South Africa's geographical position her peculiar economic, her ultimate, the peculiar disposition of her peoples, the decision of UN against South Africa, and the power of the politicians over a self-satisfied and apathetic people all make for a dangerous emergency tendency to isolationism, and self-interest rather than universal interest," he said.

PANDIT NEHRU'S MESSAGE

TO AFRICANS AND INDIANS IN AFRICA

"THE world has witnessed suffering and misery in every part, but perhaps the people of Africa have suffered and have been exploited more than any other people. They deserve, therefore, not only the goodwill but the active help of others so that they may raise themselves and have the full benefit of freedom and progress. In this task it will be the privilege of India to help to the best of her ability."

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Vice-President of the Indian Interim Government, in a message of goodwill to Africans and Indians in Africa said these words.

The message was sent through an observer of the Kenya African Union who attended the Inter-Asian Conference.

The message added: "We have stood for the freedom of all people in Asia, Africa or elsewhere."

"We want to build up one world where freedom is universal and there is equality of opportunity between all races and people, and, standing as we do on the verge of independence and freedom in India, we send our good wishes to the people of Africa."

Pandit Nehru, referring to the Indians living in Africa, said they should always remember that they were the guests of the Africans and that they should not do anything which might interfere with the progress of the Africans towards freedom.

They should help the Africans attain their goal and co-operate with them in every way for their mutual advantage.

"We do not want Indians to go abroad and exploit the people of any other country. We have suffered enough exploitation in our own country and we want to be rid of it, not only here, but everywhere," said Pandit Nehru.

"I send my good wishes to the people of Africa and fellow countrymen in Africa and I hope that in the difficult days to come they will co-operate to realise the great ideals we have before us."

PARTITION OF INDIA

A SINISTER FOREBODING OF WORSE TO COME

COMMENTING on the new British proposals for the transfer of power to India, the *Sar* (Johannesburg) dated June 4 writes:

"At the best, in every economic, industrial and administrative aspect, the division of India is a retrograde step. All this Muslims and Hindus will have to consider. The optimism reported to be prevalent in New Delhi, suggests that the Congress Party, the Muslim League and the Sikhs feel empowered to proceed to the division of India. Optimism is a strange term for such a prospect. The friends of India will prefer to hope that the true feeling is the courage to consider the whole situation anew in the cold light of reality, and the even less comforting light of political experience. Between Hindu and Muslim there is a rift that experience teaches to forgive and forget, but among the sons of Mother India this should not be impossible. In the present situation division is the line of least resistance, but this is so only because of inflamed states of mind. The true fact is that a mighty edifice of a civilisation has taken two centuries to build, is in danger of destruction only because of that unity is India a power in the world, and its disintegration, as an act of deliberate policy, cannot but seem a sinister foreboding of worse to come."

THE *Natal Daily News* published last week the *Times of India* article supporting General Smuts's view, that India should send her High Commissioner back to the Union as the first step towards restoring relationship between the two countries. But the *Natal Daily News* informants have carefully avoided to supply the paper with the other Press opinions on the question. We give below some of these as well as the text of the statement recently made by Sir Syed Kama Ali, former High Commissioner for India in the Union, on the activities of the Natal Indian Organisation.

Sir Raza Ali's Statement

The following is the text of Sir Syed Kama Ali's statement: "In politics hypocrisy knows no bounds. The latest illustration is furnished by the self-congratulatory telegram sent to Pandit Nehru by the erstwhile courageous and patriotic leader Mr. A. K. Kajeo and his hurriedly improvised society of a few capitalists that has within the last two weeks chosen to advertise itself under the grandiloquent name of the 'Natal Indian Organisation'."

"The telegram contains the ludicrous request for the return of India's High Commissioner to South Africa. Can we be sure that 77 years old Field Marshal Smuts, better known in his own country as 'S. in Jan,' has had no hand in this new poisonous plot leading the way to the surface in semi-tropical Durban? Mr. Kajeo might as well demand the repeal of the Reciprocity Act passed by the Indian Legislature three years ago and the cancellation of the rules made against South African nationals thereunder."

Money Talks

"The new Natal movement seems to be the result of an unholy alliance between Indian money in South Africa and the remorseful Prime Minister who knows how to extricate himself from a tight corner. His countrymen know how he devised means to send his powerful and popular rivals like the late Mr. Tuman Koon and General Hertzog into wilderness. Not much of an effort is required on his part to cause a split among South African Indians, who have unfortunately presented a united front to various Union Governments up to the present."

"In the meantime Pandit Nehru can hardly do better than tell Mr. Kajeo plainly and soon that the Government of India is unable to recognise any political organisation except the South

HOW INDIA VIEWS S. A. INDIAN QUESTION

N.I.O. ACTIVITIES SEVERELY CRITICISED

African Indian Congress and its affiliated provincial branches in Natal, the Transvaal and the Cape.

"That would prevent the Government of India putting a premium on the exceedingly selfish revolt of a microscopic minority of Natal Indians to whom national honour and their own abject humiliation are nothing before money."

Danger Signals

"General Smuts seems to have started preparing his case seriously to be placed before the next session of the United Nations General Assembly. I have ceased to believe that he will take no action to implement the United Nations' resolution. Mr. Pirow's activities and the debates in the Union Parliament including Dr. Malan's declaration of the Nationalists' policy are larger signs which do not allow us to ignore any danger to our Union in the near year. If returned to power, he may or may not decide to tinker with certain unimportant provisions of the black acts put on the statute book by his Government."

'Bombay Chronicle'

Commenting on the same subject the *Bombay Chronicle* in a sub-leader in its issue of May 25 writes under the heading "Worse than Officelessness":

"The action of a handful of Indians who rushed abegging to General Smuts over the heads of the Indian Government and their people in India and South Africa cannot just be dismissed as well meaning but regrettable officiousness. They have constituted themselves agents of General Smuts against their own people and the Government and are playing on White game of defeating both the opinion of the United Nations and the efforts of the Indian Government to secure justice for Asiatics in South Africa. Their appeal to General Smuts and his reply which ignores the demand of the UNO and India but which they regard as a gracious gesture by the White leader, together constitute a humiliation to which no self-respecting person should consent to be a party. They have actually originated that humiliation. There is nothing in the reply of General Smuts to suggest that he wants to carry out the spirit and the instructions of the UNO resolution. In fact, all that he wants is to get round it. Moreover, his only response to

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's recent approach to him is that India, the justice of whose case against the White Government has been accepted by the United Nations, should eat the humble pie and beat an abject retreat before General Smuts's colour arrogance by sending back to South Africa India's High Commissioner."

If General Smuts' plea that he is keen to begin discussions and remove the present impasse and that he wants a "personal channel of communication" between the Indian Government and his own is genuine, why does he not approach Pandit Nehru to receive his personal representative? India recalled her High Commissioner because of the calculated colour policy of General Smuts' Government which was given shape in actual legislation. It is an outrage on Asia's honour and has revolved the conscience of the whole world. By calling, under instructions from General Smuts, on the Government of India to send the High Commissioner back to South Africa, even though the Union Government has not shown the slightest sign of willingness to revise its policy in any way the leaders of the Natal Indian Organisation and those who think with them have ill-served the honour of India and Asia. It is not patriotism or even commonsense to help, even with the best of intentions, establish one's own people in the back.

'National Standard'

Under the title "Smuts's Peace Offensive" the *National Standard* writes in an editorial in its issue of May 27:

"Mr. A. S. Kajeo, president of the newly-formed Natal Indian Organisation in South Africa is playing Field-Marshal Smuts's game very well indeed. By waiting in deputation on the latter and then frantically appealing to the Indian Government to resume diplomatic relations with the South African Government, Mr. Kajeo has, intentionally or unintentionally, given Field-Marshal Smuts a chance to misrepresent to the world that, while the Indian settlers in South Africa are eager for a settlement, it is India that is proving to be an obstacle."

"Field-Marshal Smuts meant as much when he told Kajeo deputation that he had asked the Indian Government to re-establish diplomatic relations, but that Pandit Nehru had

indicated unwillingness to adopt the course at present. It is rather significant that the only reaction of the South African Government, so far, to the UNO directive as also to Pandit Nehru's subsequent appeal for co-operation in finding a solution to the whole problem should have taken the shape of a request for the resumption of diplomatic relations. The ostensible reason for this, as revealed by Field-Marshal Smuts, is that "without a personal channel of communication, it is difficult to begin discussions and overcome obstacles to the ending of the present impasse between the two Governments."

"But is it not a fact that the continued presence of India's High Commissioner in South Africa for months and his active intervention could not in the least facilitate the solution of the Indian problem, and that it was only then that the Indian Government, in sheer despair and, what is more, at the express request of the Indians there, decided to recall him? What has happened between then and now to justify a reversal of that decision? The High Commissioner's recall was one of the final steps in the India Government's programme of protest against South Africa's anti-Indian measures. And as long as there is not the slightest indication of a desire on the part of the South African Government to repeal or at least suspend those measures, there is but reason why, even for the resumption of diplomatic relations. To do so would be to weaken the Indian case, and to give Field-Marshal Smuts a pretext for pretending before the UNO that he had already done his bit to the matter."

"If he honestly feels handicapped for want of a personal channel, he can easily get over the difficulty by asking for a conference of the representatives of the two Governments as suggested by Pandit Nehru. It should prove far more useful for the purpose of finding a solution if that is what he wants, than the mere resumption of diplomatic relations on the old basis."

FOUNTAIN OF WISDOM

"Twist failure and success the point's so fine,
Men sometimes know not when they touch the line."

HOW TO COMBAT HIMSA

The following questions and their answers by Gandhi appear in *Harizon* dated June 1.

Q. 1. The leaders and followers of the League do not believe in attaining their object through non-violence. In such circumstances, how is it possible to melt their hearts or to convince them of the evil of violent action?

A. 1. Violence can only be effectively met by non-violence. This is an old, established truth. The questioner does not really understand the working of non-violence. If he did, he would have known that the weapon of violence, even if it was the atom bomb, becomes useless when matched against true non-violence. That very few understand how to wield the mighty

weapon is true. It requires a lot of understanding and strength of mind. It is unlike what is needed in military schools and colleges. The difficulty does not arise from meeting himsa and ahimsa arises from weakness of mind.

Q. 2. Today many people are beginning to feel that a clash, possibly of a violent character, with the supporters of the League is inevitable. The nationalists feel that until the League agrees to the partition of Bengal and the Punjab, its demand for Pakistan is unjust. What means should they adopt to meet the situation?

A. 2. If the answer to the first question is held valid, the second question does not arise. However, the question may be discussed for a clearer understanding. If the majority of the Muslims obey Quila-e-Azam Jinnah, a violent conflict should be out of the question, or if the majority of the Hindus take their stand on non-violence, no matter how much violence the Muslims use, it is bound to fail, and the latter, however, should be perfectly understood. The votaries of violence cannot harbour violence in thought, let alone the question of doing it. If Pakistan is wrong, partition of Bengal and the Punjab will not make it right. Two wrongs will not make one right.

Q. 3. The majority of the population here is there was a revolution on the economic question was a revolution on the front (throwing the communal conflict in the background). Do you agree? If such a revolution takes place, will it promote the establishment of the Kingdom of God which you call *Ramrajya*?

A. 3. The economic conflict you envisage is likely to make the Hindu-Muslim tension less acute. Even the end of the Hindu-Muslim conflict will not end all our troubles. What is happening in this. With the end of slavery and the dawn of independence, all the weaknesses of society are bound to come to the surface. I do not see any reason to be unnecessarily upset about it. If we keep our balance at such a time, every tangle will be solved. As far as the

economic question is concerned, it has to be solved in any case. Today there is gross economic inequality. The basis of socialism is economic equality. There can be no *Ramrajya* in the present state of iniquitous inequalities in which a few rich people and the masses do not get even enough to eat. I accepted the theory of socialism even while I was in South Africa. My opposition to the Socialism and

others consists in attacking violence as a means of effecting any lasting reforms.

Q. 4. You say that a *Raja*, a landlord or a capitalist should be a trustee for the poor. Do you think that any such exists today? Or do you expect them to be so transformed?

A. 4. I think that some very few exist even today, though not in the full sense of the term. They are certainly moving in that direction. I can, however, be asked whether the present *Rajas* and others can be expected to become trustees of the poor. If they do not become trustees of their own accord, force of circumstances will compel the reform unless they court utter destruction. When *Panchayat Raj* is established, public opinion will do what violence can never do. The present power of the landlords, the capitalists and the *Rajas* can hold sway only so long as the common people do not realise their own strength. If the people non-cooperate with the will of landlordism or capitalism, it must die of inanition. In *Panchayat Raj* only the *Panchayat* will be obeyed and the *Panchayat* can only work through the law of their making.

BISHOP ON BASIC CAUSE OF TROUBLE

MAN must not be a tyrant but a steward for the good of all mankind said Bishop Dennis Hurley O.M.F.D.D. at the Martinsburg City Parliament last week when giving a sermon that the prevailing selfish notions of private property must be modified before peace could be achieved.

"That was the Christian notion," he said, "and the notion to which we must return and so do away with the basic cause of much of our trouble."

The idea had now grown up that man was master of his own property and there were no limits to what he owned. This conception had grown up side by side with the great industrial development over the past two centuries, and had eventually given rise to capitalism, so that today a few men controlled vast herds of wealth and armies of workers.

"And so we come back to the old institution of slavery where a few can dictate what should be done," he said.

COLOUR BAR CREEPING IN RHODESIA

RESTRICTIONS ON INDIAN OWNERSHIP OF LAND

A MEMORANDUM on the question of the inclusion in title deeds of special conditions restricting ownership or occupation of land is to be prepared by the executive committee of the Municipal Association of Southern Rhodesia.

This was accepted by the conference held recently at Victoria Falls, the only dissenting vote being Mr. D. Macintyre, Mayor of Bulawayo.

It was also agreed that memorandum should be circulated to all local authority members of the Association.

If the executive considered there was need for explaining the restrictive conditions to local citizens, and the reasons municipalities were unable to insert such conditions in the title deeds of land sold by them, public meetings would be convened. Should these meetings show a desire for such restricted conditions to be inserted, then local authorities would apply to the Government for the necessary amendment to the Town Planning Act to enable individual citizens to have them inserted.

Mr. C. O'Leary (Salisbury), moving these resolutions, said they were designed to prevent Indians acquiring property in European-owned areas. Indian population in the Colony was growing, and in Salisbury they owned over £500,000 worth of property.

The question of white supremacy was raised. In Kenya that supremacy was gone; in Northern Rhodesia it was virtually gone, and he feared in about 15 years a similar position would exist in Southern Rhodesia.

Indians were offering and often using syndicated money and uneconomic prices for property, which induced Europeans to sell. A serious threat to white supremacy would not arise if Europeans refused to sell their property.

Mr. D. Macintyre said he could not accept the resolution as racial discrimination was involved.—*Bulawayo Chronicle*.

THE LAW AND THE PROPHETS

THE *Star* (Johannesburg) writes: In a recent issue of a weekly publication which "attaches little importance to small political groups led by U. Pirow, the European public were advised to take the law into their own hands on any future occasion on which white and non-white are seen to be intermingling. "The time has come for vigorous action," says the journal, "and

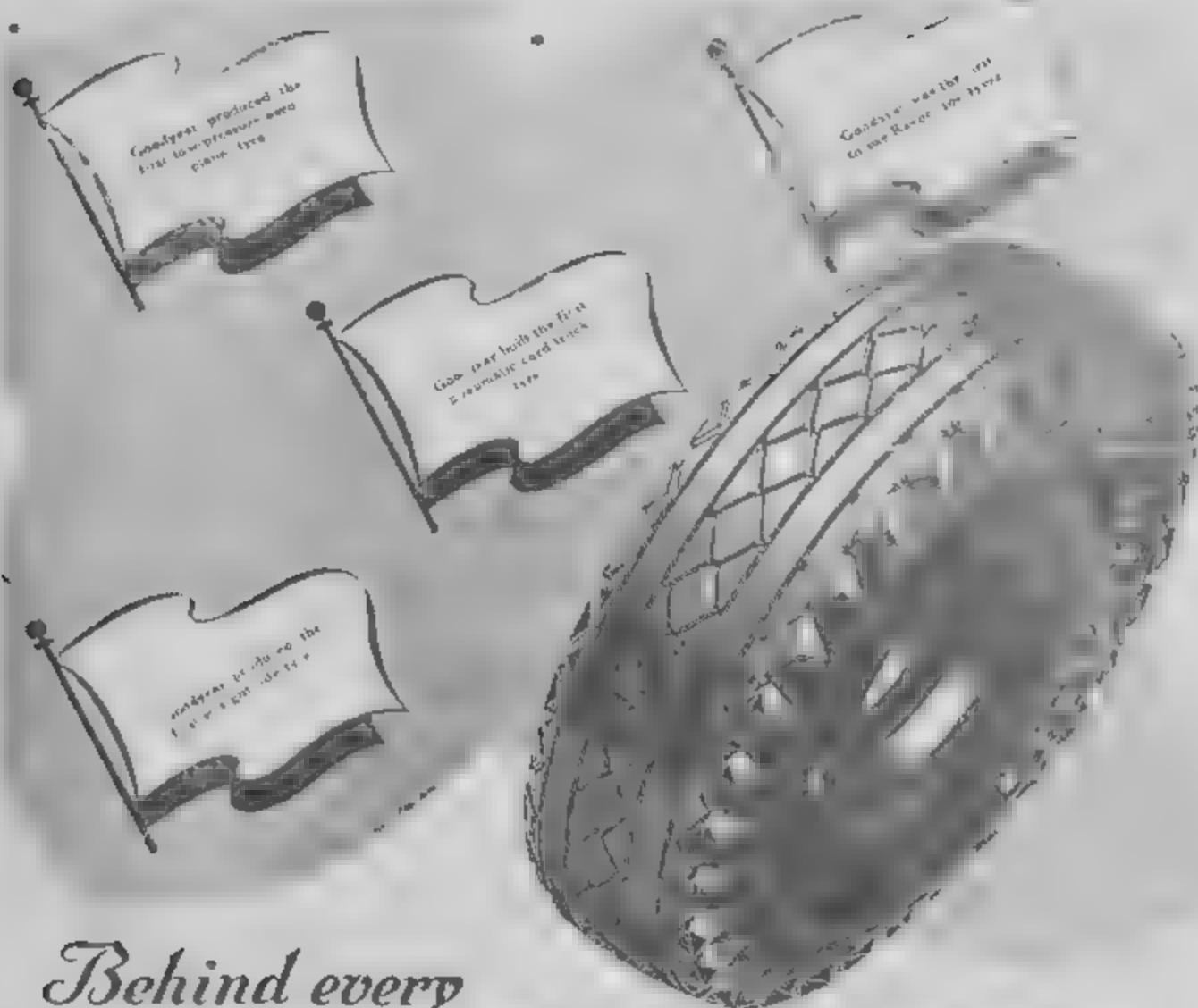
it is an offence to invite to violence."

Including to violence is, of course, an offence both in

the eyes of the Rhodesian Assembly Act of 1934. For

mainly aged there are so few people likely to be influenced by their exhortations that even authority will probably turn a deaf ear. Otherwise, apart from other unpleasant consequences that might be expected to result from the Amending Act of 1930 and banned a publication which it deemed "calculated to engender feelings of hostility between the

Union on the one hand and any other section of the inhabitants of the Union on the other." This salutary piece of legislation was steered through the Assembly 17 years ago by the then Minister of Justice—Mr. Pirow.



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INDIAN OPINION

Edited by
MAHATMA GANDHI
IN 1905

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Indian Opinion

FRIDAY, 20TH JUNE, 1947

Whither Oh, Moderates?

THE *Natal Daily News* Johannesburg correspondent writes:

While a considerable number of the Asians in Transvaal are in favour of the Government's proposal to amend the Natives Land and Trading Act, the majority of the Asians are actively engaged in the establishment of a separate Asiatic Council.

According to the information received from the Asians, the Government's proposal is not popular. The Asians are not in favour of the Government's proposal to amend the Natives Land and Trading Act. They are actively engaged in the establishment of a separate Asiatic Council.

The Moderates in the Asiatic Council are not in favour of the Government's proposal to amend the Natives Land and Trading Act. They are actively engaged in the establishment of a separate Asiatic Council.

The Transvaal Asiatic Council is not in favour of the Government's proposal to amend the Natives Land and Trading Act. They are actively engaged in the establishment of a separate Asiatic Council.

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A meeting of the Asiatic Council was held on the 15th of June, 1947. The meeting was attended by the representatives of the Asiatic Council and the Government. The meeting was held in the presence of the Government's representative.

Sir Syed Raza Ali, a former Agent General for India, who is now in South Africa, has been charged by the Government with the task of investigating the activities of the Asiatic Council. Sir Syed Raza Ali is a well-known leader of the Moderates in the Asiatic Council.

Sir Syed Raza Ali is a well-known leader of the Moderates in the Asiatic Council. He is a former Agent General for India, who is now in South Africa. He has been charged by the Government with the task of investigating the activities of the Asiatic Council.

It is a fact that the future of the Indian community in South Africa is a matter of great importance. The Government's proposal to amend the Natives Land and Trading Act is a matter of great importance. The Asians are not in favour of the Government's proposal to amend the Natives Land and Trading Act. They are actively engaged in the establishment of a separate Asiatic Council.

All that concerned the Asiatic Council is a matter of great importance. The Government's proposal to amend the Natives Land and Trading Act is a matter of great importance. The Asians are not in favour of the Government's proposal to amend the Natives Land and Trading Act. They are actively engaged in the establishment of a separate Asiatic Council.

We have given importance to both the above items of news publicised by the *Natal Daily News* to show what disservice the so-called "Moderates" in our community are doing by playing in the hands of our enemies. Besides doing incalculable harm to the cause and exhibiting the community, as though it were a pack of fools, they serve no purpose whatsoever, and for that we have to thank our "Moderate" friends. There is nothing startling in the first news item. Congress is not responsible for the acts of individuals. Black-legs there are in all communities. There were black-legs when Mahatma Gandhi was conducting the Passive Resistance movement in South Africa. What happened when the Transvaal Asiatic Land and Trading Act was passed? Did not prominent Congressmen then go by the back door to purchase land and co-operate with the Government in carrying out the provisions of the Act? It will be a sordid affair to recall all that happened then. Congress has condemned the Ghetto Act and has been consistently fighting against it and is pledged to fight till the end. If any individual goes

and act that policy Congress is not to blame. If such a person happens to be a responsible official of the Congress the latter co-operate with him constitutionally. No outsider has any right to interfere. If Congressmen and others are not in keeping with their facts they themselves are at fault not the cause for which they are fighting. If the "Moderates" have now decided to play the role of washing our dirty linen in the gaze of the European public it is most unfortunate. We would earnestly appeal to them to cease doing so for there will be no end to it and nobody will gain by it.

The second news item contains an unwarranted attack on Sir Syed Raza Ali by Mr. P. R. Pathe. The point at issue is not as to why Sir Raza Ali did not go to U.N.O.; nor is it as to how invaluable Mr. Raza Ali is to the Indian community at large and how valuable the Passive Resistance Council had been. The point at issue is whether it is wise or unwise to cause a split in the community at this juncture by forming a separate body, and on that, Sir Raza Ali's advice to the community is that it is wholly sound and Sir Raza Ali, with his experience as a High Commissioner for India in the Union, is quite competent to give that advice.

"There are people highly placed in India, who have more intimate knowledge of South African conditions who believe honestly and sincerely that the formation of the organization was inevitable," says Mr. Pathe. There is no better authority in this respect than Mahatma Gandhi and even he has said: "I have no doubt that those South African Indians who seek to create division will do harm to themselves as well as to the great cause of liberty for which the movement of Satyagraha has stood and must stand."

Jaundiced Eye



THIS is what the *Natal Daily News* has to say about the message of goodwill to Africans and Indians in Africa sent by Pandit Nehru through an East African representative, who attended the Asian Conference. We fail to see any exaggeration in what Pandit Nehru has said. He was referring not to South Africa but to the African people of the whole of Africa. Only he who wears the shoe knows where it pinches. Britain to this day will not admit that she has exploited India to the point of sucking her dry. Similarly have the African people been exploited and are being exploited to this day (if we were to take the instance of South Africa alone the case is quite

sufficient evidence of their plight, with the pass laws and the untold sufferings they have to undergo through them, malnutrition, lack of housing and educational facilities, starvation and squalor. Is this not their lot? Did not General Smuts only the other day condemn the compound system as inhuman? And yet will the "Trustees" persist in making it self-satisfaction that their wards are enjoying a happy lot? The time has surely

come when the "Trustees" should have a greater sense of their responsibilities and duties towards their wards and shake off the Imperialist air.

Pandit Nehru is a humanitarian inasmuch as he reflects no local or national aspirations to live up to and, indeed, every human being should aspire to live up to. But everything must look defective if looked at with a jaundiced eye as, evidently, our contemporary has done.

COURT GRANTS APPLICATION BY TRANSVAAL INDIANS

RESTRICTING ORDER ON S.A.I.C.

An application by the Transvaal Indian Congress for an order enjoining the holding of an executive committee meeting at the South African Indian Congress was granted by Mr. Justice van der Merwe in a considered judgment in the Supreme Court at Johannesburg.

The Trinidad Indian Com-
press, represented by Mr A
Sunderland, K. with him
Mr. J. C. L. L. L. L. L. L.
Mr. J. C. L. L. L. L. L.
Mr. J. C. L. L. L. L. L.

Congress, the Natal Indian Congress, Mr. A. J. J. J. in his personal capacity and also as president of the S. A. Indian Congress, and Messrs. M. D. Burman and C. C. Palman in their personal

Mr. J. H. Bloomberg, manager of the Capital and Coast Line, appeared for the Capital and Coast Line and Mr. J. H. Bloomberg and Mr. D. B. Johnson (contracted by Bloomberg, Angel and Co.) for the New York, Barmen and

The Natal Indian Congress,
[redacted] [redacted]
[redacted] [redacted] was
[redacted]

The Court's order read that the Cape Indian Congress and Messrs. Ismail, Burman's and Pannasa were restrained from holding any meeting of the executive of the S.A. Indian Congress which the duly-authorized delegates of the Transvaal Indian Congress were allowed to attend.

The Cape Indian Congress and
Massachusetts, Indiana and
Pennsylvania were ordered to pay
the costs of the proceedings.

It was stated in the Transvaal Indian Congress petition that a working committee and officials were elected on December 16, 1945, but it was subsequently decided to elect a new committee and officials, which was

done at a mass meeting on
October 30, 1948.

Later the validity of the meeting on October 20 was challenged by the joint hon. secretaries of the S.A. Indian Congress, and Mr. Ismail declared the election illegal and void. They refused to recognise the officials elected to represent the Transvaal Indian Congress on the executive of the S.A. Indian Congress, and it was their intention to exclude the Transvaal delegates from attending an executive meeting arranged for May 31.

Mr. Acting Justice Kerbin said it was his intention to have a meeting of the South African Indian Congress was ever held to discuss the position which arose following the election of new representatives for the Transvaal Congress, and that it was the personal acts of Messrs. JAMES HARRISON and TALBOT which rendered the court proceedings necessary.

The general body of the Transvaal Congress had the right to remove their committee and elect new members.

It was clear that the Indian community considered the times critical and engaged in agitation against the then projected Asianic legislation. It was against that background that one had to view the events in the Transvaal.

That the committee elected in 1946 elected in position of all their individual resignations were involved in 1946 was shown by the complete absence of action of any kind by those concerned.

An appeal has been noted against the above judgment.

GANDHIJI BEGINS WRITING IN 'HARIJAN'

14 an article signed by him
Gandhiji writes in *Harjan*
dated June 8

Readers must have noticed that last week I started writing for *Harper's*. How long I shall be able to continue it, I do not know. God's will be done in this as in other things.

When I think of it, the circumstances under which I stopped writing for the *Harrison* have not altered. Pysralalji is far away from me and in my opinion is doing very important work in Norkhali. He is taking part in what I have called *Maha Yagna*, Parasuramji, the English typist, who had become used to the work, has gone to Ahmedabad of his own choice to help Jivanji. Kanu Gandhi was of much help, but he is also taking part in the *Maha Yagna* at Norkhali. Most of the other helpers are also unable to help under the stress of circumstances or other causes. To resume *Harrison* under these adverse conditions would be ordinarily considered madness. But what appears impractical from the ordinary standpoint is feasible under divine guidance. I believe I dance to the divine tune. If this is delusion, I treasure it.

Who is this Divinity? I would love to discuss the question, only not today.

The question that is foremost with us all, I discuss every evening after the prayer. The writing will come before the readers after seven days. This interval would be considered too long in connection with the pressing problem. Therefore, in these columns for the moment, I must confine myself to things of eternal value. One such is *Isidore's*. The world seems to be running after things of transitory value. It has no time for the other. And yet when one thinks a little deeper it becomes clear that it is the things eternal that count in the end.

What is *brahmacharya*? It is the way of life which leads us to Brahms (God). It includes full control over the process of reproduction. The control must be in thought, word and deed. If the thought is not under control, the other two are useless. The child is a sating in a dustman. He is the object in pure has the all purifying waters of the Ganges in his house." For one whose thought is under control, the other is mere child's play. The *brahmachari* of my conception will be healthy and will easily live long. He will not even suffer from so much as

a headache. Mental and physical work will not cause fatigue. He is ever bright, never slothful. Outward neatness will be an exact reflection of the inner. He will exhibit all the attributes of the steadfast one described in the *Gita*. It need cause no worry if not one person is met with answering the description.

Is it strange that one who is able completely to conserve and sublimates the vital fluid—which has the potentiality of creating human beings, should exhibit all the attributes described above? Who can measure the creative strength of such sublimation, one drop of which which has the potentiality of bringing into being a human life? Patanjali has described five disciplines. It is not possible to isolate any one of them and practise it, it may be pointed in the case of Truth, because it really includes the other four. And for this age the five have been expanded into sixteen. Acharya Vinoba has put them in the form of a Marathi verse: They are non-violence, truth, non-stealing, *brahmacharya*, non-possession, bread labour, control of the palate, fearlessness, equal regard for all religions, *swadeshi* and removal of untouchability.

All these can be derived from Truth. But life is complex. It is not possible to enunciate one grand principle and leave the rest to follow of itself. Even when we know a proposition, its corollaries have to be worked out.

It is well to bear in mind that disciplines are of equal importance. If one is broken all are. There seems to be a popular belief amongst us that breach of truth or non-violence is pardonable. Non-stealing and non-possession are rarely mentioned. We can hardly recognise the necessity of observing them. But a facious breach of *brahmacharya* excites wrath and worse. There must be something seriously wrong with a society in which values are exaggerated and underestimated. Moreover to use the word *brahmacharya* in a narrow sense is to detract from its value. Such deduction increases the difficulty of proper observance. When it is isolated even the elementary observance becomes difficult, if not impossible. Therefore it is essential that all the disciplines should be taken as one. This enables one to realise the full meaning and significance of *brahmacharya*.

ANNIVERSARY OF PASSIVE RESISTANCE

A MASS meeting to celebrate the first anniversary of the Passive Resistance launched against the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act, was held at Nicol's Square, Durban, on Friday, June 13. About two thousand people were present.

A radio commentary on how the struggle commenced and a vivid description of the proceedings at UNO, and the brilliant part played by Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit, were heard with keen interest.

Dr. G. M. Naicker gave an account of his tour of India and said "we had the full support of the whole of India in our struggle for human rights." He paid a high tribute to the gallant men and women who had sacrificed in the struggle and called upon the people to prepare for greater sacrifice until their goal was achieved.

Among the other speakers were Dr. Gossam, Messrs. Sorabjee Kuntumjee, A. I. Meer and Manilal Gandhi.

Certificates to all those who had suffered imprisonment were handed to the heads of all the various Action Committees to be distributed to the resisters.

A noteworthy event of the evening was that Mrs. Naicker, wife of Dr. G. M. Naicker, was to lead a batch of seventeen resisters to mark the first anniversary of the struggle. The announcement was greeted with loud applause.

It was also announced that similar meetings to celebrate the anniversary of the struggle were being held on the same day in Johannesburg, Capetown and Port Elizabeth and batches of resisters were expected from these places.

The batch of seven resisters, led by Mrs. G. M. Naicker, came before the Magistrate in the Durban Magistrate's Court on Saturday and were all sentenced to £3 or 10 days.

Mrs. Naicker wished to read her statement to the Court but the Magistrate refused to hear her unless she had anything to say in mitigation of the sentence to be passed on her.

N.I.C. Mayville Branch Meeting

The Mayville Branch of the Natal Indian Congress accorded a welcome reception to Dr. Naicker, on his return from

India at the Regent Theatre, Mayville, on June 15. There was a large gathering of local residents. Mr. Dulip Singh presiding over the meeting welcomed Dr. Naicker, and said that the Mayville Branch had contributed money and material towards the struggle and it was his proud privilege on behalf of the people of Mayville to declare their continuous support towards the struggle for human rights until success was achieved.

Mr. R. Bujala, an African joined in the welcome of Dr. Naicker. He stated the Passive

him by the leaders of India and delegates who attended the Asian Conference. He said he was convinced that in spite of internal difference amongst the Indian people in India one thing was clear—the whole of India was in full sympathy with the cause of S.A. Indians. He condemned the activities of the "Moderates" and said, "Our struggle must be intensified as an answer both to them and to General Smuts."

A resolution re-iterating its pledge and full support to continue the Passive Resistance struggle against the Ghetto Act under the leadership of the Natal and Transvaal Indian Congresses; calling upon the Indian people and other progressives to give full support to the struggle for freedom; condemning the elements in the Indian community

led by the leaders of India and delegates who attended the Asian Conference. He said he was convinced that in spite of internal difference amongst the Indian people in India one thing was clear—the whole of India was in full sympathy with the cause of S.A. Indians. He condemned the activities of the "Moderates" and said, "Our struggle must be intensified as an answer both to them and to General Smuts."

The following were elected to represent the Branch on headquarters working committee: Dr. R. M. Pathe, Messrs. (Imah) Gangai, G. G. Pathe, M. Rajah, Dhanpal Naidoo, N. Vasan, Dr. G. H. M. Vawda, Mrs. D. Phurox.

The following, who are members of the headquarters committee, are also members of the branch working committee—Messrs. R. M. Naidoo, S. M. Mayet, N. S. Devaki and Mrs. M. Naicker.

Amongst other decisions taken by the committee it was decided to form a Passive Resistance Council Action Committee for the Greyville area. The executive was instructed to investigate the housing, educational and other facilities available for Indians in the Greyville area and to report to the committee with recommendations.



Group of Passive Resisters led by Mrs. G. M. Naicker, wife of Dr. Naicker who went to prison last Saturday. Mrs. Naicker is seen first on the right hand. Next to her is Mrs. Ramavtar and the third is Mrs. Pathe.

Resistance struggle had awakened the slumbering Africans and had made them militant in their struggle against discrimination meted out to them. The results of their awakening were to be noticed in the adjournment of the N.R.C. and the very recent decision to boycott all elections conferred upon the African people under the African Representation Act of 1936.

Dr. Naicker thanked the Branch for the very fine reception and for the cheque of £25 presented towards the movement. He briefly outlined his tour and the messages given to

who were splitting the cause of unity and progress by forming rival organisations such as the N.I.C. and calling upon the Union Government to implement the UN decision in the best interest of this country and world peace was passed unanimously.

N.I.C. Greyville Branch

The first committee meeting of the newly formed Greyville Branch of the Natal Indian Congress was held on Sunday, June 15. An executive committee consisting of the following was elected:—Dr. R. M. Pathe (chairman), Messrs. (Imah) Gan-

BAZAAR FOR RESISTANCE FUNDS

THE Bellair Women's Action Committee is busy organising a bazaar for the sale of goods. The gross proceeds of the Bazaar will be handed over to the Passive Resistance Council. Members of the Committee are at present collecting goods for sale at the Bazaar and appeal to the Indian community and well-wishers to give liberally when collecting cash. The Bazaar will be held at Reception Office, 151 Constance Road, Bellair.

At the "Freedom Fair" the Bellair Women's Action Committee in co-operation with the Bellair Passive Resistance Action Committee organised the Bellair Bazaar and raised an amount of £17 for resistance funds.

Certificates of honour will be presented to the resisters who courted imprisonment from Sea View, B-1 and District on the 5th July 1947 at Bellair, after a meeting. Dr. Naicker has been asked to make the presentation on behalf of the Natal Indian Congress. Resisters from the Natal and Transvaal Congresses.

THE TEMPLE OF CONCORD

IN this period of history when religion is the cause of strife and slaughter, and every one forgetting his real nature gets his lions to kill all others who differ from his professions it looks odd to talk of the unifying force of love. It is a little true to say that love and concord are akin to human nature, then hatred and discord. Religious dissension and racial rivalries, however strong the forces may be today, are after all only a passing show, and the human instincts of love will assert itself in the end. For, however exciting it may be, no human thing can last long, and by their very nature all exciting passions have to die out before long.

Religion thus always unites the various sects of people. The communal riots and suspicion are never due to any religious zeal but due to error in our fanaticism. The name of religion means to unite, and the moral force sanctifying it is 'selflessness.' 'The religions of the world,' writes M. Hafis Syed in the *Kalyana Kalpataru*, 'aim at purifying the human heart and bringing it nearer to God; but people in their indifference, do not study their own faiths. This is why they act against them. I can say, there is no religion in the world which has preached against the brotherhood of man.'

The common bond of man has a deep spiritual basis. Its practical realisation constitutes the first and best words on the paths of spiritual enlightenment. We may go to any highly advanced man of any faith or creed and we shall find him tolerant, loving, and saturated with sympathy and goodwill for all. Brotherhood for all is a *sure way* of spiritual development according to both ancient and modern mystics. All religions without any exception believe in the fatherhood of God as the creator and source of all beings. If that be so the only logical conclusion that we can draw from this faith is that all men are equal in the sight of God. As Sri Krishna says, 'The same am I to all beings, there is none hateful to Me nor dear, they who worship Me with devotion are to Me and I am in them.'

In the sixth chapter of the *Bhagavata* we read 'He who regards impartially lovers, friends, and foes—stronger, neutral, foreigners and relatives—also the righteous and the unrighteous, he excelleth.'

In the *Afanasmita* we read the following: 'He who befriendeds his creatures, his name is God.'

man. He who thus seeth the Self in all beings by his own self, realises the equality of all, an attainment to the supreme state of Brahman.

Again in the *Jaha Upanishad* we read, 'He who seeth all beings in the Self and the Self in all beings—he hath no rival.'

The same principles of equality and love permeate the teachings of the Prophet Mohammed.

The Holy Koran teaches: 'O you who believe, let not one people or nation scorn or laugh at another people or nation, per chance, they may be better than the scoffers.'

'Who is the most favoured of God? He from whom the greatest good cometh to His creatures.' 'The best of men is he from whom good accrueh to humanity. All God's creatures are his family and he is the most beloved of God who trieth to do most good to God's creatures.'

NATIONALIST POLICY OUTLINED

THE National Party has published a pamphlet in English under the title, 'The Road To a New South Africa,' which has been distributed to English speaking South Africans.

'The road to a new South Africa' pledges the Nationalist Party to a republic separated from the British Crown, to be established only by a special vote of the European voters and without racial and communal rights for both sections of the European population. It recognises only one way, the *national way*.

At the same time it aims at an efficient system of national defence against hostile attack. It does not say how this is to be achieved in isolation from the *commonwealth*.

The Party accepts 'Christian guardianship' over the non-European peoples. It declares itself to be in favour of territorial, political and where possible, industrial segregation. At the same time it acknowledges the importance of the non-Europeans as a valuable economic factor and as, therefore, entitled to the 'greatest possible *protection*'.

It *recognises* through the European races with the opportunity to develop themselves in their own areas in accordance with their natural genius and capacity, and to ensure for them a fair and just treatment in the administration of the country. But the *coloured* worker is at all times to be protected against

'Feed the hungry and visit the sick and free the captive if he be unjustly confined. Assist any person oppressed whether he be Muslim, or non-Muslim; God enjoins you to treat women well, for they are your mothers, daughters and aunts.'

'Remember ye are all brothers. All men are equal in the eyes of God. And your lives and your properties are all sacred; in no case should you attack each other's life and property. Today I trample under my feet all distinctions of caste, colour, and nationality. All men are sons of Adam and a lam was of dust.'

Thus the above quotations show that the underlying current in every religion is unification of Mankind and not vivisection. It is well that those leaders of today, who ask religious sanction for cutting each other's throat and that of their nation, remember this. They are all enemies of great Prophets masquerading as pious men. The sooner they are exposed the better for all mankind.

Prabuddha Bhattacharya

Industry are to be made "independent" by being bolstered by special credit facilities.

The agricultural programme includes plans for conserving water and saving the soil, settling landless farmers on their own holdings, and the institution of a 'much wider and more inclusive scientific survey with an eye to the proper division of the country into agricultural areas for promoting the right combinations of scientific and balanced agricultural enterprises.'

Farewell Receptions To Dr. N. P. Desai

A Tea Party in honour of Dr. N. P. Desai, who is sailing for India by the *Karagala*, was given by Mr. M. K. Lodhia, at the Kathiawad Hindu Boys' Hostel on Saturday June 14, an At Home was given by the officials and members of the Kathiawad Hindu Boys' Hostel on Monday and a public meeting of the *Desai* was held in his honour on Monday night.

Speeches eulogising the services rendered by Dr. Desai to the Bame, and to the Hindu Maha Sabha were made by various speakers. In appreciation of his services Dr. Desai was presented with a valuable fountain pen set and an illuminated address by the Kathiawad Hindu Boys' Hostel. Dr. Desai suitably thanked both the organisations. The function on Monday was presided over by Mr. J. J. Thacker and on Monday by Mr. Nathalal B. Davhani. The New India Orchestra entertained the gathering with music.

At a luncheon given by Mr. V. J. Thacker at his residence on Monday which was attended by about 100 guests, Mr. Thacker wished Dr. Desai a happy voyage and a speedy return and in memory of his late father donated the sum of Rs. 100 to the Kathiawad Hindu Boys' Hostel.

S.A. INDIAN WINS NUFFIELD FELLOWSHIP

DR. O. V. JOOMA, brother of Mr. I. V. M. Jooma, of 115 Prince Edward Street, Darhan, has been selected as one of the four doctors from India to be awarded the prized Nuffield Fellowship. Under the Fellowship, which is worth £200 a year for two years, Dr. Jooma will do research in surgery of the brain and nervous system in Britain, first at the Bristol University and later at Oxford.

Dr. Jooma matriculated at Sacred College in 1936, and then went to the Ospey Medical School. He completed the first three years of his medical course there, but when he came to do the clinical side he was unable to obtain suitable hospital facilities.

He was advised to complete his studies at one of the British medical schools. Instead, he left for India in 1940 and entered the Bombay University, where he passed his final M.B., B.S., in April, 1943, winning the university and college gold medal in surgery. He passed his M.S. and F.C.P.S. examinations in April last year.

Dr. Jooma has already left for Britain, where he will take his P.R.C.S. examination.

GANDHIJI'S HOPES SHATTERED

W Delhi at the end of last month some of his utterances reflected his oppressed feelings at the recent happenings in India. "Is the India as I see it shaping today, there is no place for me," he said. There was passion in his voice. "I have given up the hope of living 125 years," he continued. "I might not live a year or two. That is a different matter. But I have no wish to live if India is to be submerged in a deluge of violence as it is threatening to do. There is the Communist threat and they are talking of militarisation and industrialisation. India might become a first class military power and a highly industrialised country. But where is the place for village industries or *Khadi*, symbols of non-violence to such India."

In a letter to an old Ashramite he wrote: "I am in the midst of flames. Is it the kindness of God or His irony that the flames do not consume me?"

A European friend who spent a few days with him in India in 1935 wrote to Gandhiji from America: "I think of you in prayer while in that part of the world, where I am not very much at home. Peace would be a masterpiece of a man who has mastered himself. I see only the light of hope for our Western civilisation in your radiant and serene guidance and wisdom." In his reply Gandhiji wrote: "I am the same as when you saw me except that my inner light, if possible, brighter than before."

The Chinese Ambassador Dr. Lo Chia Luog went with Pandit Nehru to the Indian Parliament. "Do you think things will shape themselves? How do you predict the future?" he asked.

"I am an irrepressible optimist," replied Gandhiji. "We have believed all these years that we should become barbarians as we appear to be becoming, looking at all the barbarous violence in Bengal, Bihar and the Punjab. But I feel it is just an illusion that as we are throwing off the foreign yoke all the dirt and filth is coming to the surface. When the Ganges is in flood, the water is so muddy. The mud comes to the surface. When the flood subsides, you see the clear blue water which soothes the eye. That is what I hope for and live for. I do not want to see a new Indian humanity becoming barbarian."

"And who can predict the future?" he asked. "There is a book called 'The Future' by a Frenchman. It is a book about the 'future' of our past." He thought has perceived what

of our own destiny. We can mend or mangle the present and on that will depend the future."

The Chinese Ambassador was thoughtful. "History sometimes repeats itself, because we do not learn the lesson of history," he said. "It is only a half truth repeated Gandhiji. 'History may seem to be repeating itself today, I believe that nothing remains static. Human nature either goes up or goes down. Let us hope, in India, it is going up. Otherwise, there is nothing but deluge for India and probably for the whole world.'"

"India is becoming the laughing stock of the world," Gandhiji said in the course of one of his post-prayer speeches. "The world asks, where is your non-violence with which you have won independence? I have to hang down my head in shame. Will a free India present to the world a lesson of peace or of hatred and violence of which the world is already sick unto death?"

The learned ambassador conveyed to Gandhiji the deepest respect and affection of the Chinese people. Gandhiji valued their affection and said he would love to visit China which had so much in common with India. The ambassador began to talk of Chinese philosophy and quoted Lao-tse's maxim: "Production without possession, action without attachment, is the way of heaven."

He said: "The same thought is to be found in the *Jahpanishiki*."

Analogy Of The Mad Dog

Some one asked Gandhiji what could be done with a mad dog? His reply was that if the friend meant a mad dog, literally, he himself would say that in the first place a dog would not go mad amongst really god-fearing men. But supposing in the presence of men who considered themselves of God, they found a dog running amuck, they would naturally kill it rather than allow many of themselves to be bitten by a rabid dog and he sent to Kasauli for treatment as they used to before.

But what if a human being went mad? His own brother had gone mad. He (Gandhiji) was a small boy of ten at that time. But his mother and father did not have the mad son killed. They sent for *swidgas* and doctors and had him treated and cured.

"You are all my blood brothers whether you are Hindus or Muslims. Supposing you go mad and I have a battalion at my

command, would I have you shot? No, I would not like to be shot myself, if I went mad. My friend's son went mad. I had to send him to the lock-up but I would not have him shot."

The Sacred Trust Of Protecting Minorities

Another correspondent had written a letter saying that whenever the Viceroy invited leaders from the Interim Government for discussions, he invited the Hindus, the Muslims and the Sikhs. Were there no other communities in India? What about the Parsis, the Christians, Jews and others? They had been with the Congress. Were they to be suppressed by the vociferous elements? The Sikhs were a brave race. The Muslims had raised a hue and cry for years and so they were being consulted. Were the quiet citizens to have no voice in shaping the destiny of the country?

The question was relevant and important, said Gandhiji. If the Sikhs and the Hindus and the Muslims thought themselves to be the only people that mattered and the rights of the other communities were in any way less than their own, they would prove themselves utterly unworthy. The curses of the innocent would destroy them. Such a Government would never be Rome, Raj or the Kingdom of Heaven on Earth.

It was the duty of every citizen to treat the lowliest on a par with others. If some persons became mad, that was no justification for others to follow a mad dog. If anyone decided to live a mad dog, Gandhiji urged, come to the world, not even a combination of powerful nations, could thwart them.

CALL TO COURAGE

"N." writes in *Harizon* dated June 21: A Muslim lady met me on the train the other day. She was the wife of a high-placed military officer. She was sad and despondent over what was happening in the country. "My grandparents are Kashmiri Pandits," she said. "How can I be a different nation from them? Today passions are running high. No one can think clearly. The Muslims won't realise the absurdity of the demand for Pakistan till they have it. But I am sure within ten years they will be coming back to the Indian Union."

She was a sensitive, well-educated, cultured lady. Her male companion had got the

the guard of the train going to search of a doctor had called me to attend to the patient in the middle of the night. I stayed with her till the train stopped at the next station. There was a Parsi lady in their compartment. She started talking of the senseless arson and bloodshed going on in the country. "Here are we belonging to three different religions—perfect friends. Why cannot the same law apply to all?" she said. She was full of indignation. "Some of these leaders should be shot," she burst forth in anger. "To kill a man who is a friend of yours is a crime." She was a Parsi, a woman of the old type, a woman who had been stricken men and women and get them to kill each other. Tell me, has a single leader has been killed in these riots? We agreed with her. My own experience of the three months I spent in the riot-affected Noakhali was the same. The Muslim lady sighed and added, "I feel so utterly miserable. This country is literally going to the dogs. My children, when they grow up, will be utter misfits in this world full of hatred. In short it means 'shed sufficient blood and you can get anything'."

In Delhi I found some people talking of the same subject. "The Congress is now prepared to yield Pakistan," they said. "Why did not they do so a year ago? Is not it yielding to

"Moderate" Indian To See Leaders in India

'Mr. Z. V. Farekh, a leading Transvaal 'moderate,' left Capetown recently for India, where he will discuss the political situation of South African Indians with Indian political leaders.

Mr. G. Pathe, a Durban 'moderate,' told the *Natal Mercury* that Mr. Farekh was not an elected official delegate of the 'moderates,' but had taken on this responsibility as he was taking his family to India.

"According to Mr. Pathe, Pandit Nehru, Gandhiji, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and Mr. Jinnah are among the prominent Indians that Mr. Farekh goes to meet."

This piece of news is reproduced from the *Natal Mercury*, a newspaper who writes by the *Shirazi* from Durban for India, tells us that he has taken no such responsibility and that he does not belong to the 'moderate' group.

GANDHIJI'S FAITH IN NON-VIOLENCE

GANDHIJI gave the following answers to questions put to him by the United Press of America:

Q. Do you feel that India will ultimately be united under one Central Government regardless of what the immediate settlement may be?

A. The future will depend upon what we do in the present.

Q. Do you foresee the possibility of the world being united under one central governing body composed of representatives of the component parts?

A. That is the only condition on which the world can live.

Q. Do you think there is any possibility of an armed conflict between Russia and the United States?

A. Anything is possible, but it is highly improbable.

Q. What do you feel is the most acceptable solution to the Palestine problem?

A. Abandonment wholly by the Jews of terrorism and other forms of violence.

Q. Do you believe that Egypt and the Sudan should unite under one government when the British leaves?

A. I have no doubt that they ought to.

Q. As a result of your experiment during the past five months, do you feel that the principle of non-violence can yet be triumphant in the solution of the world's problems?

A. My five months in Noakhali have only confirmed my previous experience that non-violence can solve all our

problems. The late Mr. Rajen Chandra Adam was also honoured with that title.

Saraswati Educational Institute

At the annual general meeting of the Saraswati Educational Institute held in the institute hall on May 11, the following officials were elected: Trustees: Messrs. J. Reddy and G. S. Padayachee; president: Mr. P. S. Vaidyanar; vice-presidents: Messrs. G. Vasudevan, H. R. Naidu, B. S. Pillay, hon. secretary: Mr. R. Chandrasekhar, sec. secretary: Mr. G. E. Nalliah; council members: Messrs. S. M. Moondaly, V. Vaidyanar, V. Moon, D. S. Pillay, V. M. Pillay; treasurer: Mr. P. S. Vaidyanar.

SIR RAZA TELLS N.I.O.

SIR Syed Raza Ali, former Indian High Commissioner in South Africa, said that he considered the activities of the new Natal Indian Organisation to be suicidal.

The Government of India, he declared, would be ill-advised to send back to the Union the Indian High Commissioner since his withdrawal was on voluntary retirement and on the basis of the Government's offer.

He appealed to those connected with the Natal Indian Organisation not to spoil a strong case by collaborating with General Smuts as Marshal Pretoria had with Hitler.

Middelburg Indian Sporting Club

A correspondent from Middelburg (Transvaal) states:—A fare well reception was given by the Middelburg Indian Sporting Club at Mr. Jooma's Tea Lounge on Saturday, June 7, to Mr. Hajee Ismail Jooma and family, who were shortly leaving for India. There was a large gathering, including prominent Indians from the districts and Lydenburg. Mr. Chaudhry A. Jooma presided. Among the speakers were Messrs. Laila Gani, Gopal Keshoo, Mahomed Moonda, Anwar Pillailla, Premjee Morarjee, Mahomed Osman and others. The speakers expressed their appreciation to the Jooma family for the generous support they had given to the club and wished them a happy voyage. Mr. Hajee Ismail Jooma was garlanded and presented with gifts from the club and the local Muslim Jamat.

Light refreshments were served. Mr. Goolam Haseed and his orchestra entertained the gathering with music. Mr. Hajee Ismail Jooma thanked the club and declared a donation from him of £215 to be distributed as follows: £25 to the Middelburg Indian Sporting Club, £200 to the local Mosque and £10 to the Madrasah. The pleasant function terminated with loud cheers to the Jooma family.

All-India Congress Committee Accepts British Plan

BY 157 votes to 99, the All-India Congress Committee accepted the British plan for handing over power in India.

The debate lasted more than eight hours. Both Pandit Nehru and Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel Member for Home Affairs, told the committee that if there was no partition there would be complete Balkanization and anarchy.

There was no responsible authority in India to maintain order and the first concern would be to establish a stable Government which could ensure peace and progress.

The next urgent task would be to arrest the swing drift towards anarchy and chaos, and a strong central Government would be formed. It would be for a time at the stage to discuss the merits of Dominion status or independence.

The committee unanimously passed a resolution requesting the Government of India to declare itself independent and live in isolation from the rest of India.

Pandit Nehru said: "Any recognition of such independence by any foreign power will be considered an unfriendly act."

The reference to the North West Frontier Province to decide whether the province will join Hindustan or Pakistan is expected to be held in the first week of next month. The arrangements are nearly complete.

Thirty persons were killed and more than 200 injured when Muslim villagers attacked a village south of Delhi, razing 150 houses.

Villagers allege that police and soldiers helped the attackers by firing at defence pickets and setting fire to huts. Some of the attackers were killed by

Things In General

Twenty-six Resistors Go To Jail

TWENTY-SIX Indian and Coloured passive resistors from Johannesburg, 13 of whom were women, were sentenced to £3 or 30 days yesterday (Thursday) at the Durban Magistrate's Court, on a charge of trespassing on Durban Corporation land (the previous day).

Appointment Of Principal

Mr. Henry Sutherland (S.R.), Head of the East Coast Technical High and Trades School of the Witwatersrand Technical College, has been appointed First Principal of the M. L. Sultan Technical College. Mr. Sutherland, who for many years has been associated with Technical College work, particularly on the Rand, is a graduate in Engineering of the Victoria University of Manchester, and for some time has been associated with an engineering firm. He has had considerable experience in mechanical and electrical engineering and was actively engaged in Technical, Commercial, Mining and Building Subjects both at the Witbank and Hazyton branches of the Witwatersrand Technical College. Mr. Sutherland holds among others the National Engineering Diploma and the National Building Diploma. Mr. Sutherland has a distinguished war record and possesses various war decorations and medals including the O.B.E. He is a member of the East (and) Juvenile A.S.S.

Board and the Report Adult Education Committee

Mr. Sutherland is the Second Officer appointed on the full-time staff by the College authorities, the first full-time officer being Mr. J. Naidoo, B.A., who is the Secretary Registrar. The Principal hopes to assume duties early in October this year.

FOSA Care Committee At Dannhauser

A meeting of well attended representatives met at the Indian School Hall to hear a talk given by Mr. Nair of the Sydenham Branch of the FOSA. His talk resulted in the immediate formation of a Care Committee, being the first of the kind in Northern Natal. It was unanimously agreed that the committee will put up a hall at the FOSA Settlement in the name of Dannhauser. The following were elected: president: Mr. A. Gaffoor; vice-presidents: Messrs. R. Patek, G. Gopal and B. Goodeen; hon. secretary and record clerk: Mr. R. Bokoo; treasurer: Mr. George Edery; link correspondent: Mr. D. S. Mahara.

Title of Rajmantri

His Highness Shree Maharaja of Mysore, Maharaja of Pudukkottai, has bestowed the title of Rajmantri on Mr. Hajee Sulaiman Ebrahim, a prominent

— ધી જાપાન બજાર — બેઝાનીસબર્ગનું બજાર સાડી માટે



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ટીકીટના દર

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હિંદુ વીશી: પા. ૩-૮-૦. હિંદુ વીશી: રપેશીયલ પા. ૫-૦-૦.

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તથા કુટક લઈન કીફાયત કાવે મળી શકશે.
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INDIAN OPINION

MAHATMA GANDHI

No. 25 - Vol. XIV

FRIDAY

1947

Page 1

Indian Opinion

FRIDAY, 27th JUNE, 1947

Policy Of Divide And Rule

THE Union Government, with the aid of the European Press, with a few honourable exceptions, is pursuing a policy of dividing the forces of the non-Europeans in South Africa, and it is regrettable to have to say, it has achieved a certain amount of success in doing so. In the Indian community the Government had found a tool in Mr. A. I. Kamee and in the Coloured it has found Mr. George Gidding, chairman of the Cape Advisory Council. Among the Hindu community, happily, it has not yet found one who it can use as a tool to play its sinister game of divide and rule. These elements that are allowing themselves to be used as tools in the hands of our rulers, seem to forget that the cause for which all the non-Europeans are fighting in South Africa is a common cause of human rights—the right to live not as serfs, but as self-respecting human-beings. This can be fought successfully only if we stood united and spoke with one voice. This was necessary even if the Indians, the Coloureds and the Hindus were fighting separately. The object in making it a common struggle was because the cause was common. All these three communities can, if they wish, conduct their own struggle independently. Nobody denies them that

right. But surely there must be unity of purpose among their own ranks. There cannot be several voices speaking at the same time and on the same things, as Mr. Gidding seems to be doing in respect of his community and Mr. Kamee and his group are doing in respect of the Indian community. If we have eyes to see, ears to hear, and common sense to understand, it does not require very much effort to behold that what on the one hand every effort is being made to divide the South Africans into fragments, on the other, there is a great move to unite the whole of Europe to preserve European interests and the so-called European civilisation. Look how this very country is being flooded with European immigrants when the sons of the soil have no place to live. If this is not enough to open our eyes, and if we have no broader vision than to look to our own selfish interests, then as a community we are doomed to live as slaves. Let us not be mistaken into the belief that all is well with us because a few crumbs are thrown to us here and there. Indians in the Transvaal are perturbed over the refusal of licences in segregated areas and because action has been taken against some under the Asiatic Land

Tenure Act. Representations have been made on their behalf and the Administrator of the Transvaal has very graciously promised to look into the matter with a view to allaying their fears. These are however crumbs that will satisfy those who are after seeking crumbs. The fight is not for relief in segregated areas. That will readily be granted, with generosity exceeding all bounds if only we do not let the Government's policy of segregation. Our fight is for the cancellation of the Colour bar from the Constitution and whatever the work is in our community may do our struggle will continue unabated until our goal is achieved.

Voicing Our Own Sentiments

THE Natal Mercury is voicing our own sentiments when it says in its leading article of June 23, entitled 'Looking And Hoping': "It must surely be disappointing to those who took part in the last world struggle to see their hopes of a better order of things fading away as they observe, almost daily, evidence that the old vicious systems are likely to be perpetuated. It was too much to expect that improved relations between nations and classes would come overnight. The rotten roots of parasitic growths can be eradicated only by persistent attack and the determination to give more healthy and beneficial plants a chance to bear fruit. If only that were done in South Africa how happy

it would be. But goes on our contemporary to say, "Ever since the war ended the world has been fed with platitudes about the stern necessity of a change of heart and an entirely new approach to problems which hitherto have caused estrangements and... hopes raised by these great leaders were for a time satisfied by all kinds of conferences... of which of course was the United Nations Organisation. But what of a concrete nature has resulted from all this feverish discussion of hot air that has followed? The theorists have been busy with all sorts of plans, the politicians have advanced glib and empty promises of peace and justice, and the machines in different countries have been working overtime in the attempt to transform the social structure so that the world may be persuaded into thinking that the war... it all, however, the world has not yet seen a... more challenging the effort to build a world order more and more progressive than that which has proved so self-destructive in the past. One of the principal needs to correct the evils from which the whole world has suffered is a world economy that will not be motivated by selfish nationalism. The old parasitic systems must have operated so inequity between the "haves" and the "have-nots" have had their origin in greed—exploitation of the weak and... All these are unfortunately still the in South Africa and are to a large extent the cause of... the non-Europeans in ex-

clusion our contemporary very truly says:

The only safe course, if those clashes which lead to war are to be averted, is a steady adherence to those Christ-an principles based on the greatest good of the greatest number. Evidence of that spirit seems woefully lacking today, and what little there is of it appears smothered by the old narrow policy of concentrating on individual and national well-being to the exclusion of all else. No country can afford to point the finger of accusation or shame at another until it can claim to be impeccable itself. And what nation, however big and powerful, can make such

claim? Time enough has elapsed since the war for the nations to come to grips with such vital problems as the economic stability of the world and the united control of potentially devastating discoveries like atomic energy. But humanity in the mass, whose very existence depends on such things, is left to long and pray for some sign of international agreement which will ensure it an era of peaceful progress.

There is much food for thought in this for White South Africa in regard to their relations with the non-Europeans. But what is woefully lacking is the translation into practice what is preached.

CONGRESS REPRESENTATION TO MINISTER OF INTERIOR

THE following memoranda was submitted to the Minister of the Interior on June 24, 1947 by the Indian Congress, led by Mr. K. A. R. Rastogi and Mr. T. M. Chakrabarti, vice-president and joint secretary, respectively, of the T. I. C.

1. We, the undersigned, representatives of the Transvaal Indian Congress representing the Indian community of the Transvaal, desire to express our appreciation to you for granting us this interview.

A number of Indian traders and hawkers, out of whom whose rights have either been taken away as a result of refusal of licence, or are being threatened by prosecution in law courts have accompanied us here today.

We making this representation on behalf of those present and all other persons and their dependents whose livelihood is threatened, we respectfully beg to submit to you the following resolution passed by the requisite two-thirds majority at the United Nations Assembly on 8th December, 1946.

The General Assembly having taken note of the application made by the Government of India regarding the treatment of Indians in the Union of South Africa and having considered the

(1) States that, because of the treatment, friendly relations between the two member States have been impaired, and unless a satisfactory settlement is reached, these relations are likely to be further impaired;

(2) Is of the opinion that the treatment of the Indians in the

Union should be in conformity with the international obligations under the agreements concluded between the two Governments, and the relevant provisions of the Charter;

(3) Therefore requests the two Governments to report at the next session of the General Assembly the measures adopted to this effect.

We contend that in accordance with the terms of the above resolution all laws of the Union of South Africa based on colour or race discrimination are to be brought into conformity with the provisions of the United Nations Charter so that a satisfactory settlement could be reached between the Government of the Union of South Africa and the Government of India.

We furthermore submit that the present case arises either out of the operation of the Asiatic Land Tenure Act No. 35 of 1932, as amended, which clearly falls under the category of a discriminatory law or, under the Licensing Ordinance No. 30 of 1938, which is used administratively by local licensing authorities to discriminate against Indian applicants on racial grounds.

In view of the aforesaid international considerations, we request the Hon. the Minister to use his good offices with the authorities concerned so as to have the pending prosecutions against Indian traders withdrawn and to have the licences granted to those to whom they have been refused.

A similar deputation composed of representatives of the recently formed Natal Indian Congress together with

leaders of the Transvaal Indian community, met the Administrator of the Transvaal, General J. J. Pienaar. The Minister of the Interior, Senator Clarkson, was also present. Specific complaints were made with regard to Pretoria, where it was stated licences had been refused in Asiatic Bazaars in predominantly non-European areas.

The deputation asked that the licensing laws be revised on the lines of the clauses in the Cape Town Agreement of 1927 dealing with trading rights.

This clause of the Agreement suggested that the grounds on which a licence could be refused should be laid down by Statute, that the reasons for refusal should be recorded and that there should be a right of appeal in cases of first applications and transfers as well as in cases of renewals to the courts or some other impartial tribunal.

The Administrator, General Pienaar, subsequently met the Mayor of Pretoria, Mr. D. P. van Heerden, and a four-man deputation to discuss the issues raised by the Indian delegation. After the meeting Gen. Pienaar told a representative of the Star: "We are discussing the questions

of licences to arrive at a definite policy. The Pretoria City Council will go into the question now and I will meet their representatives again after they have discussed the matter."

He said there had been no specific complaints from any other area except Brakpan. However, the Pretoria policy would be dealt with first and then would be used, probably, as the basis of discussion with Brakpan.

Indian Attitude Towards Advisory Board

"Feeling ran so high against the Asiatic Land Tenure Advisory Board in 1946 that D. S. Vather withdrew his application to the Board for permission to occupy a property, 435 Pietermaritzburg Street, Maritzburg, and occupied it without the necessary permission of the Board, but now he has made another application to do so," states the *Natal Daily News* Maritzburg correspondent.

"Has the attitude of the Asiatic towards the Board changed?" said Mr. A. W. Cooke, K.O., the chairman.

"I think it has died down somewhat," replied Mr. Neville James, who appeared for Vather.

STALLARD SAYS INDIANS MUST BE REPATRIATED

THEY CANNOT ASSIMILATE WITH WHITES

COMPLETE disapproval of the House of Assembly was expressed by Colonel C. F. Stallard in the Maritzburg City Parliament last Monday. He said that the privilege of rule in the House of Assembly should be kept for the small but dominant White population of South Africa.

He contended that it was impossible to allow of assimilation of the Asiatic population with the White population and South Africa should tell the United Nations that this was their considered policy.

There had been a lack of definite policy in the past and it was time our Government stated its policy in connection with non-European representation. The Union should be frank and tell the United Nations that they did not believe in equal rights, in the House of Assembly, Col. Stallard said that unless administrative or legislative action was taken there would be a vast invasion of our African continent.

The Indians in East Africa were only an advance guard of what was to come unless the Union took a definite stand in this matter. Col. Stallard advocated representation for Indians and Africans in the Senate, but thought any other representation dangerous to the future of the country.

As much as he believed in

the representation of Asiatics, Col. Stallard also believed in limiting their numbers in the country. He said the original intention of the Cape Town Agreement was that the Indians should return to India.

He thought this policy should be adhered to now and rather than allow the introduction of new Indians, steps should be taken for the repatriation of Indians from this country.

He pointed out that in the last year 500 new Indians had been allowed into the country. They had been described as wives and children of Indians already in the country.

He thought they should be sent to join their families in India rather than allow their families to join them out here. He meant this without wishing to insult the Indians at all but simply to indicate that they were not assimilable with the White population here.

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON HUMAN RIGHTS NON-EUROPEAN UNITED FRONT OPPOSED

RACIAL DISCRIMINATION CONDEMNED

COLOUR discrimination in South Africa was strongly condemned by the International Conference on Human Rights called in London by the National Council for Civil Liberties, which concluded its four days successful deliberations on Monday, June 16.

At this Conference 25 countries were represented. The Indian League of Great Britain presented the Conference with a memorandum on Indians in South Africa, from which many points were embodied in the report of the commission on discrimination on grounds of race, religion, language or nationality.

The commission found that "It is undoubtedly a fact that peoples of colonial races suffer the greatest degree of discrimination. We find them deprived of fundamental political rights, even the right to vote and deprived of economic, educational and social opportunities. In South Africa racial discrimination is actually written into the law of the country.

"In territories inhabited by people of different races, there is a marked disproportion in educational facilities for children of Europeans and non-Europeans, and yet the withholding of the right to vote is justified precisely because the non-Europeans are considered insufficiently educated to be fit to vote. This view is rejected by the commission.

"The commission therefore recommends that the United Nations Organisation should prepare an international Bill of Rights, and that the Human Rights Commission should propose ways and means of putting these principles into practice.

"It is essential that every adult man and woman shall have the right to vote and to be elected established by law and guaranteed to practice regardless of race and religion, without property qualification or education or language test.

"There should be no laws which discriminate against any section whether directly or indirectly, because of race etc. Examples of such laws include the pass laws applying to Africans in South Africa, Kenya, Southern Rhodesia, and laws which prevent Indians in South Africa from moving freely between one area and another; laws which enforce segregation in any form, whether on African reserve land, any special quarters of cities or any public buildings or any vehicles; laws which deny to any group the right on

grounds of race to buy and occupy land; immigration laws which discriminate against particular groups on grounds of race or nationality.

The commission then made detailed recommendations for legislation against discrimination. The report continues: "It is essential that there should be compulsory education for every child, regardless of race or religion without any form of separation or segregation, and there should be no dissemination of discriminatory ideas, racialist or intolerance."

Other commissions dealt with anti-Semitism, sex discrimination and the freedom of the press. It was decided to forward copies of the resolutions to the United Nations, Unesco, and to the Governments concerned.

A public meeting was held after the Conference, at which Lord Farquhar presided. At this meeting several delegates instanced racial discrimination and denial of civil liberties in countries including South Africa.

INDIA POLICE SUGGESTED FOR N. RHODESIA

HE employment in the Northern Rhodesia Police of British officers from the Indian police now that they are available, is reported to have been suggested to the Cost of Living Commission at Livingstonia by a European witness. The witness supported the statement of several Native witnesses that the exploitation of Natives by Indian storekeepers was widespread. He pointed out that the police could do nothing as Indians are not compelled to keep accounts in the English language and many professed that they could not speak English when cross-examined. Natives decried that conditional sales and other practices are inherent in Indian trade. The reason they did not patronise European shops was "because they were not welcomed there."

THE Coloured people in South Africa are doomed if the next general election goes against the Government," said Mr. G. J. Golding, chairman of the Coloured Advisory Council and president of the Coloured People's National Union, when he spoke at a banquet in Durban on Saturday night (June 21) to welcome him to Natal.

Mr. Golding called on the Coloured people not to be swayed by the African People's Organisation into seeking quick redress for the wrongs and ills they suffered, but to have faith that these wrongs would be righted in good time. He quoted the organisation's contention that the only hope for Coloured people was an united front of all non-Europeans, and he appealed to the Coloured people to stand on their own and set their own house in order.

There had never been, he said, a more foolish suggestion than that put forward by the African People's Organisation that the only hope of the Coloured people lay in a union with Natives and Indians. The Natives had never asked the Coloured people to help them in their struggle for emancipation. They had their own leaders, their own representatives in Parliament, and their own tradition and way of life. They did not respect Coloured people very much, and did not want to know them.

"Why fight yourselves on

them? I am not anti-Native—I believe that some of the laws against them are an Christian but let them fight their own battle.

"I am not anti-Indian. My wife is an Indian. I decried the Asiatic Act because I felt it was my duty to do so, but when the Indians ask for more rights than the Coloured people have, I say 'No.' We are people of this country. We have no Mother India to appeal to, no Russia to turn to, no country but South Africa."

"The Indians are a nation and, like the Natives, they do not think very much of us. I do not say you must stand in the way of progress for the Indian people—I was branded anti-Indian because I submitted to the Cabinet that if any rights were to be granted to the Indians they should be granted to the Coloured people at the same time—but I may sweep your own house before you dwell in the troubles of other people.

"At my instigation General Smuts has declared that the Coloured people must be looked on as an appendage to the European race. We are a sub, not race. We can only regain our position by being reasonable and by building up our respect for each other and respect between ourselves and the Europeans."

INDIAN BLOOD DONORS WANTED

THE following is issued by the Secretary, Natal Indian Congress: The attention of Congress has been drawn to the critical situation existing at the only Indian hospital in Durban, the St. Aidan's Hospital, due to lack of blood donors amongst our community. We are sure that this is only due to lack of sufficient information on the subject as far as the general Indian public is concerned and once they are made aware of the value of this great humanitarian service a large number will willingly come forward.

Perhaps it is not generally known that a donor may be able to save a patient's life without himself suffering any loss or ill effect. The life of a blood-cell is only twenty-four to thirty-six hours, after which it goes to waste. If instead of allowing such blood to go to waste it could be utilized to save a human life there could be no greater humanitarian service. The volume of blood in circulation in a human body is only a small percentage of the total storage. There are organs in the body that store large quantities of blood which is thrown into circulation in emergencies and, therefore, when a donor gives his blood to a patient in urgent need his blood is quickly replaced.

We therefore appeal to members of the general Indian public to come forward as donors in the cause of suffering humanity. Would-be donors are requested to contact the doctor, St. Aidan's Hospital, Centenary Road, Durban.

At his prayer meeting on June 3, in New Delhi, Gandhiji said, no elected representative should be killed by the sword. That was not possible.

He earnestly with the members of the Congress.

Indian, to be true to the salt of India and eschew all dishonesty.

also to the public to renounce the great responsibility that free-

to rise to their full stature by clinging to truth and non-violence. Such action would

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GANDHIJI'S UTTERANCES ON THE PRESENT SITUATION

[From 'Harijan' dated June 15]

own homelands. As a matter of fact, however, India was the homeland of all who were born and bred in India. Would the Muslim homeland live in isolation? Was not the Punjab as much the homeland of the Hindus, the Sikhs, the Christians, the Jews and the Parsis who were of the Punjab?

Gandhiji could not blame the Viceroy for what happened. It was the act of Congress and the League. He (the Viceroy) had openly said that he wanted a United India but he was powerless in face of Congress acceptance, however reluctant, of the Muslim position.

Gandhiji had done his best to stand by the Cabinet Mission statement of May 16 but had failed. But what was and there in the face of the accepted fact? He was a servant of Congress because he was a servant of the country and he could never be disloyal to them. Gandhiji and the Viceroy had said that nothing had been imposed on anyone. The agreement that was embodied in the announcement being a voluntary act of the parties could be varied by them at any stage by mutual consent. He pleaded with the Muslim League, now that they had their way fulfilled, to relieve the Viceroy of the heavy task of being the middle man between the parties. He hoped that it was a final agreement between the parties. Therefore, all violence should stop. And Qaid-e-Azam Jinnah should invite Congress leaders for a discussion as to the best way of dealing with the future stages. Thus, for instance, there was no reason why they should not by mutual agreement define the boundaries of partitioned Punjab and Bengal.

Would Gandhiji Fast?

The feeling against the division of the country is strong. Gandhiji's speeches had revived the hopes that the evil might be averted. Many people asked and whether he would undertake a fast into deal with the decision of the Congress Working Committee accepting division of India. Had not he called Pakistan a sin in which he could not participate? Replying to this Gandhiji said that he could not fast at the dictation of anyone. Such fasts could not be lightly undertaken. They could conceivably be wholly undesirable. They could not be undertaken out of anger. Anger was a short madness. He

must, therefore, undertake the fast only when the still small voice within him called for it. He was a servant of the country and, therefore, of the Congress. Was he to fast because the Congress differed from his views? He had to be patient. There were occasions enough for being impatient. The Congress seemed to stand for projects of industrialism in which he saw no deliverance for the masses from their grinding poverty. He did not believe in man-made civilization as he did not in mill-made cloth. He did not believe in an army for the removal of the menace to the real freedom of the country. If he was to impatiently fast, in the symptoms he had described and others he could add, there were reasons

steadfast in the midst of the fire making round him and prove his faith in the ultimate triumph of truth.

There is a large section of the Hindus who have heaved a sigh of relief that at last they are rid of the Muslims and would be able to work out and develop the country without any bickerings. But there are others who are clearly that partition is no solution to the problem. Nearly four crores of the Muslims would remain in the Union of India about two crores of the Hindus will remain in the so-called Pakistan areas. They feel helpless and angry at the Congress decision and as such blame the Congress and Gandhiji. A sister wrote to him that he should retire to the jungle. It was he who had spoilt Jinnah Sahib and turned his head. He (Gandhiji) was responsible for the evil that the country was in. He said that he was wrong. Love or ohing was the most powerful magnet in the world. It never did any harm to anyone.

British Bone Fides

Addressing the prayer gathering on June 6 just after his return from the Viceroy's house Gandhiji said that they might ask him what he had brought from the Viceroy. He had brought nothing but he (the Viceroy) had nothing to give except his services if they were wanted. He had told him that his one object was to withdraw from India in the quickest manner possible, leaving behind peace and order throughout India. They had decided to go in June 1948. Now they would probably withdraw by August

1948 this year. Why had they decided to go? They were impressed by our non-violent struggle, India believed that British rule was an evil. Yet she did not try to kill the British. She simply tried to make them withdraw. Some arrangement was a necessity of the case.

There were several who still suspected the British bone fides. It was not they who were dividing India. Unity of rule they claimed as their greatest achievement. The division was the result of an agreement, however reluctant, between the Congress and the League.

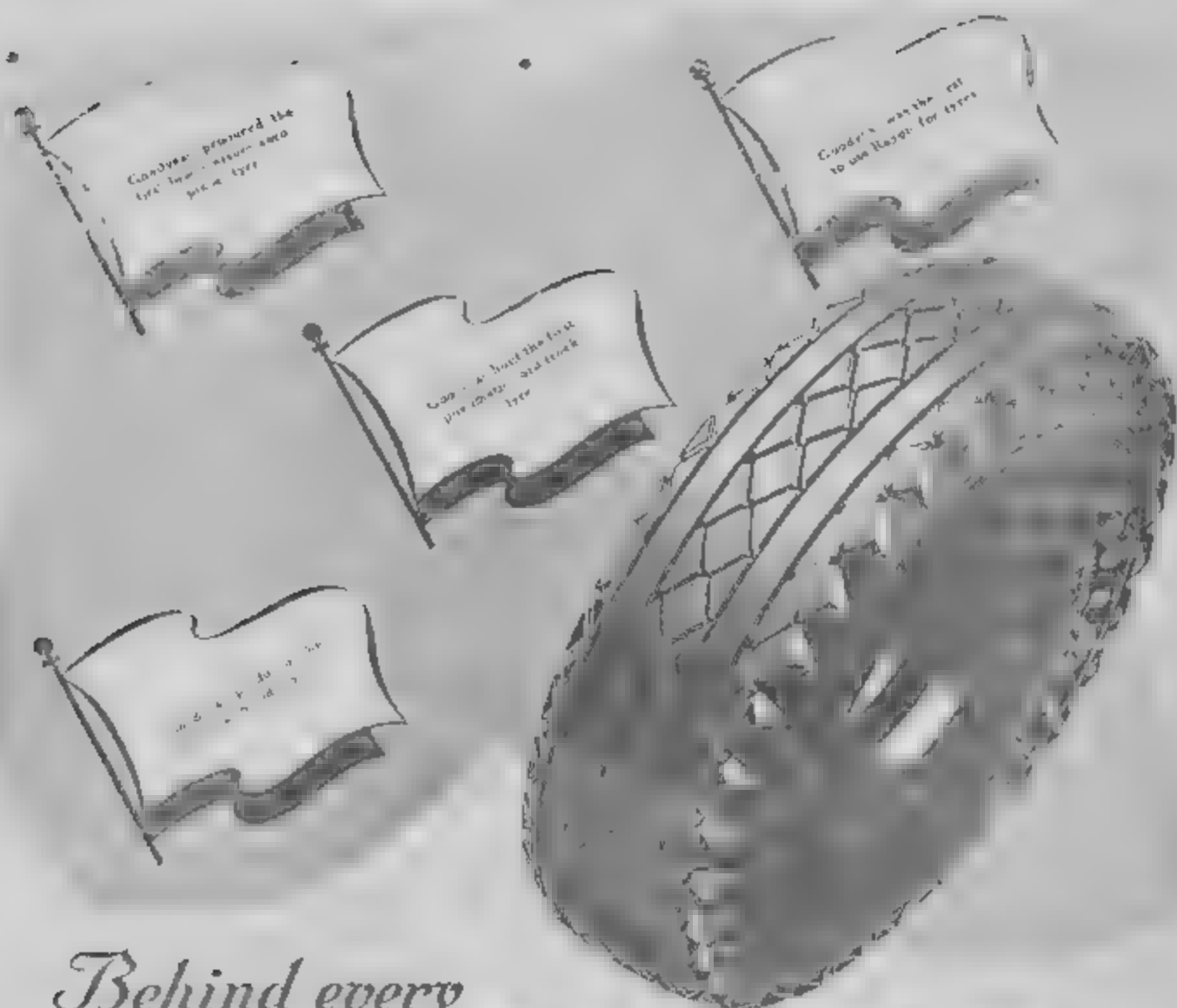
Brave people were not perturbed by mere suspicion. He himself believed that the Viceroy was sincere. If he proved to be a dupe, he would be the first, never the duped.

Now that the Qaid-e-Azam had got what he wanted, Gandhiji, it was up to him to give the world the shape of Pakistan and make it attractive in word and action. Was it not up to him to invite all non-Muslims and show them that they would be as well off in Pakistan as in the Union of the Provinces of India? He suggested the method of attraction the Pathan through reason and love.

What should happen was that the Union of India and Pakistan should vie with each other in the race of progress and development. If he were the President of the Muslim League, he would put Pakistan on the screen and make it attractive by its matchless beauty. In that case he (Gandhiji) would be the first one to admit his mistake and commend Pakistan to everybody. Will the Qaid-e-Azam do this?

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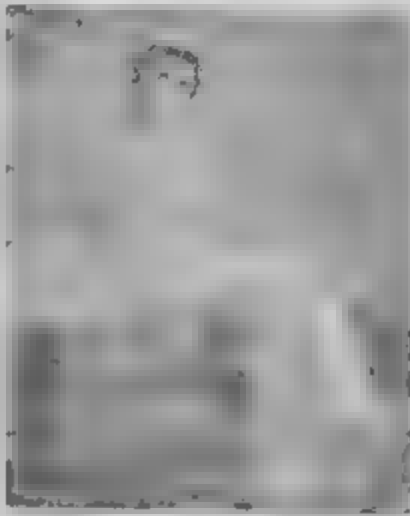


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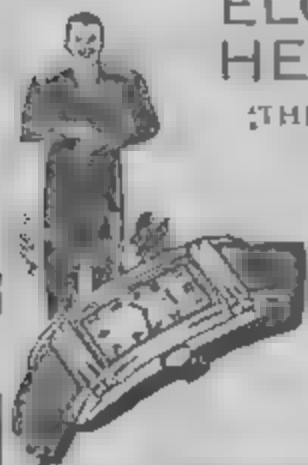
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INDIAN OPINION

MAHATMA GANDHI
No. 27

No. 27 V I XLV

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Indian Opinion

Vol. I, No. 27

The Bethal Chapter

THE Natives of South Africa and if we may say so, even the Europeans of South Africa, owe a deep debt of gratitude to the Rev. M. J. Scott for bringing to light the shocking conditions in which Natives are being made to work on some of the European farms in the Bethal district (Transvaal). Rev. Scott has truly carried out the mission of Christ. He will be fully rewarded by the blessings of the men who have been quietly shying under the lash of the tyrant. The European has to be grateful that a heinous crime against humanity has been exposed and an opportunity is afforded to wash the sins and to purify the human soul. The cleansing process, if done in a true spirit of repentance, will ultimately bring happiness to the individual, the society, the country and to the world. The shame is not in the crime being revealed. It is in attempting to hide it and to perpetuate it. A crime, however small, is, after all, a crime. To try to defend it, as is being done by some in the present case, is as bad as, if not worse than, committing it. There is no harm in magnifying a crime a hundredfold if there is a true desire to put an end to it. We are not at all

Minister has personally moved in the matter and that the Government have decided to take prompt and firm measures to stamp out an evil which is a disgrace to humanity and to civilisation.

And if farmers are enraged that this would detract from the value of the actions of a few, the Government are not to be deterred. Did they ever in the past? Were they not in constant touch with the farmers who had treated their labourers? Did they think it was none of their business to interfere in the matters of others? The reply to the first question is obvious and to the second yes and if the world were to be repaid in the affirmative we would say they were guilty of complicity in a crime which would be as serious as having committed it.

But why blame the farmers? We venture to suggest that the Government themselves have not tackled this question as seriously as they should have. The crime has been perpetrated for the last twenty years. With all the inspection by inspectors, the Magistrate and

Native Affairs Department it has required a Rev. Scott to get the Government moving in the matter. And

why have the Government moved? Not because it is an evil that they believe should be stamped out but because of the state of the good name of South Africa being jeopardised at the forthcoming international discussion. Truth will not remain hidden how ever much one may seek to bury it.

Since the Government have set foot in the matter to eradicate this evil, why not go to the root of it? Senator H. B. Smit, who is associating himself entirely with the discredited head of the Rev. M. J. Scott, deprecates the suggestion made that Bethal is worse than other parts of the Union. So why could not he say as exist at Wit-

Lydenburg, among many other parts. And among many other parts, now house 80,000 Africans at Moroka towns up under conditions equally as bad as those of any farming town says Senator Smit. It was reported the other day that the Durban Council had at secret a report on conditions existing in some Native institutions, for of repercussions it would have at the forthcoming session of the United Nations Organisation. And

all this secrecy? It is, in our humble opinion, entirely the wrong way to seek to preserve the fair name of South Africa. It can only be done by not hesitating to

Mr. Clarkson's Kindly Hint

Mr. Clarkson, who arrived in Durban last week to be Press representative and he had been pressed to read of

of the Asiatic Land Tenure

the House of Commons to the Board was being away. "It is an excellent year," said Mr. Clarkson, "and it is doing good work and paying the same well of the nation so that the Government of the Asiatic Land Tenure is making satisfactory progress."

We will interpret Mr. Clarkson's words as a kindly hint to us to wake up ourselves respecting men and women, because we are looking for bones and satisfied with bones.

WARNING BY DEPARTMENT OF NATIVE AFFAIRS

The Department of Native Affairs has issued a warning to the police, informants in the Bethal area that they will be prosecuted forthwith and without further warning if any of them are reported to have locked up, withheld wages from or otherwise ill-treated their Native labourers. The Department has been keeping the closest watch on the situation in the Bethal area for many years, and is able to report that the conditions recently disclosed apply to at least 30 farms, and are of a nature of which public opinion and Government are deeply concerned.

CLASH BETWEEN S.A. DELEGATES AT GENEVA

WHO AND WHERE IS GOD?

[By Mahatma Gandhi in 'Harijan' dated June 22]

FROM reports of the International Labour Organisation and others it appears that there was a clash of views between members of the official South African delegation to the South African Native question. The outbreak of opinion arose between Mr. A. J. van der Horst, Under-Secretary for Social Welfare, who is the leader of South Africa's delegation, and Mr. J. Vorster, a workers' delegate.

Speaking at the debate on the Director-General's report, in

Mr. van der Horst said that the conference was the machinery which would be set up to discuss the question of the South African Native question. He

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"after consultation with other workers' representatives," he is reported to have "changed his mind." He attended a committee meeting and after a brief debate was given an assurance that the International Labour Organisation mission, which is to visit South Africa in the near future, to study the problem of the migratory labour in Central and South Africa, would include, among its terms of reference, an investigation of the conditions of workers who are detained from trade union membership.

The names of members of the I.L.O. mission have not yet been announced, nor is it yet known when they will leave for South Africa. It is, however, in country they will be the guests of the South African Government.

Mr. Vorster maintains that the Government's decision represents unfair racial discrimination, and is contrary to the ideals of the I.L.O.

S.A. Stands Alone On Racial Issue

The debate by the South African delegation, which has already been pointed out, would, it is reported, have again focussed attention on the racial issue, which at this conference had already caused a split between the South African and other nations.

It is, in fact, one question on which South Africa seems to stand absolutely alone, and, both in committee meetings and in open session, Mr. van der Horst has had to reply to the question of the South African Government's policy on racial discrimination.

Just how isolated South Africa is on the racial issue will be shown when, at the meeting of the committee on racial discrimination, the following eleven comes up for acceptance: "Employers and workers, public or private, without distinction as to occupation, sex, colour, race, creed or nationality should have their individual right to establish organisations of their own choosing without previous

approval of the Government."

On this clause Mr. van der Horst is likely to be a minority of one.

I HAVE defined *brahmacharya* as the correct way of life which leads to *Brahma*, i.e. God. But what is the correct way of life? What is the correct way of life? I may know the answer, it would enable him to find the path that leads to Him.

God is not a person. To affirm that He descends to earth every now and again in the form of a human being is a partial truth which merely signifies that such a person lives near to God. Inasmuch as God is omnipresent, He dwells within every human being and all may, therefore, be said to be in contact with Him. In the *Ramaneeya*, where Krishna, etc. are called incarnations of God because we attribute divine qualities to them. In truth they are creations of man's imagination. Whether they actually lived or not does not affect the picture of them in man's mind. The *Ramaneeya* and Krishna of history often present difficult problems which have to be overcome by all manner of arguments.

The truth is that God is the force. He is the essence of life. He is pure and undiluted consciousness. He is eternal. As I feel, strongly enough, all are unable to derive either benefit from or shelter in the all-pervading living presence.

Electricity is a powerful force. Not all can benefit from it. It can only be produced by following certain laws. It is a life force. Man can utilise it if he labours hard enough to acquire the knowledge of its laws.

The living force which we call God can similarly be found if we know and follow His law leading to the discovery of Him in us. But it is self-evident that to find out God's law requires far harder labour. The law may, in a word, be termed *brahmacharya*. The straight way to cultivate *brahmacharya* is to follow the law of *brahmacharya*.

Can any man find the path of *brahmacharya* without the help of a guide? I have shown to him the royal path. No one need give undue importance to my own experience. Perhaps I am right in saying that the law of *Ramaneeya* was the only way to find Him in *Upanishads*. It was there that I asserted that the surest remedy for all our ills was *Ramaneeya*. He who can make this use of it can show powerful results with very little outside effort.

Following this line of thought I can say with conviction that the orthodox idea of *brahmacharya* has been reduced to insignificance by *Ramaneeya*, when this came to be understood in its true sense. The

and then only do we realise his transcendent beauty and power. In the vigilant search for this masterpiece and unfailing weapon we find that it is hard to differentiate between ends and means. Thus, the eleven rules of conduct are the means to enable us to reach God. Of the eleven rules Truth is the means and God called *Rama* is the end. Is it not equally true that *Ramaneeya* is the means and Truth is the end?

But let us revert to the original point. The accepted meaning of *brahmacharya* is the attainment by man of complete control over the sex organ. The golden rule is to attain that end to *Ramaneeya*. For proving the efficacy of *Ramaneeya* there are unobtainable rules. I dwell on them up to a point some months ago, but it will be worth while to recount them.

BROTHERHOOD THE BASIS OF UNION'S FUTURE

PROF. BOTHA ON RACE AND NATIONALISM

IN a talk in Afrikaans at the Pretoria Women's Club on the 1st of June, Prof. J. van der Horst, of the University of Pretoria, said that nationalism was a good thing if it was healthy, but fatal if it became extreme. In South Africa there was bound to be a multi-national State and the great differences were ones of colour.

The ideal of brotherhood of all men was the only basis on which they could hope to build a future. This was the only way to achieve unity of all people whether African or European.

He said that the only way to achieve unity was to have a common basis on which all could stand. This was the only way to achieve unity.

If they were to analyse the idea of the Afrikaners, the English or the American nation from the race point of view, they would become convinced of the non-existent possibility of talking about purity of race. There was no such thing as a pure race, except possibly among the

CONDITIONS WORSE THAN SLAVERY

NATIVE LABOURERS BRUTALLY TREATED BY WHITE FARMERS

REV MICHAEL SCOTT'S STRIKING DISCLOSURES

INSTANTLY have been made public to the public in the Eastern Transvaal, which have made the Rev. Michael Scott investigate the matter personally. The striking disclosures made by him are embodied in a memorandum he has issued to the Press.

The Magistrate of the district has been informed of the conditions disclosed in the memorandum. He has been informed that the conditions are so bad that the native labourers are being treated as slaves and are being driven to drive the boys in this manner."

The prosecutor, in the same case, said: "There have been many cases in the courts during the last five months in which farmers were convicted with assault on the person of their labourers. In the past, the courts have been told by lawyers that the labourers were being treated as slaves and were being driven to drive the boys in this manner."

The Rev. Michael Scott, a result of his journey to the Bethul district says that the white farmers have been using force to prevent the native labourers from leaving the farms. He says that the white farmers are using force to prevent the native labourers from leaving the farms. He says that the white farmers are using force to prevent the native labourers from leaving the farms.

Rev. Michael Scott's Findings

This what the Rev. Michael Scott has to say about his own findings:

First to be visited were the buildings situated outside the town of Bethul. This was the depot for receiving newly arrived recruits. They were made of brick and had concrete floors, holes in the windows with iron bars, and when a batch of recruits arrived they were kept there. There were no blankets or mattresses and a group of recruits questioned told us that these were not provided. Amongst this group which was being one of the recruits, I found a young boy named S. S. who said he had been in the name "S. S." and was clothed in a cotton shirt, shorts and was a very good looking boy. He told us he had been in the name "S. S." and was clothed in a cotton shirt, shorts and was a very good looking boy. He told us he had been in the name "S. S." and was clothed in a cotton shirt, shorts and was a very good looking boy.

When the recruits were taken to the farm, they were taken to the farm and were taken to the farm. They were taken to the farm and were taken to the farm. They were taken to the farm and were taken to the farm. They were taken to the farm and were taken to the farm.

to prohibit the meeting. As a result of this the attorney had to be called in. The attorney had to be called in. The attorney had to be called in. The attorney had to be called in. The attorney had to be called in.

At The Compound

When we went to the compound, we found that the native labourers were being treated as slaves and were being driven to drive the boys in this manner."

BEGAN 20 YEARS AGO

Told of treatment of the native worker in the Bethul area, and the exploitation of his labour began twenty years ago.

When the white farmers first came to the Bethul area, they found that the native labourers were being treated as slaves and were being driven to drive the boys in this manner."

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£3-3-0 from Nyasaland and that had to be refunded, the money did not count. Thus, if they were intending to return to Nyasaland it would cost another three pounds, leaving them at the end of nine months with only £6-0-0. One whom we saw at the depot bought a second hand overcoat

GOVERNMENT ACTION

THE Government it is stated, are going to take immediate action to clean up the unsatisfactory Native

where Natives are employed to have been brutally treated by their employers.

Following on lengthy discussions with the Minister of Justice, Mr. H. G. Lawrence, had with the Prime Minister on his return from Cape Town on Monday morning a further conference was held in the Prime Minister's Office on Tuesday afternoon.

Those who attended were Mr. Lawrence, Mr. A. E. M. Smith, Acting Secretary for

Police, Mr. F. Rodseth, Under-Secretary for Native Affairs, Mr. F. L. Lunge, Attorney-General, Dr. Clarke, of the Department of Health, and Mr. Wooler, the Magistrate of Bethal.

"The question of unsatisfactory Native labour conditions on some farms in the Bethal district has had the careful consideration of the Government."

"On the evidence available, summary inquiries the law officers have decided that immediate action is warranted. Such action will be taken forthwith by the Police and the Department of Native Affairs and it will be carried out on the spot under the supervision of the Ministry of Justice."

which cost him thirty five shillings. It was already frayed at the cuffs and pockets, the toes were sticking through the toe caps of his boots and he also needed a blanket and various necessities. But he dared not go back to his farm without money. He had boasted at all the times he would bring back at the end

he had been persuaded to sign the contract. He wanted to go to Johannesburg but had no money to travel, had no money to pay the poll tax and was told he might be put in prison or sent back to the farms.

While he was telling his story there was much nodding and the drawing "ah" with which the Santa expressed his sympathy.

After seeing another compound similar to the other two we returned to Bethal, and went straight to the house of the farmer. Here we were surprised to be told by the farmer's wife who opened the door that she thought she knew who we were, in fact her husband was out looking for us.

THE PRIME MINISTER ACTS

THE Prime Minister, General J. C. Smuts, has personally taken charge of co-ordinating the investigation into the unsatisfactory conditions under which Native labourers are said to be working on certain farms in the Bethal district (Transvaal).

The Department of Native Affairs and the Magistrate of Bethal have been instructed to submit a full report on the subject to the Prime Minister. The striking disclosures made after a visit to the area by the Rev. Michael Scott and the

slavery, are regarded by the Government as being of the utmost significance.

This view is taken particularly in view of the fact that Native living conditions in the Union will be discussed at the meeting of the General Assembly of U.N.O. in September.

A spokesman of the Department of Native Affairs told the Natal Mercury correspondent at Pretoria that these deplorable conditions apply to some 30 farms in the Bethal district and are in defiance of Government policy. The last remains, however, that ill-treatment of their Native labourers by a small clique of farmers in this district is likely to jeopardise the good name of South Africa in the forthcoming international discussions on human rights as well as high political grounds.

The Government are therefore giving priority to an immediate and intense investigation into the unsavoury affair.

She gave us coffee and said she would get in touch with him, and went into the next room to telephone. After a few minutes he burst into the room, and the writer explained that we had just come from his farm and thought he ought to know that some of his former labourers complained of being ill-treated. Although they respected him as their boss they wanted him to know how cruelly they were being treated.

"Before you say anymore" he replied, "let me tell you I don't want to know anything from you. The Inspector and the magistrate have been round my farm and they are perfectly satisfied. That's good enough for me, and it had better be good enough for you. I may as well inform you that I know who you are. I have just come now from making an appointment with the magistrate. I

told him my man has reported you going to my farm without my permission and I have told him I want to ask his advice what to do about it."

On being informed that many of his "boys" had come from Christian missions where they had been to school, and some of them learned to speak English, he replied that religion did not come into it. If his foremen brought religion into it by telling them they were not a "lot of Jesuses" that was the farmer's business. His job was to get the work out of them. And that was all he was concerned with too. He was only interested in getting the work out of them. And if he didn't get it,

"I mean was ploughing with a tractor" not far away and we asked him how he liked his work. He said he had previously been earning £2. 10. 0 a week as a driver near Johannesburg but was now getting only £2. 0. 0 a month. He was out working on a contract and wanted us to get him a job in Johannesburg. He said he had to start work before light and continue long after dark, very often ploughing with the aid of

BETHAL FARMERS FURLED

IT is understood that the majority of Bethal farmers welcome immediate Government action as they feel that the recent disclosures are a blot on the good name of the average farmer in the district in particular and the South African farming community as a whole. They feel that the acute shortage of farm labour will in no way be relieved if the impression got around that all farm labourers were treated in such a manner as has happened on some farms in the district.

The Bethal Agricultural Society at Bethal has decided to organise a mass meeting on July 30 to which the Rev. Michael Scott will be invited. Rev. Scott will be asked, it is understood, to put the case of the Native to the meeting while an official of the Department of Native Affairs will be asked to explain the position of the Government in respect of farm labour.

Mr. P. L. du Toit, secretary of the society, will give an explanation of how the Bethal farmers feel about the allegations made against some farmers of the district. The Magistrate of Bethal will also be invited to attend.

He said the contract "boys" were being very badly treated, and if we wanted to see for ourselves that he was speaking the truth, we should come there early in the morning, before light, and see how they were got up and driven off to work by the indunas. As we drove away we noticed that a white man had appeared, as if from nowhere, on horseback, and seemed to be interrogating the tractor driver about us.

In all seriousness the writer considers that slave conditions were preferable, and, from many considerations, more humane, than a system which ignores the fact that a man is a man."

so much the worse for them, and for anyone who interfered with them.

He finished by warning us to keep away from the place and said he was going to think out what he was going to do. The writer informed him that he must act in accordance with his own conscience, and reserved the right to himself to do so too, and there the matter for the time being was left.

The following morning we visited the place. It was a small, round, high wall, a yard identical with the quarters in the old Cape home. Again there were no blankets or furniture, only heaps of sackings where the "boys" obviously lay.

The two or three sick and injured told us that the others would not be back till after dark and that the boss had just gone out in his car. A well educated

Nat. M.P.C. Perturbed

Dr. Theo Wessels, Nationalist member of the Transvaal Provincial Council, perturbed by the reports of ill-treatment, said: "There should be a thorough investigation into the method of recruiting farm labour. I feel that ill-treatment, such as that revealed in a recent case in the Bethal Magistrate's Court, should not occur, and that the offenders fully deserved the penalties imposed on them."

SLUMS BREED REBELS, STATES MR WADLEY

TO clear up South Africa's slum problem, Mr. F. M. Wadley, chairman of the Natal Local Health Commission and the Native Housing Board, in an address to the Durban Slum Clearance Committee.

"If society has nothing better to offer these people than the barest existence under deplorable conditions, it must not be proud of its achievements."

"The only satisfactory improvement will be found until the economic conditions of the inhabitants are radically improved."

"The remedy is, of course, a sufficient wage. Since the great majority of these people are usefully employed it seems a strange feature of our economy that these labourers are not sufficiently rewarded to enable them to pay for their own simple needs to meet the common decencies of life."

It is perhaps not easy for us to appreciate the magnitude of the difficulties of a Native family in this era of high prices, but the Natal Local Health Commission investigations suggest very forcibly that the means of the great majority are quite inadequate to cover minimum requirements."

The Home-Arbeitsvereniging of Bethal, which supplies about 60 per cent. of the recruited labour in the district, at times reaching a total of 14,000 a year, announced on June 9:

"No labour will in future be supplied to any farmer found guilty of assaulting or in any way ill-treating any native labourer supplied by the Vereniging."

As far back as May, 1944, Mr. Justice Wessels, presiding in the Bethal Circuit Court at the trial of an Indian who was alleged to

have flogged a native farm labourer to death for trying to escape, said: "It is not so much the Indians who are to blame for the killing of the labourer as the system which subjected him, and those in his charge, to such conditions."

This case was followed only a few months later by another in which five Indians, charged with beating a native labourer to death, said in their defence that he was attempting to escape.

Anglican Synod Memorandum

Disturbed by these disclosures, the Diocesan Synod of the Anglican Church, after investigating conditions in the Bethal district, issued a memorandum in October, 1944, to the following effect:

"The contract labourers are shared out among the farmers in lots of ten or so according to the size of the farms. They

which may be available as labour (is fenced) and protected by by Slaves or Basuto for a few days they remain, and, except when they go to work, they are never let out unaccompanied by an Indian. Wages vary from 10/- a day for young boys to 16/- 3d. or 17/- 6d."

Contract labourers move only at the will of the employer, weekdays and Sundays alike. They cannot get to the magistrates unless they escape. It must be clear that the extension of the mixed compound system to the farms without any of the safeguards against exploitation of the labourer which magistrates, native commissioners and Government inspectors of mines so constantly provide is leading the country to the kind of exploitation of the labourer characteristic of the worst periods of the industrial revolution in Europe."



Dr. Mary Susan Malahlele, First African woman doctor who has just completed her medical course at the Witwatersrand University.

Things In General

Improved Living Conditions Will Decrease Crime

A statement made by the Mayor of Johannesburg, Mr. J. B. Wolmarans, at a public meeting held in the new shape Town Hall, Johannesburg, on July 1st, 1947, where 11,000 and 11,000, Crime with 502 in the old location. Mayor, "that

Labour Will Make No Pact With Nationalist

Mr. J. B. Wolmarans, Mayor of Johannesburg, at a public meeting held in the new shape Town Hall, Johannesburg, on July 1st, 1947, where 11,000 and 11,000, Crime with 502 in the old location. Mayor, "that

THE WAY TO A HAPPIER, MORE LIBERAL S.A.

IN the course of his presidential address to the meeting of the Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce, on 2nd week, Mr. J. B. Wolmarans said, big sections of the human population of the Union—representing assets worth far more than all the mineral resources—had for decades been degenerating and wasting away because of lack of food. "We have not to do away with narrowness of outlook, restrictionist mentality, brakes on production. Our ideas must be big, we must plan for peace. If we are to build a happier, more liberal South Africa," he said.

"The only real way to bring down the cost of living and to make life better for all was to give a greater opportunity to men and women of all creeds and colour."

"For the common good, all have to be prepared to put team work and willingness to make sacrifices before selfishness. What is wanted is team work: team work in industry, commerce and agriculture—in fact, in every economic activity throughout the country."

The first function of commerce and industry was to feed, house and clothe the masses. "When the so-called capitalists of industry and commerce take the entire responsibility for serving mankind as they take for the provision of their own family, then we shall really stand on the threshold of a new era," he said.

Mr. J. B. Wolmarans Joins Nationalist Party

Mr. J. B. Wolmarans, Mayor of Johannesburg, who has recently resigned from the United Party has now joined the Nationalist Party. He has given as the principal reason that he believes the United Party's colour policy is unsound.

A New Approach To Indo-European Relations

A new approach to Indo-European relations in South Africa made by the South African Institute of the Hans Roodhooft, when the regional conference of the Institute is held in the City Hall, Durban, on July 14 and 15. In the first session historical, economic, sociological and legal material will be presented by representatives of the various communities.

Frightful Condition Of Native Schools

At the conference of the South African Teachers' Association held in Cape Town on Thursday, July 3rd, a report was given that the new proposed scheme for native teachers compared unfavourably with wages paid to unskilled and semi-skilled workers. Speaking on this motion, Mr. J. B. Wolmarans, principal of the Hendrik Verwoerd High School at East London, said:

Attention must be drawn to the fact that the new proposed scheme for native teachers compared unfavourably with wages paid to unskilled and semi-skilled workers. Speaking on this motion, Mr. J. B. Wolmarans, principal of the Hendrik Verwoerd High School at East London, said:

NEWS IN BRIEF

A batch of five passive Kaffirs was sentenced to a term of six months in the Durban Prison.

Mr. M. B. Naik, a prominent leader of the Natal Indian Congress, is expected to leave for London on the 10th inst. to attend the annual conference of the Indian National Congress.

Mr. S. B. Meib accompanied by Mr. R. C. Patel, of Mysore, Ashabhai and Co., Johannesburg, Mr. M. D. Desai of Johannesburg and Mr. R. Poonia of Ladysburg (Cape) are among the passengers on the *Amra* due to arrive in Durban on or about July 10.

On the conclusion of the ceremony when congratulatory speeches were made.

Port Elizabeth Wedding

The General had was packed company on Sunday, June 22, when the daughter of Mr. M. B. Naik was married to Mr. M. B. Naik of Capetown. The ceremony was performed by Mr. R. C. Patel, a prominent leader of the Indian National Congress. The couple was showered with messages of congratulations from all parts of the country.

Wedding in India

The marriage of Mrs. Mani Manoharjee, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Manoharjee of Capetown, with Dr. Edalji, son of Dr. Dhanjishaw Anklesaria, took place at Ahmednagar, Bombay on Sunday, June 23. The wedding

Friday June 27 removed from the life of the Indian community of Durban a prominent figure. What being closely associated with social, religious and educational work among the Hindu section he took an active part in all public spheres of the Indian community. He was one of the founders of the Durban Hindu Association, the Bombay Presidency Hindu Association, the Durban Hindu Society and the Hindu Maha Sabha. He was a life member of these institutions and he was for



The Late Mr. M. B. Naik

many years an active member of the Natal Indian Congress. He was an Anand Bhawan by name of which there are a very few in South Africa. He held an esteemed position among his co-religionists to whom he was a guide and adviser in all matters. His loss will be keenly felt by all those who had known him and had worked with him. His remains were cremated at the Umanand Crematorium on Saturday morning in the presence of a large crowd representing all sections of the community. The late Mr. Naik was a bachelor and is survived by a nephew. May the soul of the departed rest in eternal peace.

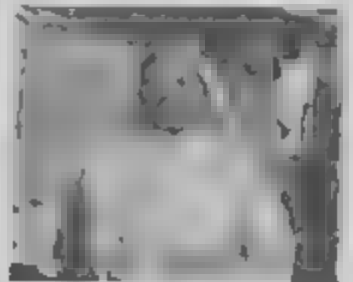
Thanks

Mr. D. P. Desai, who is one of the trustees in the estate of the late Mr. M. B. Naik, wishes to thank the many friends and well-wishers who have very kindly

sent expressions of sympathy and floral tributes on the sad occasion of the death of Mr. Naik.

Death Of Mrs. R. J. Lawton

The death of Mrs. Rajabai Lawton occurred on Tuesday, June 10, at her residence, North Street, Ashabhai and Co., Durban. She was born in



The Late Mrs. R. J. Lawton

her husband's parents, three days before the death of her husband. She was a great friend of the community and her death was a great loss. The funeral was held on Wednesday, June 11, at 10 o'clock in the forenoon at the Durban Crematorium in the presence of a large gathering of friends and relatives. The funeral was conducted by Mr. R. C. Patel, a prominent leader of the Indian National Congress.

PRESIDENT IRUMAN'S PLEA FOR UPLIFT OF NEGROES

An appeal for better treatment of Negroes in the United States was made by President Truman when he addressed the closing session of the annual conference of the American Negro College Fund for the Advancement of the Negro in the United States at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel in New York City on June 20. He said that the peoples of the war-torn countries might surrender "to the forces of the white man's domination."

"Our immediate task is to remove the last remnants of the barriers which stand between millions of our citizens and their rights," he said.

He said that the reason for discrimination because of race or colour, "Many of our people still suffer the indignity of insult, harrowing fear, of intimidation and the threat of physical injury and mob violence."

He said that these evils are the result of the failure of the conscience of our nation and the total depravity which exists. It has not yet secured to each citizen full freedom from fear. We must work as never before to cure these evils now.

Wedding in Capetown

The marriage of Mr. M. B. Naik, second son of Mr. and Mrs. M. B. Naik, and Miss Parva, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Motiram Ramchand of Capetown, took place on Sunday, June 23, at the B.A.H. & B. Institute Hall, Salt River, Capetown. The ceremony was performed by Mr. R. C. Patel, a prominent leader of the Indian National Congress. The couple was showered with messages of congratulations from all parts of the country. The wedding was attended by a large number of friends and relatives.

could were recipients of many messages of congratulations from their many friends in the Union.

The Late Mr. Hajee Habib

Mr. Hajee Habib, who died on June 26, in Pretoria at the age of 85, was buried in Pretoria on the same day. The funeral was attended by a very large crowd, people from throughout the Transvaal being present at the graveside to pay their last tribute. The late Mr. Hajee Habib leaves behind him a wife and two daughters and many grandchildren as well as many relatives and friends to mourn their loss.

Death Of Mr. M. Naik

On Tuesday, June 27, at the age of 65, of Mr. M. B. Naik, which took place at the St. Andrew's Indian Hospital on

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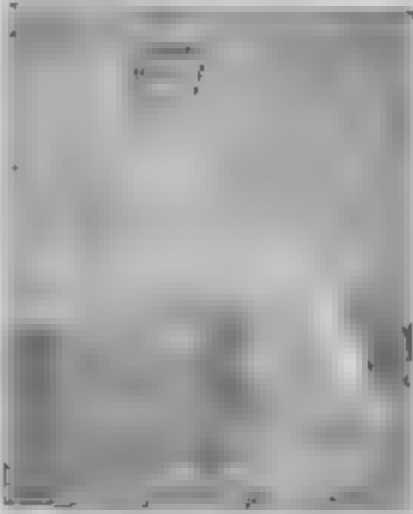
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3213, 3215, 3217, 3219, 3221, 3223, 3225, 3227, 3229, 3231, 3233, 3235, 3237, 3239, 3241, 3243, 3245, 3247, 3249, 3251, 3253, 3255, 3257, 3259, 3261, 3263, 3265, 3267, 3269, 3271, 3273, 3275, 3277, 3279, 3281, 3283, 3285, 3287, 3289, 3291, 3293, 3295, 3297, 3299, 3301, 3303, 3305, 3307, 3309, 3311, 3313, 3315, 3317, 3319, 3321, 3323, 3325, 3327, 3329, 3331, 3333, 3335, 3337, 3339, 3341, 3343, 3345, 3347, 3349, 3351, 3353, 3355, 3357, 3359, 3361, 3363, 3365, 3367, 3369, 3371, 3373, 3375, 3377, 3379, 3381, 3383, 3385, 3387, 3389, 3391, 3393, 3395, 3397, 3399, 3401, 3403, 3405, 3407, 3409, 3411, 3413, 3415, 3417, 3419, 3421, 3423, 3425, 3427, 3429, 3431, 3433, 3435, 3437, 3439, 3441, 3443, 3445, 3447, 3449, 3451, 3453, 3455, 3457, 3459, 3461, 3463, 3465, 3467, 3469, 3471, 3473, 3475, 3477, 3479, 3481, 3483, 3485, 3487, 3489, 3491, 3493, 3495, 3497, 3499, 3501, 3503, 3505, 3507, 3509, 3511, 3513, 3515, 3517, 3519, 3521, 3523, 3525, 3527, 3529, 3531, 3533, 3535, 3537, 3539, 3541, 3543, 3545, 3547, 3549, 3551, 3553, 3555, 3557, 3559, 3561, 3563, 3565, 3567, 3569, 3571, 3573, 3575, 3577, 3579, 3581, 3583, 3585, 3587, 3589, 3591, 3593, 3595, 3597, 35

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MAJATMA GANDHI
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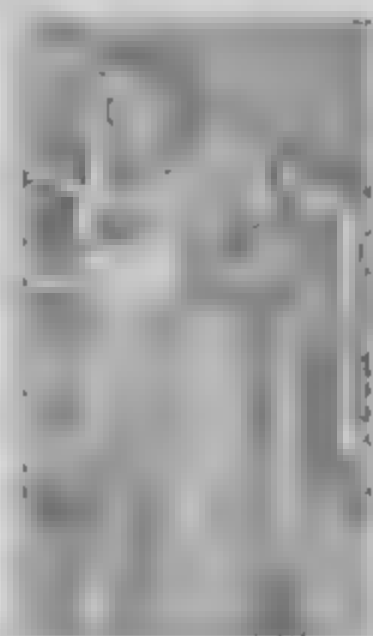
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IN 1903

No. 38 - Vol XLV

FRIDAY, 10TH JULY, 1947.

Price

Indian Opinion

FRIDAY, 11TH JULY, 1947.

Dr. Malherbe's Plan

DR. MALHERBE of the Natal University College, has drawn a very rosy picture of the proposed establishment of a non-European University College at Westworth. At this college, Dr. Malherbe says non-Europeans would have the same professors and the same examinations as those attending the European colleges. Dr. Malherbe has condemned the Nationalist Party plan for segregating non-European university education and asked it to stand on equal terms with American labelled "Nigger Universities" with "Nigger Degrees." That sort of a thing would be "a grave injustice and a great mistake," he maintained with a profession of sympathy. Dr. Malherbe further said that he expected the Indian community to build this University since he maintained that they had contributed next to nothing towards higher education for their own children. He visualised the time when Durban would have one of the largest medical schools for non-Europeans in the world.

The facts are that segregation in education is both in South Africa is an established

fact and the plan referred to by Dr. Malherbe merely seeks to extend it to where it had not existed or partially existed. We fail to discern the fine distinction drawn by Dr. Malherbe between the Nationalist Party plan for segregating university education and the Government plan revealed by him, beyond the fact that the former is frank and open while the latter is subtle and ambiguous but leading to the same place. Dr. Malherbe referred to institutions in America labelled "Nigger Universities" with "Nigger Degrees." Would that we were wrong in our conjecture that that was precisely what was aimed at in the present Government plan.

The Government have so hedged us by their segregation policy sanctioned by law that co-operation in the slightest degree on the part of the Indian community would amount to co-operating in implementing that policy. In the circumstances, while we attach the greatest importance to education and even at the duty of all parents to do everything in their power to provide it for their children, the present scheme, we must emphatically say

creates no enthusiasm in us to support it or to advise it to do so. A person with self respect and no learning is superior to a person with the highest learning in the world but no self respect. The University planned for non-Europeans by the Government is give us literally the nigger degree which is the badge of slavery.

The other point referred to by Dr. Malherbe about Indians owing contributed next to nothing towards higher education for their children was, in our opinion, rather ungenerous especially, coming as it did, from a responsible person, who is fully conversant with the position of non-European education. We will however, not discuss that point here since it has been dealt with in the statement of the Natal Indian Congress appearing elsewhere in this issue.

N. I. O.

IN SPITE of what the Natal Indian Organisation, with the backing of the Government and a section of the European Press, are posing as though they were representing the Indian community. They are thus acting unconstitutionally and undemocratically. It does not please us to have to refer to them repeatedly. We would not do so if they

went their own way and did not interfere in matters concerning the Indian community. The only right and proper course for them would be to enter the Congress and take the reins in their own hands or allow the Congress to carry their work without interference. It is learned that the Organisations indicated to the Mayor of Durban their willingness to co-operate with the Durban City Council in the provision of amenities for the Indians. Let them be warned that they are trading on dangerous grounds. The reason we have given in our leading article against co-operating with the Government in establishing European University are also applicable here. If they still choose to co-operate they do so not in the name of the community.

It is furthermore reported that on his arrival in Durban on July 15, the Prime Minister, General Smuts, will meet a deputation of Natal Indians. Senator C. F. Clarkson, the Minister of the Interior, Mr. D. E. Mitchell, the Administrator of Natal, Senator D. G. Shepstone and Mr. F. C. Wicks, M.P., will attend the meeting. This deputation is of the Natal Indian

Organisation, in the name of the Indian community.

It is necessary in the interests of the people of South Africa and of the outside world, that this should be made quite clear.

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE FOR NON-EUROPEANS

ALTHOUGH the intervention of the Natal University College has introduced 70 non-European students to the University of Natal, it is not a permanent solution. The University College, which will be an equal and consistent part of the independent Natal University, which is being established by the charter, is the only way to solve the problem.

The University of Natal was opened by Dr. E. G. Malherbe, Principal of Natal University College, when he opened the new University of Natal in Durban last year.

Dr. Malherbe asked the Indian community to give financial support to the Non-European College of the Natal University to be. At the college at Westworth, non-European students have the same examinations as those attending the European college.

The Nationalist Party plan for segregating non-European university education was roundly criticised by Dr. Malherbe. In answer, he said, he had even suggested a "University of the Future" with "Natives" and "Europeans" in the same building.

"It would be a great step forward."

The Nationalist plan was to have all non-Europeans out of N.U.C. and out of Cape Town and to make them into separate groups which would be joined together into a federal university for non-Europeans.

What we propose is an experiment and in proportion as we see a progress in Natal in our non-European colleges, we shall see off the very extreme step of the Government.

Dr. Malherbe said that since the war the number of Indian children in secondary schools has doubled. Now it is over 1,200. The number of Indians who want to secondary schools was rapidly increasing and was even more than the number of British children.

The number of these children in secondary schools upon the University would be great and had to be provided for in the future.

Today there were 330, most of whom were Indians. To day in the Union and in every 650 Indians was receiving higher education compared with only 3,000 in 1910.

When I was at college only one out of every 1,000 Euro-

peans went to college, and that was at a very long ago," he said. "I have achieved in a very short time more than the Europeans did in 250 years," he said.

"I am not going to ask the Europeans in Natal for any more money. Indian higher education has been almost a delivery paid for by Europeans. I have contributed a mere drop in the bucket."

Dr. Malherbe said he was prepared to name buildings in the non-European College after men who had given the money to build them. He was now asking the white-people Indians, and there were many of them, to help.

A large number of courses were now provided for non-Europeans and at the large graduation ceremony about 20 Indians had received degrees.

The first graduation at the new college would be the ceremony. This would lay the foundation stone for pre-medical courses. "I hope in the future that we will have one of the largest medical schools for non-Europeans in the world in Durban," he said.

"I do not intend to give anything inferior to non-Europeans," Dr. Malherbe said in conclusion.

Statement By N.I.C.

General Secretary of the Natal Indian Congress, Mr. A. J. Meer, has issued the following statement on Dr. E. G. Malherbe's reference to a Government plan for establishing a college at Westworth.

One would have expected that the academic sphere would be the last place where racial discrimination would stare us in the face. And yet, speaking to the Natal Indian Teachers' society on Monday, Dr. Malherbe, Principal Natal University College, has boldly come out with his scheme for a separate non-European College for Natal. He has in fact gone a step further and issued the challenge: "you ask for more and you get more."

We take up this challenge in all sincerity. For Dr. Malherbe to throw up such a challenge at a time when we are engaged in a struggle to secure equality is to attack the very principles for which we are waging our present struggle.

"What we propose is an experiment," says Dr. Malherbe. We say it is a dangerous experiment which involves segregation even in the academic sphere.

A University is the one place where students of the various groups which compose the South African nation could come together to study and understand one another's problems in a spirit of tolerance free from the prejudices of the petty politician and when Dr. Malherbe advocates complete segregation by means of a separate non-European College, he certainly is not helping in bringing about better race relations but is doing quite the reverse.

Dr. Malherbe's assertion that University education in Natal has been paid for almost exclusively by Europeans is not founded on facts. The truth is that the Natal University College, whether at Durban or Pietermaritzburg, caters exclusively for Europeans, and Indians cannot be expected to contribute to an institution which has closed its doors to them. It is true, however, that the N.U.C. provides part-time classes in a limited number of subjects for non-Europeans at Sate College but as the revenue at these classes far exceeds the expenditure the Indian community cannot be accused of not paying for University education.

The separate non-European colleges have only been accepted by us as a temporary arrangement and consistent demands and representations were made by students and the community for the throwing open of the doors to us of the N.U.C. proper.

It is poor consolation for Dr. Malherbe to assure us that the facilities provided at the proposed college will not be inferior to those provided for Europeans. Neither Dr. Malherbe nor anyone else can forecast what shape the future policy of the University of Natal will take once racial discrimination has been accepted as the starting point.

In spite of Dr. Malherbe's subtle attempt to discredit the Nationalist plan for a separate non-European University, we see hardly any difference between their plan and his. In fact Dr. Malherbe himself mentions the fact that if his experiment succeeds it will lead to establishing similar separate non-European Colleges at Witwatersrand and at Capetown. If this happens, then the doors of Wit and Capetown Universities would be closed to non-Europeans for ever in spite of what Dr. Malherbe has to say.

It is an open secret that the local Medical Council is most

keen that partly trained non-European medical men be turned out by the proposed non-European Medical College, to enter for the crying shortage of medical attention among the non-Europeans. Sooner or later the stigma of inferiority is bound to be attached to such a non-European institution, as has already been done in other spheres of non-European life.

We want non-Europeans to go to school and the Indian community in particular against falling into Dr. Malherbe's trap by not supporting a college which is a coated pill.

Dr. Malherbe's as well as the Nationalist proposals are repugnant to the spirit of a University and to the susceptibilities of the non-Europeans. The only proper course is to work for a University of Natal on similar lines to the Universities of the Witwatersrand and Cape Town.

A Federal Council Of Non-European Teachers Proposed

A non-European teachers' union has proposed to set up a federal council of non-European teachers, at a special meeting held in connection with the annual conference of the Natal Indian Congress.

Delegates from India, Coloured and Native teachers' unions were present.

They needed further information on the purpose of such a federation.

Such remarks as this led to a discussion of a Cape Town meeting to point out the suspicions of the Government which he dealt with other coloured races.

A member of the Natal Indian Teachers' Society claimed the Government had a plan which existed in various groups, and upon those groups he had made use of various Indian deals within the non-European groups who were prepared to collaborate with them to the detriment of the non-European.

The meeting agreed that the delegates must strive to bring about equality between

ECONOMY OF PAKISTAN AND HINDUSTAN

MR. G. D. BIRLA'S ANALYSIS

MR. G. D. BIRLA, Indian industrialist, in a pamphlet entitled "Basic Facts Relating to Hindustan and Pakistan," analyses the affairs of partition of the country, with particular reference to the country's economy. The pamphlet has been sent to Indian leaders. Mr. Birla gives the following facts on the basis of official statistics:

INDUSTRIAL LOCATION 1939-40

	HINDUSTAN	PAKISTAN
Cotton Mills	380	9
Jute Mills	108	Nil
Sugar Mills	256	10
Iron and Steel	18	Nil
Cement	18	3
Paper	16	Nil
Glass	77	2

ANALYSIS OF PRODUCTION AND ECONOMIC POSITION

Value of Production	Rs. 1000 Crores	Rs. 1000 Crores
Textile Yarn and Cloth	44.70	1.80
Machinery and Engineering Goods	2.14	0.15
Buildings and Miscellaneous Goods	7.84, 67.40	1.20
Distribution and communication	1.40, 54.472	0.10
Finance	0.10	0.05

Agriculture and Forestry

	HINDUSTAN	PAKISTAN
Raw Jute	9,83,519 acres	1,401,700 acres
Raw Cotton	13,770,000 "	1,030,000 "
Tea	441,248 "	90,647 "
Rice	17,999,000 tons	5,376,000 tons
Wheat	0.10	0.10
Raw Sugar	0.10	0.10
Groceries	2,274,000 "	Nil
Coal	2,50,72,102 "	1,98,478 tons
Petroleum	6,69,66,961 gals.	2,11,13,430 gals.
Chromite	5,194 tons	21,839 tons
Copper—Ore Mill	2,88,076 "	Nil
Iron Ore	14,31,701 "	Nil
Manganese Ore	760,341 "	Nil
Manganese	23,052 "	Nil
Mica	1,08,834 owt.	Nil

COMMUNICATION

Railways	25,370 mileage and capital investment Rs. 6,25,63 crores	14,542 mileage and capital investment Rs. 335,81 crores
Roads	246,005 miles	49,800 miles

Potential Water

Power	1,344,000 kilowatts	2,842,000 kilowatts
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The finances of Hindustan and Pakistan have been calculated as follows:

PROVINCIAL:—Hindustan: Revenue Rs. 145.38 lakhs and expenditure Rs. 112.27 lakhs—a surplus of Rs. 111 lakhs; Pakistan: Revenue Rs. 44.79 lakhs and expenditure Rs. 49.47 lakhs—a deficit of Rs. 406 lakhs; Central: Hindustan Revenue Rs. 277.21 lakhs and expenditure Rs. 349.18 lakhs, a deficit of Rs. 122.11 lakhs; Pakistan Revenue Rs. 84.95 lakhs and expenditure Rs. 116.39 lakhs, a deficit of Rs. 23.34 lakhs.

Provincial and Central revenues taken together, Hindustan is expected to have a deficit of Rs. 111,000 lakhs and Pakistan Rs. 380.2 lakhs.

The public expenditure in Pakistan, says Mr. Birla in a note, will be bigger on almost all counts, if the present level of administration and social services is to be at least maintained. Pakistan areas being frontier areas will have to bear a far larger defence expenditure than otherwise.

Pakistan will have two major ports—Karachi and Chittagong which handled a total of 2,411.00 of cargo tons in 1939-40, and Hindustan will have Bombay, Cochin, Madras, Visakhapatnam and Calcutta, which handled a total of 16,413,000 —A.P.

Things In General

Indian Attorney To Study Medicine

Mr. G. K. Maghrajh of the firm of Messrs. Ashwin Chaudhry and G. K. Maghrajh retired from the legal profession and left last Friday by the Dominion Monarch bound for the United Kingdom, where he intends joining a medical university. Two months ago Mr. Maghrajh obtained his Bachelor of Arts degree. He has had a brilliant academic and professional career and has been a popular personality in social, educational and sporting circles. During his absence from

many leading speakers of East London.

India Bill Now Before House Of Commons

The British Prime Minister Mr. Attlee, on July 4 introduced into the House of Commons the Indian Independence Bill, which provides for the setting up in India of the two independent Dominions of Pakistan and Hindustan. The second reading was set down for yesterday. A Special message from London says that two independent Dominions, known as India

DR. MALHERBE CRITICISES TEACHERS

TEACHERS in South Africa to-day placed too much emphasis on money, said Dr. Malherbe. When he joined the teaching profession with an M.A. degree, he said, he had started with a salary of £25. Now the same post had a salary of £900 and there were not enough men to fill the vacancies. The cost of living had not gone up four times.

He felt that teachers today did not have the idealism of the old Scottish dominies, who had been very respected though very poor.

Why had the teacher in South Africa to have a car to impress the public?

am not satisfied that an improved salary scales is the sole remedy for the shortage of teachers. I feel the trouble goes deeper," he said. Somehow teachers seemed to have lost their appeal. Somehow the title of teacher was suspect. He had noticed how young women teachers, when they went out to a party or to stay at some popular resort, were reluctant to let it be known that they were "schoolmarm."

When a school teacher had been found guilty of some misdemeanour the newspapers splashed it in the headlines with almost unconcealed glee. Could it be that news editors are giving expression to a sub-conscious desire to get even with their one-time oppressors?

The teacher's job needed dramatising in book and film, as the medical profession had been dramatised. If drudgery and routine were eliminated the profession could be made more attractive.

He was appalled by the poverty of teachers' reading matter, both in books and in periodical literature. "How can a schematise their life if they do not keep abreast of it through wide reading?"

this country, his friends and associates will watch with interest his career overseas and it is confidently expected that he will make a distinct mark in the realm of medicine.

East London Passive Resistance Council

A special meeting of the East London Indian Congress Passive Resistance Council was held on June 26 which was presided by Mr. C. A. N. He also condemned the actions taken by the Natal Indian Organisation and Mr. Ahmed Ismail, which view was supported by

and Pakistan, will come into existence on August 16 this year under the provisions of the Indian Independence Bill. The first meeting of the the territories which August 16 the will The Governor General of each Dominion will be appointed by the King unless the of either Dominion decides that the same person may be the Governor General of both Dominions. Full power to make laws will in each of the legislatures of the

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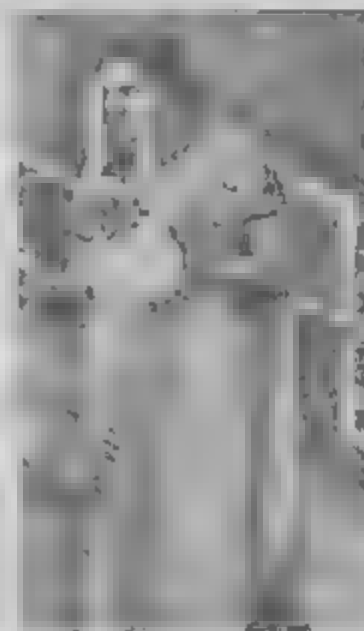
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INDIAN OPINION

MAHATMA GANDHI

No. 29 Vol. 211

FRIDAY, 18TH JULY, 1947.

Rs. 2/-

Indian Opinion

FRIDAY 18TH JULY, 1947

Race Relations Institute

AN outstanding event of the week was the regional conference of the South African Institute of Race Relations held in Durban. European, Indian and African intelligentsia met together and discussed various aspects of race relations as they affected South Africa. The political, social, educational and economic conditions of Indians and Africans were elaborately discussed and facts placed before the conference were indisputable since they had been collected by eminent University men after a deep study and research work. It would not be an exaggeration to say that everyone at the conference felt the conditions described, both in respect of Indians and Africans, as appalling. One speaker very rightly pointed out that those who had assembled there had already been converted to viewing the situation sympathetically but what was required was to acquaint the man in the street with it and to educate him so that he may be more thoughtful and more sensible in his judgment of men and things and not allow himself to be led away by emotion.

Duty Of The Press

That duty really devolves upon the Press and it grieves us deeply to have to state that if there is one institution in South Africa to-day which is really guilty

of stoking fires of hatred and fear whether consciously or unconsciously, it is the Press. The South African Press seems to be woefully ignorant of the great responsibility that lies on its shoulders of so guiding public opinion as to follow the path of sanity, which is the first essential for the preservation of world peace. For this reason it was felt by some at the conference that the public should be informed as fully as possible with what had transpired there. It was not enough they felt, that it remained with the select few who actually did not require to be taught to think and to act correctly. It was necessary for the Institute to keep the public properly informed and to give it proper guidance whenever required.

Fundamentals

Another point we would like to stress is that while all that was said and discussed at the conference was excellent it was a pity that so little emphasis was laid on fundamental issues such as the evils of segregation, Native Pass Laws and the differentiation of law based on race and colour, excepting by those who were victims of the pernicious system. Though some, it should be said to their credit, were emphatic in condemning these evils, we are painfully inclined to believe that some of those

at the helm in the Institute were somewhat wavering as to the feasibility of abolishing an evil that could not stand the test of any canon of justice or religion. It is sinful to seek to hush mankind with crumbs in order to preserve one's authority, which appears to be the present policy of the ruling race in South Africa in dealing with the non-Europeans. The Institute of Race Relations, we humbly feel, ought, by word and deed, discourage such mentality by unequivocally condemning it.

The Institute may and indeed should do everything in its power to afford relief to the oppressed races in regard to their material requirements but their main purpose should be to stand for fundamental human rights to be granted to all irrespective of their race or colour.

Passive Resistance

We come lastly to the use of Passive Resistance as a weapon for the redress of one's grievances. The Indian community has made use of that weapon in fighting against the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act. Though this was not particularly referred to in the discussions at the Conference we could not fail to see in some a hearty dislike for the movement. Firstly so far as eliciting information as to the principle and progress of that movement is concerned we think the Institute should have made it its business to acquaint itself with it. Hence while

committing to hold no brief for the Natal Indian Congress, who have protested against being excluded from the opportunity of presenting their case, we do believe it was not quite wise on the part of the Institute to have selected Mr. A. I. Rajee as the leader of the Natal Indian Organisation to present the Indian community's case. It might have been wiser on its part perhaps, to have saved itself from the charge of partisanship being levelled against it. Then to regard to the movement itself not any would the Institute have suffered no harm by taking note of the movement but, on the contrary, in our humble opinion, it would have redounded to its credit to take note of a movement such as this for the redress of one's ill. Is it not amazing that it should have failed to attract the followers of Christ, Who was the King of the movement? Surely a weapon that seeks to conquer hatred by love, evil by good, untruth by truth and the heart of the oppressor by self-imposed sufferings, is preferable to the modern weapons of warfare which destroy the human soul. We do not claim that those who are leading the movement have not their many shortcomings. But no person with the slightest intelligence can take exception to the method they have adopted as long as they do not violate the basic principle of non-retaliation. We admit that the language they use

is at times violent and we have not hesitated to criticize it for that in these columns. It must, however, be stated that their violent language bears no comparison with the violence of the *Organ of Passive Resistance* is the cleanest and the purest weapon that can safely and efficaciously be used in any society and we cannot resist the feeling that the Institute of Race Relations in holding to this it has betrayed its ignorance of the great principles on which Christianity was founded.

While humbly making these observations we wish it to be understood that we do so not with any feeling of ill will but with the greatest goodwill and with the fullest and grateful appreciation of the work the Institute is doing for the emancipation of the oppressed people.

General Sputs

GENERAL Smuts' speech in Johannesburg last Tuesday, before the Natal Head Committee of the United Party, is a warning to Indians that they are in for a long drawn struggle. "What Parliament had done would stand and nothing would alter it," said the Prime Minister. If this is so what good purpose was to be served by the presence of the High Commissioner of India in South Africa over which General Smuts was so insistent. And how the so-called "Moderates" in our community represented by the Natal Indian Organisation, could reconcile themselves with this firm and unambiguous attitude of the Government expressed by General Smuts, is beyond our comprehension. There was a time

when General Smuts declared that the days of segregation were over. He now says segregation has come to stay—but not for the White races. He wants to see a united block of South African Whites to stand up against the non-Whites. "When the two white races fought side by side," said General Smuts, "the one did not ask the other from which stock he had sprung. Co-operation had been the essence of success on the battlefields, and the same must apply now in peace time." The Coloured races at that time were told to stand shoulder to shoulder with the White races in fighting against Nazism. We were fighting, we were told, for human brotherhood. To-day the Coloured races have been pushed aside as inferior.

General Smuts tells the White race: 'It must also be remembered that the Coloured races had assisted in the war, and they in turn must be treated 'fairly' in peace time.' The interpretation of the term "fairly" is the prerogative of the White race. "We must aim at achieving the basic fundamental of justice for all," says General Smuts. What is that basic fundamental of justice? General Smuts quotes the examples of the British Government separating the Arabs from the Jews in Palestine, and of India which is divided into Pakistan and Hindustan. The British policy in Palestine is in question and so is it in India. These are by no means good examples to be emulated by enlightened people, if our aim is to work for world brotherhood. They are even to be shunned and eliminated from society. At any rate neither the example of Palestine nor that of India bears comparison

agon with the policy pursued by the Union Government. For in neither of the two countries mentioned by General Smuts is there the type of segregation that exists in South Africa. Even Hindus in Pakistan, for instance, are not given a lower status than the Muslims. The fact is that certain parts where Muslims predominate have chosen to remain out of the Indian Union and to identify themselves as "Pakistan." Everyone hopes for the time when India will be relieved of the interference of the foreign element and sanity will prevail and that India will once again be a united nation. The segregation policy of South Africa can only be compared with the treatment of untouchables by Caste Hindus in India—an admittedly pernicious social system, which is now on its last legs and which, at no time, has had legal sanction.

With a sense of pride General Smuts said "In Australia and America the aboriginals had been practically wiped out by White civilisation but in South Africa we have preserved the original Coloured races and would endeavour to live in harmony with them." South Africa has preserved the Coloured races not with any philanthropic motive but to be exploited by White South Africa. Past and present history tells us how it has been done and the future will tell us even more eloquently. What harmony there exists between the White and the Coloured races can be judged from recent events, such as the mine workers strike on the Rand, the

the Native Representative Council, the boycott of elections by the Africans etc, and the hush hush reports have got to tell their tale when they see the light of day.

It grieves us to have to cross swords with General Smuts, for whom personally we have the greatest regard. We do so, however, in the best of spirits. We seek nothing but justice. Our fight is for justice, but justice in the true sense of the term, not as interpreted by the Prime Minister. Nor would he expect us to accept such justice when he has chosen to reject what was prescribed by that august body—the United Nations.

GANDHI'S MESSAGE TO RESISTERS

MR. S. B. MEND who has just returned to the Union after spending eight months in India, had interesting views with Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, and Mr. Vachaspathi Patil, other prominent leaders who discussed with them the South African Indian question. Mr. Mend tells us that the whole of India cooperated in the case of Mr. A. T. K. and that the Government of India decided to fight the case of Mahatma Gandhi. He also said that the Government of India looked at with favour by the present Government of South Africa by the respect of the people of South Africa should be fought on national basis and that the other oppressed people who are in South Africa should be helped to fight the case.

GENERAL SMUTS ON ASIATIC ACT

THE Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act was the only way to ensure that Europeans and Indians would live in peace together, said the Prime Minister, General J. C. Smuts, when he addressed the Natal Head Committee of the United Party in Maritzburg on Tuesday.

What Parliament had done would stand and nothing would alter it, he declared. The same method was being employed to end the difficulties in India and Palestine. Yet South Africa had been condemned by U.N.O., which knew nothing of these things. All his life, said General Smuts, he had been busy with the Indian question. In 1907 he had piloted a Bill through the Transvaal Parliament to close the doors to Indian immigration.

Difficulties had arisen after Chinese labour was imported into South Africa and the Chinese were eventually deported.

"You can imagine what our position would have been today if in addition to the Indian question we had a Chinese question too," he added.

The Asiatic Act had been one of his most difficult tasks and the Union had not yet heard the first of it. But a step had been taken which, so far as was humanly possible, had saved the situation in Natal.

"If people can't live together then sort them out nicely," he said. "This is your place and that means please don't trespass." General Smuts smiled emphatically.

General Smuts said he had not acted in any spirit of revenge towards the Indians. "A South African must always be able to see that nothing but justice is done to them," he declared.

He said that the Government was determined to improve their living conditions and he would continue that work. He wanted Europeans and Indians each to have their place where they could live in peace.

South Africa had given the Indian people parliamentary representation which he considered the right thing.

The Nationalists had attacked him, alleging he was ruining the future of South Africa, saying he had taken a step which was only the beginning which, in the end, must lead to a black-ruled South Africa.

"Nothing of the kind," said the Prime Minister. "I have done my part of the job and the generations that follow must do theirs."

He saw a dangerous spirit growing up in the country he had done his best to represent. He was afraid not only of the European, but the Native. He wanted justice done for the Native. Unless it was done, South Africa would fall into the dreadful state of India.

JOINT COUNCIL'S DECISION ON NEW MOVE IN TRASVAAL

THE Joint Passive Resistance Council of the Transvaal and Natal Indian Congresses met in Johannesburg on Sunday, July 13, primarily to consider the new attempt of the Union Government to force the Indian people to submit to and accept the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act by prosecuting Indians already occupying properties in Heidelberg, Kerkdorp, Johannesburg and other centres, where under the Ghatto Act, Indians are prohibited from occupying their properties.

The Joint Council condemned the action of the Union Government in instituting these prosecutions especially in view of the duty cast upon the Union Government by the United Nations' decision. The Joint Council was of the opinion that steps should have been taken to implement the U.N. decision by suspending the operation of the Ghatto Act. The Joint Council, in view of this assault by the Union Government upon the fundamental liberties of the people, decided to resist these prosecutions and adopted plans to counter this offensive on the rights of Indian people to live in their own homes.

The Council called upon the Indian people to prepare for a new phase of the struggle which is about to commence in the Transvaal. The Council has worked out elaborate plans for this new phase of the Passive Resistance movement and will shortly announce the date of this non-violent battle in the struggle for human rights.

The Joint Council accepted a joint report from Dr. Y. M. Dadoo and Dr. G. M. Nkomo, presidents of the Natal and Transvaal Indian Congresses, who were their delegates to India and noted with satisfaction the arrangements made with the leaders and people of India in regard to the Passive Resistance campaign and India's complaint against the Union Government at U.N.

A cable of congratulations to Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit on her appointment as Ambassador to the Soviet Union was sent by the Joint Council, in which the hopes were expressed that despite her official duties as India's ambassador to the Soviet Union to bring about closer co-operation and understanding between the two freedom-loving peoples, she would still be in a position to be present at the next session of U.N. to successfully conclude India's case against the Union Government on the treatment of Indians in South Africa.

"The future of South Africa depends on good feeling and relations between White and Black. Make no mistake. They are making their contribution to South Africa. What would we have done in this country, what we have achieved, if the Black man had not done his part, and given us

what we have today. The Black man has done his part."

General Smuts said that something had been done. The Natives had been better than that of the White.

They were going to a general election next year. It was going to be fought on the colour question.

"The fires have to be stoked—fires of hatred and fear. Something had been started now which might make the position of the generations who followed much harder."

General Smuts said non-Europeans must be made to feel that something substantial was being done so that they might voice

Speaking at Maritzburg on Sunday when he was the guest of honour at the monthly luncheon of the Maritzburg Servants Club General Smuts said, one of the main tasks in South Africa today is to see that a sound policy of social security is created to enable a fair distribution of the economic benefits of the country for all races and colours. "We cannot keep pace with modern events," he stated, "if we allow a large section of the population to be stragglers. That is the ideal of this country and you who fought to help in bringing off a great victory against the forces of oppression must now help in continuing the fight to achieve a united nation."

General Smuts said that when the two White races fought side by side the one did not ask the other from which stock he had sprung. Co-operation had been the essence of success on the battlefields, and the same must apply now in peacetime. It must also be remembered that the Coloured races had assisted in the war, and they in turn must be treated fairly in peacetime.

"We must aim at achieving the basic fundamentals of justice for all. Our whole policy of social security and of nation building," he explained, "was a new experiment which had never before been tried in any other part of the world. In Australia and America the aborigines had been practically wiped out by White civilization, but in South Africa we had preserved the original Coloured races, and would endeavour to live in harmony with them, while White supremacy was being maintained by the unity of the two great races. It was a unique and new experiment, but without doubt it would be successful."

TRANSVAAL INDIAN CONGRESS

BIENNIAL ELECTION MEETING

The Biennial General Meeting of the Transvaal Indian Congress, in terms of clause 16 of the Constitution will take place at The Natalispruit Coloured Sports Ground, (next to the Indian Sports Ground) City and Suburban, Johannesburg, on Sunday, 24th August, 1947 at 2 p.m.

Agenda: 1. Secretariat's report, 2. Treasurer's report, 3. Elections. Signed: Y. G. PATEL, Y. A. CAULFIELD, Joint Honorary Secretaries, Transvaal Indian Congress.

their feelings and give utterance to their interests.

He paid a tribute to Native representation in Parliament, which he said was done by some of the most serious men and women in the House. The Natives themselves could not do it.

REPATRIATION OF INDIANS

SUGGESTIONS BY BIBLE SOCIETY

A SUGGESTION that if Indians in South Africa are not prepared to submit to the laws of the country, they should be returned to the land of their birth, is contained in the annual report of the British and Foreign Bible Society (Cape Branch) for 1946-47.

The report asks whether UNO did not undermine its own character and sound its own death knell by hurriedly arriving at decisions on questions about which it was largely ignorant, and consequently "formulating its reports on the basis of statements and impressions as expounded by emotional extremists and unrepresentative persons."

The average European in this country, the report continues, would readily welcome an impartial and unbiased commission of inquiry.

But he strongly resents this "unrighteous interference and prejudiced pronouncement by a court composed of representatives whose overwhelming majority consists of Asiatic countries and whose decisions are based on prejudice."

The principal officers of the society are: Chairman, Rev. K. M. van der Merwe; Secretary, Rev. A. P. M. Steyn; assistant-secretary, Mr. A. J. M. de Kous.

Statement Evokes Criticism

Statements on the Indian question in South Africa which were contained in the annual report of the Cape branch of the British and Foreign Bible Society were criticised by Cape Town ministers as unfavourable and as constituting unwarranted interference in political matters.

The report, extracts of which were published in the *Argus*, suggested that if Indians were not prepared to submit to the Union's laws they should return "to the land of their origin." It also implied that Indians were

born to its laws during the war. What about all the criminals and other law-breakers—should they not be returned to the countries from which they originally came?"

The Rev. Basil Brown, of the Congregational Church, Rondebosch, said he had been amazed to read the report.

"I struck me as extraordinary for that type of material to appear in a report of a society purely concerned with the increase in the sale of Bibles," he said.

"I feel very strongly that the view expressed in the report is

not the general opinion of the

The Rev. D. S. Livingstone, of the Unitarian Church, said it would be a profound pity if the support enjoyed by the society were jeopardised by the suspicion that in South Africa it was identified with a particular outlook.

"Christians here and abroad have rightly protested against the compulsory movement of populations," Mr. Livingstone said, "such compulsory repatriation, even with compensation, is a ghastly business which no Christian should support."

"It is a desperate political remedy which it is not the function of the Bible Society to advocate."

GANDHI'S UTTERANCES

THE following are extracts from Gandhi's post-prayer speeches on the 24th and 25th June.

"I want to deal with one great evil that is afflicting society today. The despised and the forgotten is the rights of the lowly, the prince of the divine right to rule, the right of his to resist it. If all simply insist on rights and no duties, there will be utter confusion and chaos."

If instead of insisting on rights everyone does his duty, there will immediately be the rule of order established among mankind. There is no such thing as the divine right of kings to rule and the humble duty of the vassal to pay respectful obedience to their masters. While it is true that these hereditary inequalities must go as being injurious to the welfare of society, the unabashed assertion of rights of the privileged down-trodden millions is equally injurious, if not contrary to the same well-being. The justice heuristics is probably calculated to injure the millions rather than the few advocates of divine or other rights. They could but use a brave or cowardly death but these few dead would not bring in the orderly life of physical contentment. It is, therefore, necessary to understand the correlation of rights and duties. I venture to suggest that rights that do not flow directly from duty well performed are not worth having. They will be usurpations sooner or later. A wretched parent who claims obedience from his children without first doing his duty by them excites nothing but contempt. It is distortion of religious precept for a desperate husband to expect com-

pliance in every respect from his dutiful wife. But the children who think their parent who is ever ready to do his duty towards them would be considered an irresponsible parent. The same can be said about husband and wife. If you apply this simple and universal rule to employers and labourers, land lords and tenants, the prince and his subjects or the Hindu and the Muslim, you will find that the happiest relations can be established in all walks of life without creating disturbance in and disruption of life and business which you see in India as to the other parts of the world. What I call the law of *satyagraha* is to be deduced from an appreciation of duties and rights flowing therefrom."

Taking the rule one between the Hindus and the Muslims for his illustration, Gandhi, resuming his remarks on rights and duties, said on the 24th June:

"What is the duty of the Hindu towards his Muslim neighbour? If a duty is to befriend him as man, to share his joys and sorrows and to help him in distress. He will then have the right to expect a fair treatment from his Muslim neighbour and will probably not the expected response. Supposing the Hindus are in a majority in a village with a sprinkling of Muslims in the midst, the duty of the majority towards the minority is to befriend him. If the Hindu is increased manifold, so much so that the few will not feel that their religion makes a difference in the behaviour of the Hindus towards them. The Hindus will then even the right, and before that the Muslims will be natural friends with them and in times of danger both the communities will act as one man. But suppose that the few Muslims

do not reciprocate the correct behaviour of the many Hindus and show fight in every action, it will be a sign of unmanly fear. What is then the duty of the many Hindus?

Overpower them by the brute strength of the many, that will be usurpation of an unearned right. Their duty will be to check their angry behaviour as they would that of their blood brothers. It is unnecessary for me to distil further upon this question. I will close it by saying that the application will be exactly the same if the ground is reversed. In what I have said it is easy enough to understand the application with regard to the whole of the present state which has become baffling because people do not apply in practice the principle of deriving every right from a prior duty well performed."

"The same rule applies to the Prince and the vassal. The former's duty is to act as a just and righteous if the prince. They will rule not by right granted by some outside authority, never by the right of greater wisdom. They will rule by the right of duty."

"I expect certain serious equality voluntarily rendered, not for themselves but for the sake of the people under their care. If they fail to perform this simple and primary duty, the right not only own an external duty but the duty devolves on them of removing the primary responsibility. It may be otherwise said that the vassal earns the right of retaining the usurpation of rights. But the resistance will become a crime against man in terms of duty if it takes the form of murder, rape and plunder. Even that performance of duty naturally generates the non-violent and loving force that *satyagraha* brings into being."

Indian Social Service Committee (Clairwood)

The Clairwood branch of the Indian Social Service Committee held its fourteenth annual general meeting on Sunday, July 2, at their office, 547 Main Street.

M. Vaughan in his report appealed on behalf of the committee to the charitable minded people to financially assist the suffering of the poor and needy, which was brought about by the unsatisfactory economic conditions of our people. The following officers were elected:

President, Mr. R. R. Moodley; hon. secretary, Mr. P. R. Pathe; committee members, P. Kiron, N. P. Gervodier, B. Ramchander and Ganes M. Naidoo.

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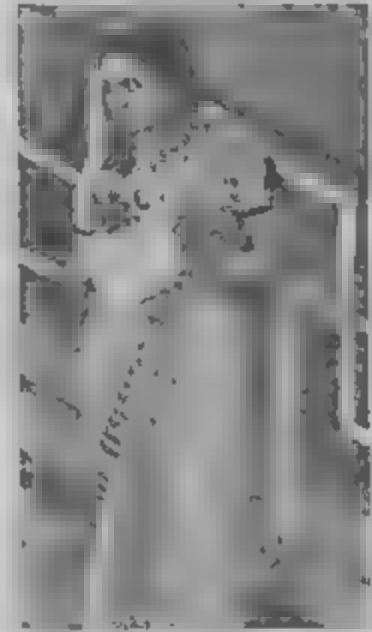
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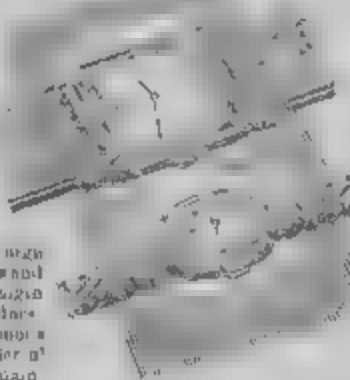
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Mr. Bottomley And The Indian Question

MR. R. A. G. BOTTOMLEY, Parliamentary Under-Secretary for Commonwealth Relations in Britain, came to the Lion at the invitation of General Sengh to a conference for lunch. The visit came about as a result of what happened at UN, when the South African Indian question was discussed and the attitude of the Union Government had been severely criticised. In an address to the

Bottomley is reported to have said at a Press conference in Johannesburg, it had long been the policy that when two members of the Commonwealth had a dispute, other members should not take sides. It was a question that concerned South Africa and India only. Britain's attitude at UN had been that the question should be referred to an international court, said Mr Bottomley. If that was so then the correct attitude on the part of Britain at UN would have been to remain strictly neutral, but instead, Britain was South Africa's staunchest vociferous. And Britain's partiality for South Africa becomes quite apparent when Mr. Bottomley charges the United States with "political expediency" because it voted against South Africa. "It was always a useful thing for a country in trouble itself to point a finger at another country's difficulties," said Mr Bottomley. Cannot this be applied to Britain as well? It does not seem quite fair to say, as Mr Bottomley has said, that South Africa's racial problems were misunderstood in the United States and that they were not in Britain. Might it not be said, perhaps, with some justification that Britain and South Africa had common interests and it suited them to collaborate with

each other? The United States was conscious of its guilt in regard to its Negro population and did not try to defend itself. Moreover its strong point was that there was no colour bar in its constitution. Our trouble in South Africa is that with the colour bar in the Union constitution there seems hardly any possibility of an honourable compromise.

Western Civilisation

into our own day in and day out in South Africa. We wonder if the Westerners as a whole realise that their much vaunted civilisation has come into question today and is fast losing the respect it had gained? From the evidence we have of it in South Africa and from the present trend of events in Europe there is reason to believe that that civilisation stands for White supremacy and White domination, which is a negation of the great ideals of human freedom and human brotherhood, for which the last two Great Wars were supposed to have been fought. We would have wished, therefore, that Mr Bottomley had not made reference to it by saying that "it is more necessary than ever now that members of the British Commonwealth of Nations should stand together and help to maintain and build up further Western civilisation as we know it." If we wish to have a happy and a peaceful world, and we have not the least doubt that the world would be yearning for it, has not the time come for us as a people who believe in the Supreme Power that rules over the universe, that we shed all shame and hypocrisy from our private and public life and view things from a truly spiritual standpoint and not from a predominantly one

and with the fear of that Superior Power which is greater than that of the atomic bomb?

India is today an independent as any member of the Commonwealth. What does the Commonwealth stand for? Does it actually mean what it implies or does it mean an unholy alliance to bring still more misery in the world in an attempt to satisfy the greed of power of a few even as Hitler did? India will have no room in such a Commonwealth. The future of the Indian question in South Africa, the future of the eight million Africans in South Africa, the future of the world depends on what the Commonwealth is and what it will do.

There is much we could say and would have liked to say in reply to what Mr. L. L. Boyd Acting Mayor of Durban, had said on the Indian question at the civic luncheon given in honour of Mr. Bottomley at the Durban Country Club on Wednesday. For want of time and space we shall have to defer our comments on that to next week. We, however, wholeheartedly agree with what Mr. Bottomley had said on that occasion that "a lot will depend on your wisdom and statesmanship in overcoming the problem. UN was the organisation which held together and provided peace for the world."

Woes Of Non-European Passengers On Trains

WHILST we are indebted to The Star for giving due publicity to Mr. Mayet's complaint about the differential treatment meted out to him on the de luxe train, it might interest the European public to know that this is a matter of daily occurrence so long as Europeans travel on trains are concerned. Indians are subjected to no better treatment on the ordinary train. Firstly, the "reserved" coach meant for non-

Europeans is attached next to the engine making it most difficult and inconvenient, especially in the case of women and children, to board the train and to alight from it on way side stations. Secondly even on the ordinary trains—let alone de luxe—first and second class passengers are all herded together in one coach and there is hardly any difference between the first and the second class compartments excepting for the fact that six passengers are supposed to sleep in the second class while only four in the first class. Apart from that in every other respect passengers paying first class fares get only second class conveniences. The most irritating part is that the "reserved" coach in reality is a coach not for the convenience of the passengers but for the railway servants—the ticket examiner and the bedding boys. From the all too scarce accommodation one first class compartment is as a rule wholly occupied by the ticket examiner and another second or a first class compartment is wholly occupied by the bedding boys. If this is the case on ordinary trains what Mr. Mayet has described in respect of de luxe trains can be said to be quite consistent with the policy of the Railway Administration in dealing with non-European passengers. There are many other snags that non-Europeans travelling on trains have to suffer and complaints have often ended in stereotyped replies from the Railway Administration amounting to nothing, and the ordinary man, with other heavy responsibilities, takes these things as a matter of course and forgets or, at least, tries to, at the end of his journey what he has had to put up with during the course of it. If the Railway Administration really desires to be fair and just to the non-Europeans they can no doubt find ways and means for it.

MR. BOTTOMLEY VISITS UNION INDIANS ON DE LUXE TRAINS

MR. A. G. BOTTOMLEY, OBE, Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, has come on a month's visit to South Africa at the invitation of General Smuts, to see for himself what the Union has accomplished in all phases of its development, particularly in advancing the interests of the Natives.

As one of Britain's delegates to UN, last year Mr. Bottomley strongly supported the Union's case for the incorporation of South-West Africa. Mr. Bottomley who is accompanied by Mrs. Bottomley, spent Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday in Natal and was shown the Indian localities in Durban by the leaders of the Indian community. Mr. Bottomley told a Press representative that while in Johannesburg he had visited the Orlando and Fabrik townships. He fully agreed that conditions at the squatters' township were lamentable, but he fully sympathised with the authorities "who were trying to tackle this tremendous problem of Native housing in Johannesburg. They were doing their best." [We wonder if it has been pointed out to Mr. Bottomley that there is no dearth of homes for the thousands of immigrants who are pouring into the Union from Europe who find none of the sort have no place to live.—Ed. 13.]

In a Press conference in Johannesburg Mr. Bottomley said there were no strings attached to his visit and he could see anybody he chose. The visit arose from a remark he made to General Smuts in New York at the General Assembly of the United Nations last year that it was difficult to speak of a country he had never seen. General Smuts immediately invited him to visit the Union.

It was a good thing for Commonwealth Ministers to visit the Union, he said, and he hoped that the time was not far distant when there would be a exchange of ministers in the various Commonwealth countries and that would build up the civilisation to which we knew was best.

The existing Commonwealth machinery was good, as had been proved by the events of the past 50 or more years.

Western civilisation was a great tradition and it would be a pity if it were weakened or pushed aside. Those who submitted to western civilisation were aware of the dangers confronting it at present and, therefore, it was more necessary than ever before to hold together and to build up its highest traditions. It was not a new thing, it had been tried and not been found wanting.

With regard to a possible conflict of interests between the new South African Union and various old trade unions, Mr. Bottomley said that it is there a rule in the Commonwealth that if other parties had differences the remainder had not interfered. They maintained a sympathetic and understanding attitude.

He would be visiting South-West Africa, Mr. Bottomley said, to acquaint himself with the local conditions.

Mr. Bottomley answered several questions about the constitutional position of the Union parliamentary representation to South-West Africa. The question of the incorporation of the Union into the United Nations was a subject which he was sure would be discussed at the next session of the General Assembly.

MR. A. S. MAYET complained to the *Star* (Johannesburg) of the discriminatory treatment suffered on the railways by the Indian passengers. He writes that after leaving his wife on the train to Durban, he was asked to pay a surcharge of 25 per cent. for the use of the de luxe train. His wife was asked to pay a surcharge of 25 per cent. for the use of the de luxe train. He was asked to pay a surcharge of 25 per cent. for the use of the de luxe train. He was asked to pay a surcharge of 25 per cent. for the use of the de luxe train.

You can imagine our indignation. We were told that the de luxe train was a luxury train. We were told that the de luxe train was a luxury train. We were told that the de luxe train was a luxury train. We were told that the de luxe train was a luxury train.

The complaint was referred to the train official who, Mr. Mayet said, told him "that it was the best that could be done for non-European passengers for the time being until other coaches were supplied by the Administration."

Mr. Mayet claimed that de luxe facilities given to European passengers were denied to non-European who paid the same fares.

The complaint was referred to

a senior railway official by a representative of the *Star*, who was told that Mr. Mayet was wrong. The 50 per cent. de luxe surcharge was not enough reserved for the de luxe train. The de luxe train was a luxury train. The de luxe train was a luxury train. The de luxe train was a luxury train.

The official suggested that Mr. Mayet should pay for a refund of the 25 per cent. surcharge he had paid.

Asked why even 25 per cent. surcharge should be paid if a de luxe air-conditioned saloon is not provided, the official said this was for the special services given to passengers.

There was no de luxe, nor was any explanation given why non-European passenger travelling in an ordinary saloon on the de luxe train was any better off than he would be by travelling in a de luxe train which runs at faster timings.



Dr. HENRY F. GRADY

American Ambassador to India, with him are (left to right): H.E. the Viceroy, Mrs. Grady, and H.E. Lady Mountbatten.

Dr. Grady in presenting his credentials said: "During my previous visits here, I became profoundly impressed with the great material and moral progress of the Indian people. The Indian people were warmly welcomed by me, and I was deeply impressed by the progress of the Indian people. I was deeply impressed by the progress of the Indian people. I was deeply impressed by the progress of the Indian people."

H.E. the Viceroy extended to the Ambassador a cordial welcome. Your Excellency is an old friend, and I am very pleased to have you with us as the Personal Representative of the United States. In extending to you once more a cordial welcome, I would assure you of the fullest co-operation of all those with whom your work will bring you into touch."

The question of the treatment of Native labourers on some European farms in the Beithal District has been the subject of a public meeting held on Saturday, July 19, 1947, at the Beithal Town Hall. The meeting was presided over by Mr. H. G. Lawrence, Minister of Justice, and was attended by a large number of the community.

Police investigation into the alleged abuses of Native labour had been going on for some time, and a report was submitted to the Minister of Justice. The report stated that the conditions of the farms were such that the Native labourers were being treated in a most inhuman manner. The Minister of Justice, Mr. H. G. Lawrence, in a public address at Beithal on Saturday, July 19.

"The investigations which have recently taken place in the Beithal District arose out of a certain case which was brought before the Magistrate at the beginning of June, this year," said Mr. Lawrence.

"In that case a charge of assault, involving five counts, was preferred against a European farm foreman in the Beithal District. The presiding Magistrate, on considering the evidence, made reference to the conditions on the farm in question, and he strongly condemned those conditions."

"Following on this conviction, a great deal of publicity was given to the case. This publicity soon began to take the form of general allegations against the Beithal District as a whole, and it was not limited merely to the Transvaal or to the Union, but was also published abroad."

Mr. Lawrence continued: "It is hardly necessary for me to emphasize that such publicity was potentially harmful, not only to the Beithal District and all farmers in the district, but also to the Government of the Union. It was also capable of damaging the good name of South Africa in the outside world."

"It became imperative, therefore, to take immediate action in the matter."

"At the outset the Commissioner of the South African Police sent a senior officer, Major Bohrer, to investigate and report. As a result it was ascertained that certain farmers in the Beithal District were locking up their Native labourers in compounds after working hours, and were also placing compound guards at the gates thus depriving these Natives of their freedom of movement during their leisure hours. Certain complaints of alleged assault of a serious nature were also received."

"The result of these preliminary inquiries was reported to the Prime Minister, who gave the matter his personal attention, and in collaboration with the State Department most directly con-

BETHAL AFFAIR DISPOSED OF

A public meeting had been called for July 19, 1947. The Government considered, however, that the proper course was to make a full inquiry forthwith, and to take action wherever it might be justified, inasmuch as specific instances of serious abuses had come to light. Appropriate action then followed.

"The main investigation was completed about a week ago, and since then all additional police have been withdrawn except those required as witnesses in court proceedings. All investigations of this kind are now being conducted by the police to make a full inquiry forthwith, and to take action wherever it might be justified, inasmuch as specific instances of serious abuses had come to light. Appropriate action then followed."

"All investigations of this kind are now being conducted by the police to make a full inquiry forthwith, and to take action wherever it might be justified, inasmuch as specific instances of serious abuses had come to light. Appropriate action then followed."

"To all, 91 farms were visited by the police in the Beithal District, and 2,936 Natives were personally interrogated. The complaints made to the Police emanated from only seven farms."

"These figures should, I think, show beyond doubt that the allegations of widespread abuses in the Beithal district were unfounded. The police found no proof that the vast majority of farmers treat their Native labourers in a humane manner."

"The police found no proof that the vast majority of farmers treat their Native labourers in a humane manner."

Pandemonium Reigns When Rev. Scott Tries To Speak

While Mr. Lawrence was giving a patient hearing Pandemonium broke out when the Rev. Michael Scott was called on to speak at a meeting of farmers in the Beithal Town Hall on July 10, to discuss the allegations of ill-treatment of Native labour made against the farmers in some parts of the Beithal district.

The hall was crowded—about 1,000 were present—and the overflow was well into the street. Around the building police were in attendance.

The Rev. Michael Scott, who made the initial revelations of alleged conditions and treatment of some of the Natives, accepted

an invitation to be present at the meeting.

Mr. P. L. du Toit made a long speech in Afrikaans, strongly protesting against the allegations. The gist of Mr. du Toit's remarks and the facts and figures he quoted to refute the allegations and to show the consideration given generally by Beithal farmers to the Natives, was interpreted to Mr. Scott.

There were many quips and bursts of laughter during Mr. du Toit's speech. It was evident from the cheering which greeted the termination of the speech that the people were particularly incensed over the aspect.

Mr. du Toit said there were 1,263 farmers in the Beithal district, and any allegations about one motion of the farming community affected them all.

He denied that natives were locked up in compounds in Beithal. Three were used only to house them at the time of their arrival. The door, in fact, had no lock.

When the Natives arrived in Beithal they were ill-fed and ill-dressed. It cost the farmers thousands of pounds a year to feed them, even before they started work. Some of them had travelled 500 miles on foot.

When they arrived they were medically examined, and most of them received better treatment than they had ever known.

"If conditions in Beithal are so bad why do they come here?" asked Mr. du Toit. The reason, he said, was that they were attracted to South Africa's food and money. The towns and cities were their real objectives, and they used their stay at Beithal merely as a stepping-stone.

Shouts And Boos Greet The Reverend

As Mr. Scott rose to speak shouts and boos came from every part of the crowded hall. One man rose and appealed to the meeting to allow Mr. Scott to speak. He was then called back to his seat.

"We won't let him speak," shouted back the crowd, "let him go to his country."

Mr. Scott the chairman assured the audience that Mr. Scott had promised not to be long, and pleaded with them to let him have his say. "Not a word," shouted the crowd.

Mr. J. Jacobus pointed out that Mr. Scott had been invited to speak and should, therefore, be permitted to do so.

A suggestion was made that the meeting should vote on whether or not Mr. Scott should be

allowed to speak. A vote was taken and the result was a narrow one.

"If he can speak in Afrikaans at his speech," said another voice, "we will let him speak."

Many Interruptions

After Mr. Scott had pointed out that they could not compel Mr. Scott to speak in Afrikaans, and that it would be only just to let him speak in the language in which he could best express himself, Mr. Scott was allowed to begin. His speech was interrupted frequently.

UNITED PARTY M.P. WANTS INQUIRY

IN the interests of South Africa and the farming community, the Minister of Justice, Mr. H. G. Lawrence should appoint a commission to inquire into the conditions of employment on farms, said Mr. M. J. van der Merwe, M.P. for Teyateyan, at the annual meeting of the Doornfontein branch of the United Party.

Mr. van der Merwe was referring to recent events at Beithal. He said that in his opinion, and, he thought, in the opinion of Mr. Lawrence, the evil to which attention had been drawn applied only to a minority of farms. Conditions such as had been exposed, however, should not be allowed to continue there or to any other part of the country.

The Rev. Michael Scott, who was to be admitted for the farmers' invitation to attend a meeting in Beithal, was not the only attraction to the hearers. A judge had also attended on them.

Mr. Scott expressed gratitude at the opportunity to address the meeting, to spite, he said, of the deep resentment felt by some farmers at what had happened.

They had shown respect for each other's views by inviting him to speak. He was sure that this would also be the attitude of the Press, whose high calling it was to inform, as well as lead, public opinion.

They were there to find remedies, not to spend time in recriminations.

One of the first facts to be faced, especially by South Africa's European community which at present held exclusive power to rule, was that they were living in a period of mounting crisis for

the Union, a state in which the whole feeling of the European race, as well as that of the non-European communities, was at stake.

They could see too plainly the distress of a nation labouring in birth or death, whichever it might be. A voice from the audience: "Keep that for the Chrob; you are only delaying us."

Mr Scott went on to say they were now at a turning point, the forces of progress and development were on the move.

Union's Danger

The Union had languished too long in the 19th century, and was in danger of losing its leadership. They were not moving with time; they were ignoring human progress.

A voice from the crowd: "We have not come to hear a sermon. Mr. Scott has accused us of slave-dealing and we want to hear the facts."

"Those remarks were first made by the magistrate of Bethal," replied Mr. Scott. "They were also made by other people." (A voice: "Who are the people? We want to know their names.")

Mr. Scott said that long before the recent disclosures appeared in the Press allegation had been repeatedly made about the treatment of Natives. Among others, they were made by the representatives of the Nyasaland Government in the Union.

The very name of Bethal had become synonymous with ill-treatment among the Natives of Nyasaland. The Union Native Affairs Department convicted at the illegal entry of Nyasaland Natives into the Union by granting them a six months' permit for a fee.

A voice: "We want to know about the slavery conditions. We are not concerned with the Nyasaland Government."

Mr. Scott referred to the compound system in vogue in the State.

A voice: "What is wrong with it?" Another voice: "What is the position in Johannesburg?"

Mr. Scott said he was not making comparisons. There was a large influx of Natives into

urban areas.

During the last three years 120,000 Natives had migrated in the hills around Johannesburg. A voice: "Who is their leader?" A voice from the hall called out: "You have accused the farmers of Bethal district of slavery. What we want to hear is what you have to say about it. We want to know the result of your personal investigations."

Mr. Scott replied that there were Native labourers in this district living more than 1,000 miles from their wives and families. There were Natives living in the district in quarters which did not conform to the conditions laid down by health regulations for cattle. Cows had to have two feet of ventilation.

There were shouts from the crowd that they were not there to hear a lecture on the treatment of cattle and, to the general turmoil, Mr. Scott sat down.

Natives Support Mr. Scott

A letter from the Bethal district to the African National Congress has been sent to the Rev. Michael Scott expressing gratitude to him for having disclosed the treatment accorded to Natives on some farms in the Bethal district. "We believe that you only saw or heard a very negligible fraction of the conditions," states the letter.

One Of Several Cases

Dries W. van Pretorius, a European farmer on the farm Lelienfontein, Bethal, was found guilty on three charges of assault with intent to do grievous bodily harm. He was fined £11, or two months' imprisonment, on each count, and £11 or two months, on each count.

Pretorius was alleged to have struck three Natives with a stick at different times.

Summing up the case: "Mr. W. H. Hartogh, the Magistrate said that in finding Pretorius guilty on all three counts there was no doubt in his mind that the three complainants had been assaulted."

The disclosures in the evidence were not serious enough to affect his decision.

They were serious charges and Pretorius had committed a brutal assault. One of the complainants had not been able to work for 10 days after the thrashing. All of them still bore the scars of their wounds.

Mr. Hartogh said by not punishing Pretorius he was extending leniency.

"In future cases of this nature, I do not say that this will not be done."

The result had been of such a brutal nature that he would be failing in his duty if he acceded

to the request of the counsel for the defence in punishing the accused merely with a fine.

"I know about the position of your wife and children," he said, "but the responsibility regarding them is yours and you should have thought about them when you committed these acts. The Court cannot know human beings to be treated worse than animals."

Bethal Natives See 'Rand Daily Mail'

The native community of the Bethal district wants to be represented on any fact-finding commission that may be appointed to investigate the conditions of native farm labourers. At a meeting of the Bethal district on July 10, a deputation consisting of six leading members of native organisations told the 'Rand Daily Mail'.

The deputation said that at a meeting of labour and farm natives in Bethal on July 10 it was asked to protest strongly against the brutal treatment accorded by the farmers to the Rev. Michael Scott who had attended the meeting at the express invitation of the organisers.

"We fully support the allegations made by Mr. Scott about the conditions of native farm workers in Bethal, and the treatment of them by farmers."

The deputation said that it was not satisfied with the treatment of native farm workers in Bethal, and the treatment of them by farmers.

During the farmers' meeting at Bethal about job, natives listened to the proceedings from outside the town, through loudspeakers. It was heard that the farmers' meeting was held in the town.

The deputation said that the conditions of Bethal farm labourers were actually much worse than Mr. Scott had said.

Native farm workers had no fixed hours of work and they were forced to work until after sundown. Their food, which consisted mainly of porridge and graham, had to be eaten by the side of the places of sleeping, and they were not given knives or spoons.

They slept on bare cement floors and were not given mattresses or blankets. Since the exposure farmers had, however, in many instances hastened to rectify many of the bad conditions after

which their natives lived.

"The native community of Bethal is not against the farmers," said the deputation's spokesman. "What we want is to co-operate with the farmers in every way, provided that we are given better conditions and justice."

The deputation consisted of B. A. Dlamini, representative of the native trade unions, Eastern

T.L.C. Wants Inquiry

The South African Trades and Labour Council has decided to ask the Minister of Justice to set up a commission of inquiry into the conditions of native farm recruitment and living conditions, with special reference to conditions in the Bethal district. As the co-ordinating labour and trade union organisation in the Union, the Trades Council, it feels that it should be represented.

The Trades Council is not satisfied with the treatment of native farm workers in Bethal, and the treatment of them by farmers. It is not satisfied with the treatment of native farm workers in Bethal, and the treatment of them by farmers. It is not satisfied with the treatment of native farm workers in Bethal, and the treatment of them by farmers.

Bethal Conditions Deplorable

By Chief Rabbi

On the 10th of July, 1947, I was informed by a Jewish farmer in Bethal that the conditions of native farm workers in Bethal were deplorable. I was informed by a Jewish farmer in Bethal that the conditions of native farm workers in Bethal were deplorable. I was informed by a Jewish farmer in Bethal that the conditions of native farm workers in Bethal were deplorable.

The deplorable conditions of native farm workers in Bethal were deplorable. The deplorable conditions of native farm workers in Bethal were deplorable. The deplorable conditions of native farm workers in Bethal were deplorable.

Whether those who were guilty were Afrikaners, Englishmen or Jews was beside the point. Every one, Christian or Jew, must be part of the human community which has made such things possible. These unsavoury incidents were but the logical outcome of the sin of the South African community as a whole.

INDIAN LAND OWNERSHIP RIGHTS IN THE CAPE

As a result of legal opinion, the King William's Town Council has withdrawn an anti-Asiatic clause from the conditions of sale of plots in its new township. The conditions contained a clause prohibiting Asiatics from owning property in the new township, but this condition was questioned by the Pro-

PRESS COMMENT ON BETHAL AFFAIR

WHAT NATIONALIST PARTY PRESS SAYS

bounds, *Die Vaterland*, Afrikaans Party organ on the Rand, said, in a leading article: "One thing we cannot understand is that South Africa, including the Transvaal, should let loose all the bloodhounds of the State to pounce their noses into every garbage can in Beth-

"Our dear
told that the
to grow up to luxury hotels,
And if the hygienic conditions
in compounds do not compare
to the

should be pointed out that decisions in itself must do not compare favourably with hospital hygiene either," the journal says.

The Transvaal's
tion of events in Beland is that
the Government's attitude
is a strong enough indi-
cator of its feeling community
"that a new Government is
needed—a Government that
will handle the colour question
in a sober and reasonable way,
instead of the present Govern-

Read Daily Mail
(continued)

I am weary of a re-
article on July 12 the *Road*
Daily Mail says:—Nobody can
say that the meeting of the
Bethel farmers with Mr. M. C. C.
Scott produced many arguments
worth listening to. The atmos-
phere was that of a bear-garden,
and while on the one side
bores and cattle took the place
of reasoned statements, on the
other Mr. Scott, who had been
invited to put his views before
the meeting, was not allowed to
do so.

RELATIONS BETWEEN INDIA AND UNION

FROM New Delhi (AP)—
 Reuter reports —
 mahatma in a prayer meeting
 referred to reports of ill treat-
 ment of Indians in South
 Africa and suggested that
 Viceroy Mountbatten as
 Governor-General of the new
 Indian Dominion, should tell
 General Smuts that South
 Africa and India were both
 from a Hindu and the place
 of the world.

But that does not mean that the meeting was valueless. On the contrary, it was most useful for its demonstration of the attitude of a section of our community when faced with serious charges against some of its members. Attempts to refute the charges were few and far between. The truth of Mr. Scott's statements was not essentially denied, so they stand. The policy of the farmers was, rather than to attempt to deny

...the farmers, and if necessary, the farmers should go on strike for six months.

That, of course, would prove that they were right, whether they were right or wrong, but we also did not like to know whether Dr. Wassenaar, a prominent Nationalist member of the Provincial Council, is regarded as being of Mr. Scott's " ilk." If, it will be remembered, recently called for a "thorough investigation" of the method of recruiting farm labour in the district, and expressed anxiety over the ill treatment revealed in a case brought before the courts.

is dealing with that man again, the Magistrate of Bethul made the following remarks:—
"The conditions disclosed in this case are tantamount to slave-driving. On a farm of approximately 250,000 labourers were employed and were driven to do their work by means of the yambok. It is akin to slavery to drive the boys in this manner."
Is the Magistrate of Bethul to be considered "an enemy of the farmers" because he made these comments?

slightest degree with the public, which is not concerned with their state of mind but with the correctness or otherwise of the allegations which have been made against some of their number.

The Reverend Michael Scott will not withdraw those allegations; nor is it probable that the Government will accede to demands made by a meeting which seemed to think at times that its own wishes were more important than the law of the land. This matter has now to be threshed to a finish, and where a clean-up is necessary, it must be made.

RHODESIAN AFRICANS OPPOSE TO INDIANS

A Motion calling for the cessation of Indian immigration into Northern Rhodesia and debarring the return of any Indians who left the territory was unanimously accepted at a recent meeting of Central Provinces African Provincial Council of Northern Rhodesia at Broken Hill states the Natal Daily News Bulawayo correspondent.

The African delegate who proposed this said the Indians influenced the Africans to believe they should be independent like the Indians in India and could have their own government without Europeans. He questioned, however, that educated Africans should have the feeling that they could live in peace with the Whites.

In Tanganyika, the speaker said, the Indians had taken all the positions in the civil service and Post Office, which left no opportunities for Africans. The Indians were building big businesses and would ask for big compensation if they had to leave the territory. He proposed that the already resident should not be interfered with.

Another day, another day. We
do not want any more in-
juries to cause him and take
us to go away.

The Indians, he maintained, were a bad influence on the Africans, who were quite content to go on living under the present government by Euro-

Death Of Sir Shafa at Ahmed Nyan

Sir Shahid Ahmed Khan, a former Indian High Commissioner in South Africa and a former member of the Interim Government, died in Delhi on Friday, July 18, after a brief illness. He was 74 years of age.

Appointed High Commissioner for India in the Union, he came to British Africa at the end of November, 1941, to succeed Sir Hume Ree, and held the position until January, 1943, when he was succeeded by Mr. Ramsay.

The late Sir Shafaat Ahmed Khan

Franklin, by his entry to
in he continued to take inter-
est in his career of It was in
South Africa. His work to
Gautschi last year ask us that his
dispatches on the "Fogging" Act,
which he sent from South Africa
between 1912 and 1946, be pub-
lished "to clear up many points
for the United Nations."

The letter also urged the Government of India to take strong measures against South Africa on roads of importation of Indian goods into the Union "and the duty of India to safeguard the rights of its people in South Africa."

the displeasure of the Muslim League by becoming a member of it, an Islamic Government, He was brutally assaulted by the supporters of the League on that account but that did not deter him from doing his own social work and adhering to them.

He had been an able student. His Shaikhul Ahmad Khan was a distinguished historian. He was educated at Trinity College, Dublin, and London University, receiving the degrees of M. A. and Litt. D. He was professor of modern history at Al Bahad University in 1921, and his publication, *The History of the Sudan*, was a landmark work. He had been a member of the Sudanese National Council, and had been a member of the Sudanese National Council, and had been a member of the Sudanese National Council.

FLAW IN ASIATIC ACT PRECLUDES OVERSEAS COMPANIES BUYING LAND IN UNION

MANY large overseas companies of international repute have suspended plans for buying land and building factories in the Union because their legal advisers told them they are affected by provisions in the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act, says the *Ster* (Johannesburg).

Under Section 25 of this Act, any foreign company, or any company whose capital is more than 50 per cent. overseas, or whose parent company abroad has a controlling interest in the South African subsidiary, is prohibited from acquiring fixed property in the Union other than in areas where Asiatics are allowed to hold fixed property, "unless it has a place of business in the Union and has complied with the requirements of Section 201 of the Companies Act, 1926."

The overseas firms are not prepared to comply with the requirements of the Companies Act, as this involves paying an annual company licence of up to £1,000 of capital, and in lodging annually their balance sheets and auditors' reports with the Registrar.

In the case of firms with millions of pounds worth of capital, the licence is a substantial annual amount. The companies, however, are more worried about having to lodge their balance sheets and reports, thus revealing

their business secrets to the public.

The Asiatic Land Tenure Act, if retrospective, in the case of foreign firms, to May 1, 1930, and, in the case of South African companies with controlling interest overseas, to March 1, 1930.

"Foreign," for the purpose of this Act, means any country outside the Union's borders, including the Republic of South Africa.

Clause 28 was put in the Asiatic Land Tenure Act to prevent Indian concerns from overruling its other provisions by floating companies abroad and forming subsidiaries in the Union.

Now that the effect is known, it will, unless amended, drastically reduce the Union's industrial expansion.

The Industrial Development Corporation feels that the Act was designed to close the loophole in the previous Act and that its effect on foreign companies was overlooked.

the Johannesburg branch of the United Nations Association. America and Britain were not concerned on many problems and both were faced with the

to peace economy always had

While differences of ideologies remain irreconcilable, the armaments race goes on, and is developing to the detriment of the world's economy," Dr. Fielding said that Britain did not declare war on Germany in 1939 because Germany attacked Poland, but because that attack constituted the ultimate limit reached beyond which the war potential of Europe, the balance of power, became so tilted in favour of Hitler as to jeopardise the security of Britain. When the same balance became tilted in favour of Soviet Russia now, there would be war. There would be no declaration of war, but a sudden unleashing of the atomic bomb, "because the time lag between the declaration and its onset would be fatal to the declarer of war." The only hope for world peace can be gained by the use of the machinery of U.N.O. Men must give their allegiance to humanity and not to flags, which are the symbols of war.

to peace economy always had

Arrived From India

The *aa. Tairia*, which has arrived in Durban from Bombay on Wednesday, July 23, has brought quite a number of passengers to the Union. Among them were Messrs. D. M. Soodat, Euph Kunderer, M. I. Mahomedy, D. M. Doodat of Dominion

K. P. Desai of Messrs. Gandhi and Co. and C. J. Mahim of Messrs. Mehta Bros.

F.O.S.A. Name May Not Be Used Without Permission

The Food Rationing Control Committee of the Friends of the Sikh Association wishes to bring to the notice of the public that no person or organisation may use the name of the Association in connection with any fund raising entertainment or other project without permission from the Committee. Any person or organisation desirous of holding any entertainment or show in any part of the Association should apply for permission, in writing, to the Secretary, at 13

Street, Durban. The Provincial Accountant, Pietermaritzburg, has been requested not to donate any money to the Association.

Andhra Week Festivities

The yearly observance of the Andhra Bhaa Sabha of South Africa will take place on August 2, 3, and 10. This is the Sixteenth Anniversary of the Sabha and a feature of the celebrations will be the holding of the North Andhra Extended Festival at the Pathmarajani

DRAFT ORDINANCE DROPPED

As a result of a conference with the Prime Minister, General Smuts, the Administrator, Mr. D. E. Mitchell, and the Minister of Interior, Senator C. F. Clarkson, the Natal Municipal Association will drop its local Authorities measure over its measure of representation in local government.

After the meeting General Smuts told the Press that public opinion was not yet ripe for giving Indians franchise and they had not accepted it, the Europeans could not seem to make up their minds on the question. Time might provide a solution.

"The effect of discussion is that the Draft Ordinance goes into cold storage," Mr. A. L. Hains, president of the N.M.A. is reported to have said after the meeting. "We will not press it. Until both Europeans and Indians agree on a *via media* nothing can be done." The N.M.A.'s Draft Ordinance, drawn up in April this year after much debate, sought to establish Indian Affairs Boards in each municipality, who would advise the municipality on matters affecting Indians. There was no guarantee that the advice would have to be accepted.

The Indian community opposed the establishment of such boards for the reason among others, that the proposal would have been giving the Indian community was in itself competent enough to advise on matters affecting its welfare.

Andhra Bhaa Hall, Becons Road, Clairwood, Durban, on Sunday August 3 from 9 a.m. to 4 p.m. No charges are being made for admission and all are cordially invited to attend. The programme consists of items for competition in Padma recitals, Bhagavata speech by Mr. K. G. Telanga folk dance etc. in which all those attending the various Telugu as well as others will

Things In General

Findings Of S.A. Institute Of Race Relations

A PROPOSAL that the Government should call a round table conference of representatives of the European and Indian communities in the

of educational, health, and social services for Indians towards European levels and a review of industrial legislation and practice and effects the use of Indian labour in industry. The Institute further urged greater oppor-

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Allegiance To Humanity Not To Flags

"More than two years have elapsed since the cessation of hostilities, and the world is in a worse position today than it was in 1939," Dr. S. Fielding reported to have said last week while speaking on the "Obstacles to peace" at a luncheon in the Carlton Hotel for members of

part was a Sunday, Aug. 10. It was a very successful one and the stock of the new book at the Adhara House, 4, Lorne Street, Durban, is very low. Members and intending members are requested to attend. Other subscribers are invited to the program which may be obtained by applying to the general manager.

TRANSVAAL INDIAN CONGRESS BIENNIAL ELECTION MEETING

The annual meeting of the Transvaal Indian Congress will be held on Friday, 2nd August, at the Natal Sports Ground, (next to the Durban Race Course). The meeting will be held at 2 p.m.

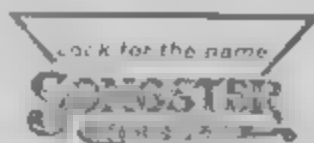
Agenda: 1. Report of the Executive Committee. 2. Election of Officers. 3. Election of Members. 4. Election of Delegates to the All-India Congress. 5. Other business.

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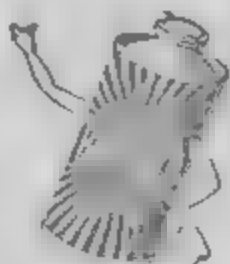


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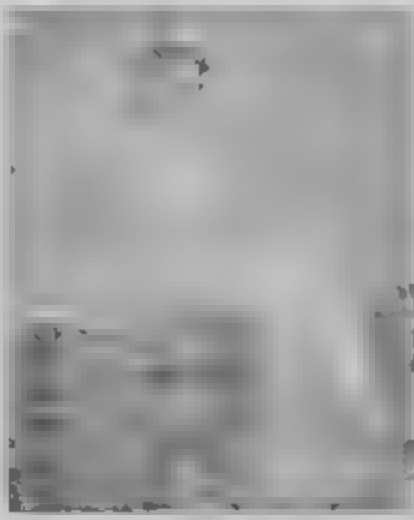
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સીલકની ભરત ભરેલી સાડીઓ નવીન ડિઝાઇન	૫ ૧૦ ૦
છાપેલી ભેરજોટની સાડીઓ	૭ ૧૦ ૦
મીલક મજલીનની ભરત ભરેલી સાડીઓ	૮ ૮ ૦
જરી ભરત સીલક મજલીન સાડીઓ	૧૦ ૧૦ ૦
જરી ભરત ભેરજોટ સાડીઓ	૧૫ ૦ ૦
છેલ્લા હાથની બે રંગીન સાડીઓ	૧૨ ૧૨ ૦
કોટનના સફેદ લુગડાં ૫ વાર	૨ ૫ ૦
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No. 31-V NIA

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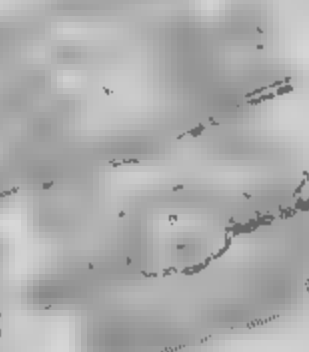
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INDIAN OPINION

MAHATMA (ANDH) IN 1903

No. 31 - Vol XLV

FRIDAY, 1ST AUGUST, 1947.

PRICE

Indian Opinion

Vol XLV, No. 31, 1947

Councillor Boyd On Indian Question

SPAKING last week at a picnic luncheon at the Durban Country Club, in honour of Mr. A. G. Bottomley, Councillor L. L. Boyd, the Acting Mayor, said, "all we ask is to be judged fairly, not on propaganda, but on facts, and in the light of circumstances as they exist in this country." The much talked of hush-hush reports in possession of the City Council, do not lead one to think that the City Council was quite so anxious to reveal the

secret people followed Durban's lack of attention for non-Europeans, they failed to take into consideration the sevenfold was pointed, the whole in which were still living in.

Time, finance and we have certainly not come in the way of providing Europeans with all the amenities of life. Any outsider would require a very powerful microscope to detect any war scars on Durban. It has flourished during the war years as it has never done in the past. That is an indisputable fact.

Mr. Boyd blames the opposition of certain of the Indian leaders for the failure of many of the schemes the Council had put forward. There is not a single instance where the City Council has encouraged Indians by supporting even an act of self-help on their part. There are many instances to the contrary. For Saxtra College, which was built by Indian money, the City Council, after the then Agent of the Government of India in the Union, the late Mr. Hon. Srikrishna Saxtra had asked on loaded knees, very reluctantly condescended to lease two and a half acres of land whereon to do Howard College, about 1930, it made a free gift of 50

several years the Indian community has been asking for land for a technical college—another act of self-help on its part—and the matter was hanging fire all this while simply because the Council was unwilling. Examples of self-help in respect of educational facilities on the part of the Indian community are not wanting in Durban. One can see them here, there and everywhere and the latest one is of the £35,000 Indian school opened just recently at Mayville. One cannot at the same time fail to see the hopeless lack of municipal services in such places. But if they were European institutions the position would be quite different. Then there are a number of houses which Europeans, after having owned or occupied them for nearly half a century, have been very happy to sell to Indians at three or four times their value and Indians have spent up to £25,000 in repairing them to make them worthy of the best European locality in Durban. All this has been done by Indians individually which has not evoked appreciation on the part of the City Council but it has evoked jealousy resulting in the coming into being of the Pegging Act.

As against the fact that Europeans pay 80 per cent of the rates of the City, on which Mr. Boyd laid so much stress, there is this to remember that practically the whole of the City, barring the comparatively small portion owned and occupied by Indians and other non-Europeans and neglected by the City Council, is owned by Europeans. The fact that there exist Indian and Native slums side by side with rich European residential areas does not redound to the credit of the City Council. The very admission of the fact by Mr. Boyd is a reflection

on the Council who has all the power while Indians and Natives have neither any voice nor any power in the affairs of the Council. Durban owes its prosperity to Indian sweat and blood. What they ask in return is only to be treated as self-respecting human beings and that is what they are denied. It is left to the civilized world to judge whether the City Council is right or the Indian community.

The 15th Of August

INDIANS throughout South Africa are jubilant over India's independence and are making elaborate preparations for celebrating the great occasion on August 15, when the transfer of power by the British Government will finally take place. We are receiving letters, telegrams and telephone calls from all over the Union and from as far as Rhodesia inquiring as to how the celebrations should take place and about the design of the new Indian flag. We are sorry we are not able to give any definite guidance on the matter as yet. With regard to the flag and other matters we are awaiting information from India and we shall place it before the public as soon as it is received.

In so far as the celebrations are concerned no doubt it is an occasion for joy to Indians to feel that India's non-violent fight for independence has at last been successful and that India will be free from the foreign yoke after being under it for nearly two hundred years. That in itself is a matter of rejoicing and to that extent we are justified in celebrating the great occasion. The other question is whether Indians as a whole should celebrate the granting of Dominion Status to both Pakistan and to the Indian Union. There is going to be a distinct division here. Those who stand for Pakistan are going to celebrate the occasion on their own. The Indian Union stands for all sections of the people in India

including Muslims who owe allegiance to the Indian Union. Pakistan represents those who have chosen to secede from the Indian Union thus causing a split in India. No thinking person can subscribe to such an attitude. Moreover Pakistan makes no secret of its stand as a Muslim State and therefore none but narrow-minded Muslims can be interested in that. Those that stand for the Indian Union can only celebrate the occasion of the independence of the Indian Union and in doing so bear no malice to those who have chosen to secede from the Union. Nor should those who stand for Pakistan bear malice to those who stand for the Union. It would, in our opinion, be hypocritical for anyone to profess to celebrate both the occasions.

But as things are at present in India we must confess that within our heart we do not experience the real joy that should be expected on such an occasion, for there is no real freedom. What joy could there be when feelings are so embittered amongst ourselves, communal clashes, murder, arson and rape are still raging in one part of India or the other. India is divided into two camps not in a friendly but hostile spirit. We are not able to see any good omen of a bright future. The sky is heavily laden with dark clouds. India is in search for light.

After the Great War there were peace celebrations. But is there any peace anywhere in the world? We were supposed to have been fighting Nazism in Germany. Today Nazism is all-pervading. Similarly in India the real occasion for peace or victory celebration has not yet come. We are, therefore, as we have said above, not as jubilant as many of our friends are on this historic occasion. But we have yet a fortnight before us. The world is changing everyday and every hour. In this atomic age things undreamt of are happening, so to speak, within a wink of an eye. What will

WHO IS A SOCIALIST?

By Gandhiji in 'Harijan'

SOcialism is a beautiful word and so far as I am aware in socialism all the members of society are equal—none low, none high. In the individual body the head is not high because it is the top of the body, nor are the soles of the feet low because they touch the earth. Even as members of the individual body are equal, so are the members of society. This is socialism.

In it the prince and the peasant, the wealthy and the poor, the employer and the employee are all on the same level. In terms of religion there is no duality in socialism. It is all unity. Looking at society all the world over there is nothing but duality. In India, for example, it is conspicuous as a rule. This man is high, that one is low, that is a Hindu, that a Muslim, that a Christian, fourth a Parsi, and so on. Even among these there are divisions. In the unity of my conception there is perfect unity in the plurality of deities.

In order to reach this state we may not look on things philosophically and say that we need not make a move until all are converted to socialism. Without changing our life we may go on giving addresses, forming parties and hawk-like seize the game when it comes our way. This is no socialism. The more we treat it as game to be seized, the farther it must recede from us.

Socialism begins with the first convert. I have a rule, and you can add zeros to the one and the first zero will account for ten and every addition will account for ten times the previous number. If, however, the beginner is a zero, in other words, no one makes the beginning, multiplicity of zeros will also produce zero value. Time and paper occupied in writing zeros will be so much waste.

This socialism is as pure as crystal. It, therefore, requires crystal-like means to achieve it. Impure means result in impure end. Hence the prince and the peasant will be satisfied by cutting off the prince's head, nor can the process of cutting off equalise the employer and the employed. One cannot reach truth by untruthfulness. Truthful conduct alone can lead to truth. Are not non-violence and truth twins? The answer is an emphatic 'no.' Non-violence is embodied in truth. Hence but it been said that they are faces on the same coin. Either is inseparable from the other. Read the coin either way. The spelling of words

will be different. The value is the same. This blessed state is unattainable without perfect purity. Harbour impurity of mind or body and you have untruth and violence in you.

Therefore, only truthful, non-violent and pure-hearted socialists will be able to establish a socialist society in India and the world. To my knowledge there is no country in the world which is purely socialist. Work out the means described above the existence of such a society is impossible.

(2)

Truth and ahimsa must incarnate in socialism. In order that they can, the votary must have a living faith in God. Mere mechanical adherence to truth and ahimsa is likely to break down at the critical moment. Hence have I said that truth is God. This God is a living Force. Our life is of that Force. That force resides in, but is not the body. He who denies the existence of that great Force denies to himself the use of that inexhaustible Power and thus remains impotent. He is like a rudderless ship which, tossed here and there, perishes without making any headway. The socialism of such takes them nowhere, what to say of the society in which they live.

If such be the case, does it mean that no socialist believes in God? If there be any, why have they not made any visible progress? Then again, many godly persons have lived before now, why have they not succeeded in founding a socialist state?

It is difficult completely to silence these two doubts. Nevertheless, it is past time to say that it has perhaps never occurred to a believing socialist that there is a distinction between the God he believed in and God. It is safe to say that a rule never commended socialism to the masses. Superstitions have flourished in the world in spite of godly men and women. In Hinduism it is an ancient habit of a Hindu to believe in a god.

The fact is that it has a way been a matter of blind faith to seek to know the great Force and its hidden possibilities.

My claim is that a too pure of that search lies the discovery of satyagraha. It is not, however, claimed that all the laws of satyagraha have been laid down. I do not say, for I do not know of any that every worthy object can be achieved by the use of satyagraha. It is the highest and infallible means, the greatest force. Socialism will be reached by any other means. Satyagraha can rid society of all evils, political, economic and moral.

NON-EUROPEANS ON PUBLIC VEHICLES

The following Notice No. 267, 1947, appears in the Natal Provincial Gazette dated July 24.

The Administrator, by the advice and with the consent of the Executive Council, has been pleased, under the authority of Section 200 of the Local Government Ordinance, 1943 (Ordinance No. 21 of 1943), to approve of the subjoined amendment, as made by the City Council of the City of Durban at its meeting held on the 22nd July, 1946, of the Municipal Tramways and Motor By-laws for the said City, published under Provincial Notice No. 173 of 1939, as substituted, and the following substituted for the

By-law No. 18 (b) (Coloured Passengers), published under Provincial Notice No. 173 of 1939, is hereby deleted and the following substituted for the

(b) All public vehicles are wholly reserved for the use of

European passengers only, less by a notice previously displayed and issued

No person shall upon or travel in a vehicle wholly reserved for Europeans.

Where the whole of a vehicle is reserved for Europeans, both Europeans and non-Europeans may enter upon or travel in such vehicle.

Where a portion of any public vehicle is reserved for Europeans, such portion shall

occupy a separate compartment in such vehicle.

MR. BOYD DEFENDS TREATMENT OF INDIANS

A VIGOROUS defence of the work the Durban City Council has done for its Indian community was made by councillor L. L. Boyd, the Acting Mayor, when speaking at a luncheon at the Durban Country Club on July 2.

Mr. A. G. Bottomley, Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies and the Commonwealth Relations in Britain.

Mr. Boyd said that in recent years there had been considerable criticism of South Africa and of Natal because of its relations with non-Europeans. Mr. Boyd had come to the Durban at the invitation of the Durban City Council to see conditions for himself and he was very well satisfied.

"We are not complacent about present conditions," he said, "All we ask is to be judged fairly, on our merits, and not on the basis of race."

As for finance, the burden of providing public services is borne largely by Europeans who pay over 80 per cent of the rates of the city.

When certain people criticised Durban for non-Europeans, they failed to take into account the seven-year war period, the effects of which were still being felt. The City Council had had no opportunity to do much for non-Europeans because of the opposition of certain European leaders.

"There has been a regrettable lack of initiative particularly on the part of Indians who have the money and the resources, to do what the Europeans have done in providing amenities in the city," said Mr. Boyd. "What a report appearing in the local Press, of a tour conducted by an Indian organisation of a European residential suburb as compared with Indian and Native areas as an entirely erroneous and unfair comparison. They have done what the Europeans have done for themselves. They have used their own capabilities and initiative."

"I believe this is a domestic problem which has to be solved by the people European and non-European alike. We have chosen South Africa as our home. I believe that is the conclusion reached by Mr. Bottomley."

By S.N. In "Harrison" Dated July 20

members of his party to different
places, he had said, they won't
have to be away for more than
six months at the most. "Yes,"
said Chaudhry, "I did my best,
but then I went to South Africa
for one year and was there for
twenty and I went to Quampuan
for three days and stayed there
for one year. Such is life with
us Swarthinas."

OUR INDIA LETTER

(FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT)

Baroda, July 10, 1947

INDEPENDENT DOMINIONS BILL

THE Bill, setting up two independent Dominions in India, constitutes a landmark in the history of India. The territories of India shall be territories under the sovereignty of His Majesty which immediately before August 15, 1947, were included in British India except the territories which are to be territories of Pakistan. Pakistan will consist of East Bengal, West Punjab, Baluchistan and N.W.F.P. and Sylhet if thereon by a majority vote at the referendum decide to join Pakistan. For each of the new Dominions there shall be a Governor-General, to be appointed by His Majesty and to represent His Majesty for the purpose of the government of the Dominion. The legislature of each of the new Dominions shall have full power to make laws for that Dominion. No law and no provision of any law made by the legislature of either of the new Dominions shall be void or inoperative on the ground that it is repugnant to the law of England. The Governor-General shall have full power to assent in His Majesty's name. No Act of Parliament passed after 15th August shall extend to either of the new Dominions as part of the law of that Dominion unless it is extended thereto by a law of the legislature of the Dominion.

As from 15th August, the British Government in the United Kingdom shall have no responsibility as respects the government of any territories which, immediately before that day, were included in British India. The sovereignty of His Majesty over the Indian States lapses, and with it all treaties and agreements in force between His Majesty and the rulers of India. Rights as respects disciplinary matters as that person was entitled to immediately before the appointed day (i.e. the 15th of August).

The words "person" in the Bill to be dropped from the Royal Titles. The constitution of each of the new Dominions will be framed by its Constituent Assembly. Till the new constitution comes into force, each of the new Dominions shall be governed in accordance with the Government of India Act of 1935. After August 15, there will not be any form of control by the British Government over the affairs of the new Dominions.

The Governor-General or any Governor will have no power to act in his discretion or exercise his individual judgment. No provincial Bill shall be reserved for the signature of His Majesty's pleasure, and no provincial Act shall be disallowed by His Majesty thereunder.

The Constituent Assembly will also function in place of the present Central Assembly. The Governor-General is empowered to make arrangements for the interim period between the passing of this Act and August 15, and for bringing about the division of India and some of the provinces. No order under the sections dealing with the transitional period shall be made by the Governor-General after the 31st of March, 1948, or after any date as may be determined in the case of either Dominion by any law of the legislature of that Dominion. Every person in the Secretary of State's service (civil service) or working as a judge of the Federal Court or any of the Provincial High Courts, if he continues to serve in either of the new Dominions, shall be entitled to receive from the Governments of the

rights as respects disciplinary matters as that person was entitled to immediately before the appointed day (i.e. the 15th of August).

The orders to be made by the Governor-General shall make provision for the division of the Indian armed forces of His Majesty between the new Dominions, and for the continued and governance of those forces until the division is completed. A Secretary of State or some other Minister is authorised to continue for the time being to make payments etc. as heretofore, subject to certain limitations provided for in the Act. There will be no advisers of the Secretary of State for India after August 15. A person will be treated as a British subject and will be governed by provisions of the British Settlements Act, 1947 and 1945. As expressly provided in this Act, the laws of British India and of several parts thereof shall other provision is made by laws of the legislature of the Dominion in question, or by any other legislature or other authority having power in that behalf. The instruments of Instructions

issued by His Majesty to the Governor-General and the Governors of the Provinces will lapse on August 15. References to the Governor-General in this Act will mean (1) where only one of the Dominions is concerned, the Governor-General of that Dominion, (2) in other cases, the Governor-General of the new

The Constituent Assembly, in relation to India, will mean the Constituent Assembly the first sitting whereof was held on December 9, 1946, with modifications consequent to the division of India and some of the provinces, and with representatives of States as decide to join the Union. The Constituent Assembly, will mean the Constituent Assembly to be set up by the Governor-General. This Act may be cited as the India Independence Act, 1947.

Unique Bill

"This is a Bill unique in the history of the legislatures in this country," said Lord Listowel, Secretary of State for India, in London. "Never before has such a large portion of the world's population been given the right to independence through legislative means."

On August 15 India will achieve complete independence. The people of India will have their new status as free nations, free to make their own decisions as other members of the Commonwealth and will also gain the advantages enjoyed by the other members through their mutual co-operation. This will be a new partnership between the East and the West which will bring a healthy result for the whole world. The India Office will cease to be a separate office. The Secretary of State will not function and the Secretary of Commonwealth Relations will look after the affairs of the new Dominions. There will be no difference in the status of the two Dominions as Pakistan may also become a member of the Commonwealth.

The Secretary of the Indian States said, "Only two States have so far declared for complete independence—Hyderabad and Travancore. We hope they will join up with one of the Dominions. We have already joined, others will join shortly. These are only two states out of 600. We could not make up our minds regarding these two States as we did not

want to prejudice the choice of other States. We want to encourage them to join up. We do not want to encourage them not to join with one of the two

On the demand of Afghanistan for the North-West Frontier of India, Lord Listowel said, "Afghanistan has no right to interfere as it is trying to interfere in the rights of the North-West Frontier Province."

"India Completely Free"

"On the whole one thing is certain," said Sardar Patel, referring to the India Bill. "On August 15, India is completely free. This is the greatest achievement of India and, one may say, it is one of the greatest acts done in history by any Power." He revealed that it had been agreed between the parties concerned to refer to a judicial tribunal all points of dispute regarding the division of assets and liabilities. "The jurisdiction of Parliament over India has ended with this Bill. It has nothing to do with India hereafter," added Sardar Patel.

Dr. Ambedkar, expressing his satisfaction with the clauses referring to the States, said, "There may be some excuse for dividing India into two Dominions. But there is none for the seeds of disintegration between the Dominions and the States. Surely the British people will be answerable before the bar of the world for such a wasteful act."

Economic Interdependence

The special representative of the Times of India, emphasising the economic ties and interdependence between the two Dominions, cites some interesting figures. India will require 100,000 tons of wheat and rice—also jute and cotton. Pakistan will require from India coal, cloth, steel, sugar etc.

Mr. Attlee's Speech

The main points emerging from Mr. Attlee's speech to the House of Commons are as follows. (1) On August 15 the withdrawal of British army forces from India will start immediately and is expected to be completed by about the end of the year. (2) Lord Mountbatten to be the Joint Defence Council. (3) The change does not mean the disappearance of the civilian and the business community in India. The service of Britain to India must now take another form. (4) "We wished to maintain the

nally of India, but we and Indian statesmen have had to accept the only alternative—partition." (5) The two Dominions to be free and equal and of no less status than the United Kingdom or the Dominion of Canada. (6) To the ruler of a State deciding to assert its independence he would say: "Take your own time and think again. I hope no irrevocable decisions will be taken prematurely."

N W F P

Pandit Nehru, in a letter released to the British Press, says: "The ideal of free Pathanistan does not mean complete independence or isolation from India. It means full autonomy for the province. The Frontier Congress is entirely opposed to any intrusion of Afghanistan in a matter which concerns India alone. However, in order to avoid conflict on a purely communal name, Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan and his friends decided to abstain from taking part in the contest. It is clear that there is no demand on their part for a separate sovereign State, as everyone realises that the Frontier Province is too small and too weak for such existence."

Assurance To States

"It is not the desire of the Congress to interfere in any manner whatever with the domestic affairs of the States," said Sardar Patel in a statement. He appealed to them to join the Constituent Assembly. Asking of them no more than accession on Defence, Foreign Affairs and Communications, Sardar Patel said: "On other matters we would respectfully respect their autonomous existence." The setting up by the Government of India of a department for dealing with the States was the occasion for this statement. "The safety and preservation of these States as well as of India," said the Sardar, is head of the new Department. "Demand unity and mutual co-operation between the different parts." "We are," he added, "at a momentous stage in the history of India. By common endeavours we can make the country a new greenland, while lack of unity will expose us to fresh calamities. I hope the Indian States will bear in mind that the alternative to co-operation in the general interest is anarchy and chaos which will overwhelm great and small. It is a common ruin if we are unable to set together in a minimum of common law."

The Maharaja of Bikaner warmly welcomed the Sardar's statement and appealed to his brother Princes to "grasp the hand of friendship which has thus been extended by Congress." He found himself in whole hearted agreement with what Sardar

Patel had said. Nearly 60 States representatives out of a total of 73, representing over 50 million people and Princes in the Indian States, are expected to sit in the Constituent Assembly when it meets on July 14.

Minorities in Pakistan

Speaking at a Press conference at New Delhi, Mr. Jinnah, Governor-General Designate of Pakistan, gave the broad outlines of the policy to be followed in respect of minorities. "To minorities," he said, "to which ever community they may belong, will be safeguarded. Their religion or their faith or belief will be protected in every way possible. Their life and property will be secure. There will be no interference with their freedom of worship. They will have the same rights and responsibilities as the majority community. Their faith, their life, their property and their culture. They will be in all respects treated as citizens of Pakistan without any distinction of caste, colour, religion or creed. They will have all their rights and privileges and also the responsibilities also, and they will play their part in the affairs of the State. As long as the minorities are loyal to the State and owe their allegiance to it and as long as I have any power, they need have no apprehension of any kind. I advise the Hindus and Muslims, I advise every citizen, to be loyal to his State." About the relations between the two new Dominions, he said: "I sincerely hope they will be friendly and cordial. We have a great deal to do—both Sind and I think we can be of use to each other, not to say the word."

Gandhi's Views

Great Britain, said Gandhiji would be judged by action following the bill rather than its language, however generous and just it might read. His last evaluation in saying that the British Government had lacked the courage, since the inception of the Cabinet Mission effort, to do the right thing, no matter what the cost was. Here again British honour was at stake. The British would certainly be blamed if any mishap occurred. The dangerous situation had not been cleared by the B.M. Those who believed in India as a united country, no minority and majority question. All were entitled to equal rights. If it became known that the look of things was changed during the next 35 days. On the 12th he said that by assuming the office of the Governor-General of Pakistan, he had gone back to

his word. Both the Congress and the League Party agreed upon having one Governor-General for both the Dominions. Later Mr. Jinnah himself wanted to become the Governor-General of Pakistan. The Congress thought it better, said Gandhiji, to work under a British Governor-General as long as India remained a Dominion. "Moreover it does not matter whether the Governor-General is an Englishman or a Frenchman or of any other nationality. The real power is with the people." He asked people not to believe that the Congress leaders had weakened and by asking Lord Mountbatten to stay on had showed that they were still dependent on England. After all they could always fight him if he proved false to them. They would be foolish to imagine that no Englishman could ever be a friend of India and loyal to her, or that Lord Mountbatten would not be a servant of the Indian Union because he was of royal blood. They should never mistrust anyone until and unless he proved himself unworthy.

Islam On Trial In Punjab And Sind

Muslims, Congress and Sikh leaders fervently appealed for

peace to people at a joint public meeting at Gurgaonwala. Malik Farooq Khan Noon, on the other hand, has issued a statement containing a threat to the peace of the country. He said: "The battle is our natural boundary. Unless this river is our boundary, there will not be peace between Pakistan and Hindustan, and the more the Congress insists on just claims, the deeper they lay the foundation of our antagonism." Dr. Chaitram, Congress leader of Sind, made bitter complaints about the treatment of the Hindus in Sind. At a meeting in Bombay he drew a phony picture of the systematic policy of suppression of the minorities in Sind, proposed in its endeavour to establish a theocratic State. By highly discriminating legislation, propaganda and preferential treatment to the majority community, the Muslim League, he said, seeks to "Muslimise the province" in all spheres of life, making life impossible for any self-respecting minority. Verbal assurances were honoured only by their breach, as Sind Hindus had learnt to their cost. He appealed to the Indian Union Government to extend all possible help to the minorities in

WHY ARMIES?

By A. K. In "Harijan"

An English friend, deeply interested in education and a hater from the bottom of his heart of war, said to me the other day: "I am dreadfully sad about the partition but I suppose it would not be avoided. What, however, I can never understand is why any country needs armies. We talk a good deal of human rights and world peace but how can there be peace so long as armies, whatever of the land, air or sea exist in any country? Why cannot an adequate police force be enough for any country to maintain law and order and why cannot all armies be disbanded? In the police force may be necessary. I had hoped India would, under your chief's guidance, give the world the lead. But I realise that the communal strife has, I hope only for a short time, overshadowed what was really the aim of the movement. If you are forced to spend an enormous amount of money on armaments, what about education? It will be the same old cry and there will be no money for your primary needs."

Perhaps nothing, next to the partition itself, has led Gandhiji's heart with a more bitter as the division of the army. In agony of heart he has painted in his prayer and in the awakening picture of, perhaps, a Hindu and

a Muslim army facing each other with intent to kill and destroy utterly—almost as if the continuing signs of violence were not or had not been enough to turn men's minds for ever from arms, not, murder and rape!

The English friend's fears are justified. A poor country like India, if forced to maintain a strong army, will never be able to spend liberally on her building activities and the last state will be worse than the first.

Two Indonesian friends, who dropped in to see Gandhiji, asked how it is possible for them to resist European aggression except by arms. Europe had always believed in force and the Indonesian friends did not see how any country could meet it except by force.

Gandhiji gently remonstrated by saying that such a question betrayed deep ignorance of non-violence. "Let me put you a question. Suppose the armed and combined might of Britain, America and Russia wished to enslave you, what amount of violence would you need to meet it? I suggest that you could not violently resist up to it unless, perhaps, you had the backing of the whole of Asia and even then you might lose if the European weapons of war were better. But you could resist even alone with non-violence."

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છાપેલી બેરજેટની સાડીઓ	૭ ૧૦ ૦
સીલક મઝલીનની ભરત ભરેલી સાડીઓ	૮ ૮ ૦
જરી ભરત સીલક મઝલીન સાડીઓ	૧૩ ૧૦ ૦
જરી ભરત બેરજેટ સાડીઓ	૧૫ ૦ ૦
છેલ્લા ઢાળની બે રંગીન સાડીઓ	૧૨ ૧૨ ૦
કોટનના સફેદ ધુમકાં ૫ વાર	૨ ૫ ૦
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481, 483, 485, 487, 489, 491, 493, 495, 497, 499, 501, 503, 505, 507, 509, 511, 513, 515, 517, 519, 521, 523, 525, 527, 529, 531, 533, 535, 537, 539, 541, 543, 545, 547, 549, 551, 553, 555, 557, 559, 561, 563, 565, 567, 569, 571, 573, 575, 577, 579, 581, 583, 585, 587, 589, 591, 593, 595, 597, 599, 601, 603, 605, 607, 609, 611, 613, 615, 617, 619, 621, 623, 625, 627, 629, 631, 633, 635, 637, 639, 641, 643, 645, 647, 649, 651, 653, 655, 657, 659, 661, 663, 665, 667, 669, 671, 673, 675, 677, 679, 681, 683, 685, 687, 689, 691, 693, 695, 697, 699, 701, 703, 705, 707, 709, 711, 713, 715, 717, 719, 721, 723, 725, 727, 729, 731, 733, 735, 737, 739, 741, 743, 745, 747, 749, 751, 753, 755, 757, 759, 761, 763, 765, 767, 769, 771, 773, 775, 777, 779, 781, 783, 785, 787, 789, 791, 793, 795, 797, 799, 801, 803, 805, 807, 809, 811, 813, 815, 817, 819, 821, 823, 825, 827, 829, 831, 833, 835, 837, 839, 841, 843, 845, 847, 849, 851, 853, 855, 857, 859, 861, 863, 865, 867, 869, 871, 873, 875, 877, 879, 881, 883, 885, 887, 889, 891, 893, 895, 897, 899, 901, 903, 905, 907, 909, 911, 913, 915, 917, 919, 921, 923, 925, 927, 929, 931, 933, 935, 937, 939, 941, 943, 945, 947, 949, 951, 953, 955, 957, 959, 961, 963, 965, 967, 969, 971, 973, 975, 977, 979, 981, 983, 985, 987, 989, 991, 993, 995, 997, 999, 1001, 1003, 1005, 1007, 1009, 1011, 1013, 1015, 1017, 1019, 1021, 1023, 1025, 1027, 1029, 1031, 1033, 1035, 1037, 1039, 1041, 1043, 1045, 1047, 1049, 1051, 1053, 1055, 1057, 1059, 1061, 1063, 1065, 1067, 1069, 1071, 1073, 1075, 1077, 1079, 1081, 1083, 1085, 1087, 1089, 1091, 1093, 1095, 1097, 1099, 1101, 1103, 1105, 1107, 1109, 1111, 1113, 1115, 1117, 1119, 1121, 1123, 1125, 1127, 1129, 1131, 1133, 1135, 1137, 1139, 1141, 1143, 1145, 1147, 1149, 1151, 1153, 1155, 1157, 1159, 1161, 1163, 1165, 1167, 1169, 1171, 1173, 1175, 1177, 1179, 1181, 1183, 1185, 1187, 1189, 1191, 1193, 1195, 1197, 1199, 1201, 1203, 1205, 1207, 1209, 1211, 1213, 1215, 1217, 1219, 1221, 1223, 1225, 1227, 1229, 1231, 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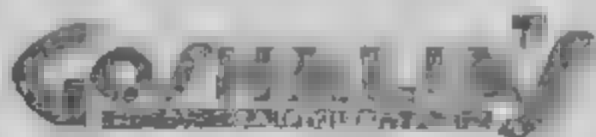
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INDIAN OPINION

For and by
MAHATMA GANDHI
IN 1903

No. 35 - Vol. XLV.

Friday, 8th August, 1947.

Price 10/-

Indian Opinion

August, 1947

How To Celebrate Independence Day

WE made some recommendations, choose their own ways of doing so and it is nothing but right that they should as long as they are in keeping with the celebrations that are to take place in India. Incidentally, it is a little ironical that when a great country of four hundred million people is to achieve its Independence and when such elaborate preparations are being made in that country to celebrate that joyous occasion, there is practically a complete black-out of news in that connection in so far as South Africa is concerned. The news supplied by the various news agencies would give one the impression that nothing but communal rioting is taking place in India, which is far from correct. Radio is the only source through which we are able to know what is really going on in our Motherland and one is thrilled at the gigantic preparations that are being made.

We venture to make a suggestion to include an item, if it has not already been included, in the celebration programmes in the various parts of the Union. That item is that the hoisting of the flag of the Union of India should take place exactly at sunrise at the seaside wherever possible, and where that is not possible, in the open where the sunrise is visible. People of all sects—Hindus, Parsis,

should treat that occasion as they would their greatest festive occasion and try to be pure in body and mind. The flag hoisting should follow prayers representing all denominations, and one or two national songs. There is so much festivity for banquets and dinners which do not in the least attract us, especially at a time when more than half of the world is starving. We would rather suggest that the amount desired to

be spent on such a project should if possible, be augmented and spent on feeding the poor and the needy on that auspicious day. As we have already stated last week this greatest national day in the history of the Indian people should be treated more as a day of thanksgiving prayer than of jubilation. There can be real jubilation only when there is one world and one human brotherhood.

INDIA INDEPENDENCE DAY CELEBRATION COMMITTEE

(DURBAN)

A MEETING convened by a few leading Indians was held on Friday, August 8 at the Surat Hindu Association on Hall to consider how the great occasion of the Independence of India on August 15 could be appropriately celebrated by Indians in Durban. It was decided unanimously that all those present should be elected as a committee to make all the necessary arrangements for the celebrations with power to co-opt. Mr. A. Christopher who presided at the meeting was elected chairman of the committee, Mr. S. L. Singh, vice-chairman, Messrs. N. V. Mehta and M. Moonji, joint hon. secretaries and Messrs. K. R. Pillay and V. P. Desai were elected joint hon. treasurers.

On Saturday afternoon Mr. B. M. Patel was kind enough to allow the use of his premises at 71 Prince Edward Street as the Committee's office which was

immediately furnished with the necessary requisites. Mr. Vadiva Pillay is doing all the clerical work and all the officials and the various sub-committees are working most enthusiastically to make the celebrations a grand success. The response from the public seems to be growing in leaps and bounds.

On Wednesday night the Sports Association decided to allow the use of the Carries Fountain Sports Ground for children's sports and a Sports Committee is arranging a programme for that occasion.

Our Next Week's Issue

OWING to the celebrations of India Independence Day there will be no ordinary issue of 'Indian Opinion' next week but we are hoping to produce a Special Independence Number in commemoration of that great National occasion.

As to how the occasion should be celebrated, the people in different parts of South Africa would, pre-

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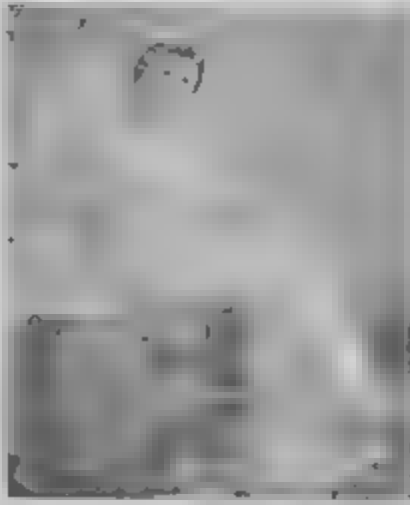
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સીલકની છાપેલી સાડીઓ દરેક રંગમાં	૫૫. ૨૧. ૫૦
સીલકની બરત બરેલી સાડીઓ નવીન ડીઝાઇન	૫ ૧૦ ૦
છાપેલી જોરજોટની સાડીઓ	૫ ૧૦ ૦
સીલક મજલીનની બરત બરેલી સાડીઓ	૮ ૮ ૦
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છેલ્લા દબની બે રંગીન સાડીઓ	૧૨ ૧૨ ૦
કોટનના સફેદ કુમડાં ૫ વાર	૨ ૫ ૦
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ସ୍ଥାନ ନାମ ଓ ପୂର୍ବ

૧૯૬૧ના કમીટી જે આ બાબત
પ્રથમની ઉજવાણીની તબક્કાની
કરવા મુદ્દા છે તે બબે, બિલ્ડર,
કારપેચ સેલેક્ટરના મન કા, વિગેરે
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સંખ્યામાં તૈયાર કરાવવાના કામ
માં સોંકાવેલી છે અને કમીટીની
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ajona	5	"	"

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ફોન ૬૪. પો. બોક્ષ ૧૦૬.
ટેલ. એડ્રેસ: "કાન્જી"

એચ. કે. ગોકળ,

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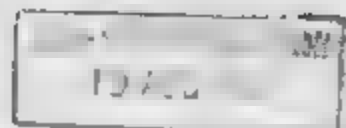
19 AUG

INDIAN OPINION

FOUNDED BY
MAHATMA GANDHI
1948-1953



INDIA INDEPENDENCE NUMBER



OUR SPECIAL NUMBER

It gives us great pleasure in presenting to the reader this Special Number in commemoration of this great day in the history of our Motherland—the day on which she has achieved her long aspired goal of Independence. We must confess we have not been able to make this Number really worthy of the great occasion. We have had to do the best we could in the extremely short space of time and with the extremely limited resources at our disposal. It is, therefore, incomplete and wanting in many respects. There are many revered leaders both of the past and present whose services to our Motherland have been unique and who deserved an honoured place among those we have already recorded. That we have not been able to include them is not due to any thoughtlessness or oversight on our part but, because it was physically impossible to do so in the difficult circumstances in which we have had to work to complete this task in time. We present this Number to the reader, therefore, for what it is worth, and we trust the reader will appreciate it as such. We record our sincere thanks to the kind friends and well-wishers who sent messages of goodwill on this great occasion. As Providence would have it, our printing machine let us down in the midst of our work and we are specially indebted to the Provincial Printing Co. (Pty.) Ltd., to Mr Hillman, the Printers' engineer, and to Mr L. Beatty, who very kindly came to our rescue. We must also record our sincere thanks to Mr. Pihay of the Mercantile Printing Works, for printing the cover for us and for very kindly rendering other assistance, and to Mr N. A. Mehta of the Universal Printing Works, for printing the Supplement and also for assisting us in other ways, to the Art Engraving Co. for expediting the work of blocks, to Messrs. & Dookie and Heeralal for doing all the tanning. Last, and not least, all the members of our printing and other staff without whose willing and enthusiastic co-operation it would have been impossible to complete this difficult task.

MOTHER INDIA*

India, my India, where the first human eyes awoke to heaven's light
All Asia's holy place of pilgrimage, great Motherland of might
Wardmother, first giver to humankind of philosophy and sacred lore
Knowledge that giveth to man, God love, works, art, religions opened door

India, my India, who dare call thee a thing for pity's grace today?
Mother of wisdom, worship, works, nurse of the spirit's inward ray?

To thy race O India God himself once sang the Song of songs divine,
Upon thy dust Gauranga danced and drank God loves mysterious wine
Here the Sanyasin Son of Kings lit up compassion's deathless sun
The youthful Yogin Shankar, taught thy gospel: "I and He are one"

India, my India, who dare call thee a thing for pity's grace today?
Mother of wisdom, worship, works, nurse of the spirit's inward ray?
Art thou not she, that India where the Aryan Rishis chanted high
The Vedic's deep and endless hymns and gave us not their progeny?
Armed with that great tradition we shall walk the earth with heads undowed
O Mother, those who bear that glorious past may well be brave and proud

India, my India, who dare call thee a thing for pity's grace today?
Mother of wisdom, worship, works, nurse of the spirit's inward ray?

O everwatchful thou great door dowered or turned to better use or ill
How shall we mourn who say my fatherland in vain thy name in grief
Before we stand here that is the art of these splendid days of grief
A new word in our vision wakes, Love's light we stand at its first meet

India, my India, who dare call thee a thing for pity's grace today?
Mother of wisdom, worship, works, nurse of the spirit's inward ray?

Editorial . . .**AUGUST FIFTEENTH**

August 15, 1947, is a dark, stormy day in our history. On this day the whole of British India has been divided into two parts. The British have left India, and the Indian people have taken over the reins of power. We are now free to build our own nation, free to follow our own path, free to develop our own economy. We must not forget that this freedom was won at a great cost. The Indian people have suffered for many years under the rule of the British. They have been exploited, oppressed, and denied their basic rights. Now, on this day, they have won their freedom. They must now build a new India, a free India, a democratic India. They must not let the British go without giving them a proper reward.

This is a day of great significance in our history. It is a day when the Indian people have won their freedom. It is a day when the British have left India. It is a day when the Indian people have taken over the reins of power. We must not forget that this freedom was won at a great cost. The Indian people have suffered for many years under the rule of the British. They have been exploited, oppressed, and denied their basic rights. Now, on this day, they have won their freedom. They must now build a new India, a free India, a democratic India. They must not let the British go without giving them a proper reward.

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Let us now turn to the future of India. The future of India is in the hands of the Indian people. They must build a new India, a free India, a democratic India. They must not let the British go without giving them a proper reward.

and all citizens shall have equal opportunities of development

struggle for freedom

himself on this day.

VANDE MATARAM

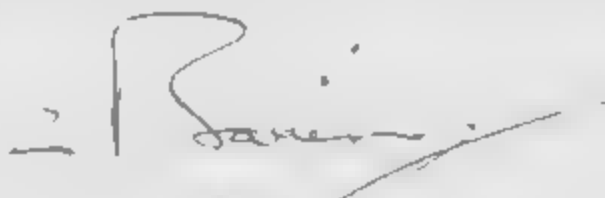
MESSAGES

FIELD-MARSHAL THE RT. HON. J. C. SMUTS

"Through "Indian Opinion" I would like to send a message of congratulations and good wishes to the Indian community in connection with the establishment of two independent Dominions in India. The peoples of India can now move forward in the free and unfettered shaping of their own destiny. May nothing bring them good fortune. My sincere wish is that in their search for a better world they may not find a worse and may have peace and happiness at last. The whole world will acclaim their success and wish them a full measure of it."

THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR THE UNITED
KINGDOM IN THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA

"I send a message of good wishes for the progress and prosperity of India in the future. There are many Englishmen who, like myself, have lived and worked in India and have come to know at least a little of the country of the vast Gangetic plain, of the stony plateau of the Deccan or of the ancient South. Many too, will remember good friends among Indians whether of the city, the small town or the village. All I am sure, will hope, as I do, that in the future India will flourish and Indians will be happy, peaceful and prosperous."



12. 8 47.

MESSAGE FROM

SARDAR VALLABHBHIA PATEL.

"I send my best wishes and greetings to the readers of Indian Opinion on our Independence Day. To-day, when we are witnessing the fulfilment of our life's ambition and are participating in the victory that has crowned our nation's struggle for freedom, it is our first duty to pay homage to the memory of those whose sacrifices have contributed so much to this glorious conclusion of that struggle. Let the nation honour their memory in rejoicings, which freedom has brought in its train.

"For us fortunate ones who have lived to see this day the hour is one both of pride and glory. We are proud to have brought India to its goal and acclaim the glorious results achieved by long-sustained peaceful and non violent struggle under Gandhiji's inspiring leadership. Although the goal is not one we had aimed at at the outset there is not the least doubt that there is nothing now to prevent us from moulding the future of India in a manner we like.

"Our primary duty now is jealously to guard our freedom against dangers from without and from within. We have also to ensure the humblest among us to have the same stature as the tallest in the land, that labour gets its legitimate share of its produce, that toiling millions in villages obtain a just return for the sweat of their brow and that the State discharges adequately its elementary duty of feeding, clothing, housing and educating every son and daughter of our Motherland.

"Our hearts naturally go out to those who were of us and with us so long, but who are now to be separated. Few can realise the bitterness and sorrow which partition has brought to those who cherished unity. But let not our brethren across the border feel they are neglected or forgotten. Their welfare will claim our vigilance and we shall follow with abiding interest their future in full hope and confidence that sooner or later we shall again be united in common allegiance to our country."

MESSAGES

PANDIT GOVIND BALLABH PANT

"My cordial greetings to our countrymen in South Africa on this historic occasion of the liberation of our ancient land. While heralding down a new era we are naturally reminded of our difficulties and handicaps from which our countrymen are suffering in foreign lands. We take note of the trials and tribulations which they have been undergoing to maintain our common honour and dignity. All these will soon, however, be only memories of the past. They have a right to look forward to their Mother country for the vindication of their rights. Free India will not tolerate this invidious and humiliating treatment of Indians abroad and I hope they will attain full status and privileges of citizenship in South Africa soon. Independent India can be trusted to succeed where subject India proved powerless."

SJT. C. RAJAGOPALACHARI.

"India has not slept over her new status. She has contributed most effectively to the cause of world peace in a concrete manner by getting the recent Dutch aggression in Indonesia to terminate through the intercession of Uno. Australia competed with India in this cease-fire service in the Indian Ocean. All honour to Australia but India's word and will have not their potency established. South Africa, too, will not disregard India henceforth."

DR. JOHN MATHAI.

"I wish to send my warm greetings to 'Indian Opinion' and best wishes for the success of the Independence Number it proposes to issue. Those of us in the old country who have followed with concern the struggle our people have been engaged in in South Africa and trust that the new status that India has now achieved will help put fresh courage and hope in their hearts. Their cause is ours. We shall continue to do all in our power to see their rights safeguarded and the grave disabilities they have been subjected to removed. World opinion is beginning to realise the injustice which has been done to our countrymen in South Africa and I have no doubt free India will strengthen our hands in turning to good account the gathering strength of international feeling on this subject."

MESSAGES

MULANA ABUL KALAM AZAD.

"Even when our Motherland was fighting for freedom and trying to throw off the foreign yoke we did not forget our countrymen who had settled down in South Africa and regarded their problems as our own problems. Now that India is free there is all the more reason why we should devote our full attention afresh to the problems facing our kith and kin overseas. We shall do all in our power to alleviate the disabilities under which our countrymen are living. Free India will never tolerate that her sons and daughters wherever they be should be denied their due respect."

MR. K. M. MUNSHI.

"India is free and every Indian all over the world is a free man supported in his dignity and self-respect by the power and influence of the independence of his Motherland. With India free Indians in South Africa are assured of a speedy and successful end of their trials."

DR. RAJENDRAPRASAD.

"Our struggle against Imperialism ends to-day and another begins- a struggle for the prosperity, health, culture and happiness of our people. Let us devote ourselves to this with the same courage and determination and faith which we put in our struggle for freedom. Only then shall we make our freedom fruitful and real."

MRS. SAROJINI NAIDU.

"On this auspicious day when new India unfurls her flag of freedom I send through 'Indian Opinion' greetings of affection and a message of deep gratitude to you, dear kinsmen and kinswomen in South Africa who have carried out your Satyagraha Campaign with such unity, fortitude and faith. India's independence is a guarantee of your deliverance from evil."

MRS. KAMALADEVI CHATTOPADHYA

"I am glad to be able to send my greetings to my sisters across the seas though separated by wide distances. Our fundamental unity remains in our hour of approaching freedom. We must invoke these precious principles. We have stood for an end to all inequality and oppression of men by men and rededicate ourselves to our ideal of equality irrespective of sex, caste or religion."

Moulders Of The Destiny Of India



A Maker Of Modern India

LOKMANYA's name is enshrined in the heart of every Indian. He fired the country with Nationalism. "He was the one man in the older era," writes Pattabhi Saramayya in *The History Of The Congress* "who has suffered from persecution—long and when the judge who tried him was a student of the same law school and asked him what he would say, he gave a memorable reply which deserves to be enshrined in letters of gold in every home." In spite of this, in the early 1940s I met an Englishman in London. There are higher powers that rule the destinies of things and it may be the will of Providence that because when I expressed a desire to spend more by my suffering than by my remaining free Lokmnya was sentenced to two years in prison for sedition in 1942-1944. He took his sentences calmly and bravely and his magnificent works from behind the prison bars. *The Home Of the Fatherland* and *Our Bharat* were not have been possible. It is a legacy to the Nation but his son, Lokmnya played a great part in the Home Rule days and at Amritsar. He passed away after much suffering for his country, but he will be remembered for ever for the rich and inspiring legacy that he has left to every citizen of his nation who is concerned for the country. "Swami is my brother and I will serve Lokmnya and his village as I can. I have seen the struggle for independence has been continued and this is my duty as Lokmnya's son who was as the great martyr of this glorious day." Gandhi thus wrote of him.

[illegible]



Lokmanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak

Who Lived And Died Fighting For Swaraj

DADABHAI NAOROJI

The first name in the list of Indian patriarchs is that of Dadabhai Naoroji who beginning his connection with the Congress from its very outset, continued to serve it till the end of his life. He was the first to place the Congress on a firm basis, in the position of being a people's organ seeking redress of administrative grievances, to that of a National Assembly working for the definite object of attaining 'Swaraj'. He continued to be its President for the first time in 1885, and for the second time in 1906, with it, he held aloft the Congress banner between India and England. Dadabhai's second selection to the Presidentship of the Congress was in appreciation of his election to the House of Commons as a member for central Finsbury. At that time the idea of ventilating India's grievances in London was being seriously discussed. There was an earnest proposal in 1891, to suspend the Congress until a London session was held. But it was turned down by the Congress. It was not until 1906 that a demand for direct Indian representation to the House of Commons. It was at this juncture that Dadabhai was elected Congress President for the second time, and he took the opportunity to exhort the British "not to drive this force (the educated Indians) into opposition instead of drawing it to your own side. 'This Congress', said he, 'represents the aristocracy of intellect'. Dadabhai hoped that 'our faith in the justness, love of justice, and fair play of the United Kingdom is not misplaced'. "The day I hope", he said, "is not distant, when the world will see the noblest spectacle of a great Nation like the British holding out the hand of true fellow citizenship and of justice." To the last day, Dadabhai's faith in the British remained unshaken. "Indians are British citizens," he said in 1906, "and are entitled to and claim all British citizens' rights."

(Taken from 'The History Of The Congress' by Pattabhi Sitaramayya)

TRUE BRITISH RULE

IN THE 'Peace' and 'True British Rule' in India. Dadabhai Naoroji said, "I hope he will very truly represent both British and Indian views where object and all my writings are to impress upon the British people, that instead of a disastrous explosion of the British Indian Empire, as must be the result of the present unimproved Indian system of government, there is a great and glorious future for Britain and India to all extent, once only achieved present, if the British people will awaken to their duty, will be true to their British identity, of fair play and justice, and will rest upon the faithful and conscientious fulfilment of all their moral and solemn promises and plights."

"GOLDEN OLD MAN OF INDIA"



THE LATE DR THE H. N. DADABHAI NAOROJI

BACKGROUND OF THE STRUGGLE

Fifty years ago the Indian National Congress met for the first time in Bombay with a small number of delegates who could hardly be called elected representatives, but who were nevertheless true servants of the people. Ever since then it has been striving for winning freedom for the people of India. In the beginning its aim was indefinite, but it has always insisted on a democratic form of Government responsible to the people of India and representative of all communities and classes inhabiting this vast country. It started with the hope and confidence that British statesmanship and the British Government would rise equal to the occasion and establish truly representative institutions giving the right to the people of India to govern India in the interest of India. The early history of the Congress is full of resolutions and speeches giving expression to this faith and confidence. The very demands of the Congress took the form of resolutions suggesting reforms and removal of objectionable measures, all having as their basis a hope that, if the British people and Parliament could be fully informed of this position of India and of the desire of Indians, they would set things right and ultimately confer on the people the inalienable boon of self-government.

Hopes Completely Shattered

That hope and confidence have been gradually but definitely completely shattered by the action of the British Government in India and in England. The attitude of the British Government has become more and more stiff as the national consciousness has become more and more expressive. Its initial confidence in the intentions of the British Ruler received a shock during the administration of Lord Curzon, who partitioned Bengal, and the great agitation that followed against that ill-fated measure was an index of the rising tide of

popular nationalism which had not a little been encouraged by world events such as the victory of Japan over Russia in the beginning of the 20th century. But India had not yet lost faith and dignity. The great war, partly as a result of this faith, was sustained by the annulment of the partition of Bengal and partly on account of want of proper appreciation of the situation as a whole, the country responded to the call of the British Government to help the British Empire.

At the time of need Indians could help was acknowledged by all British statesmen and hope was engendered that the war, which was being sustained by the principle of self-determination of nations and for making democracy secure, would establish the esteem and respect of the people of India for the British Government in India. The announcement made by the Secretary of State for India on behalf of the British Government in 1917, promising non-cooperation of opinion amongst Indians, which became more and more acute as the result of executions undertaken by the Secretary of State and the Viceroy, became known and the full weight of the Indian Government of India Act of 1919, took shape and form. But at this time of the action of the British war effort in India, the faith in the British and the feeling grew in India that as the pressure of a large part of the nation was on account of the successful termination of the war for Britain, the British attitude had changed for the worse towards India.

The feeling was confirmed by the stand by which was regarded as a matter of faith and the Muhammadans in the matter of the Khalifat and by the policy in spite of the non-cooperation of the country at large of what were known as the Rowlatt Bills, whereby the stringent provisions of the Defence of India Act which had been tolerated during the war were now to be applied to deprive the people

of their elementary rights of freedom.

Birth Of Satyagraha

These gradually created an immense agitation in the whole country, and Satyagraha, which had been used in South Africa and in a similar way in China, India and in Korea in India was put forward by Mahatma Gandhi as the best and as a method to be adopted by the country whereby to secure redress of these and other grievances. There were not remote popular disturbances in the Punjab and Ahmedabad resulting in loss of life and property which were followed by the Jallianwala Bagh massacre and the horrors of an Martial Law regime in the Punjab. There was naturally

strong reaction throughout the country which was not assuaged by the Report of the Hunter Commission appointed to investigate the two latter happenings and was considerably intensified by the debate on the Report in Parliament. The non-cooperation movement was inaugurated with a programme of resignation of civil jobs, refusal to grant the Government boycott of liquor, and refusal to Government taxes.

It included refusal to use British goods and British goods and of foreign cloth, refusal to use British land and on the 4th December 1930 the Congress Committee, consisting of Mahatma Gandhi, collection of taxes, refusal to open of the Government institutions, refusal to pay taxes for collection of village disputes and a series of hand spinning and hand weaving and by elaborate strikes and a campaign of civil disobedience and non-payment of taxes. The Congress Committee was changed and its object was defined as the attainment of Swaraj by peaceful and legitimate means. There was a country-wide strike followed by a procession by Congress men when thousands of men and women, including some of the most respected leaders, were imprisoned towards the end of

British Parliamentary Delegation On Tour Of India



The ten representatives of British Parliament who last year toured India for nearly four weeks, travelling by aeroplane, car and train, the M.P.s visited many rural areas and towns. They walked through villages chatting with surprised villagers, questioning them on their local and other problems. Often they broke up into small groups in order to cover a wider field of contacts. And among people they met were trade union leaders, members of the oppressed classes, student leaders, university professors, and political leaders of all shades of opinion. At Madras two members drove into a tiny, remote village and while there visited the hut of an old woman who had lost a son. Some members of the Delegation addressed public meetings including a labour rally, and Mrs. Nicholson, the only woman member of the Delegation, contacted women's representatives wherever she went.

In this picture (seen with Gandhi (centre, back row)) are some members of the Parliamentary Delegation. The leader of the Delegation, Prof. Richards, is on the extreme left (back to camera). The M.P.s met Gandhi twice at Madras.

1921. Efforts at bringing about a settlement with the Government did not fructify and the programme of non-payment of taxes in Bardoli had to be suspended on account of serious disturbances at Chhatrapur in the United Provinces. Subsequently the other items of the non-co-operation programme were one after another suspended or withdrawn, and Congress members entered the Legislature.

Complete Independence

The appointment by the British Parliament of what is known as the Simon Commission, from which Indians were excluded, for the purpose of investigating the working of the Constitution of 1920, led to another serious upheaval in the country, and the Congress in association with other public bodies framed a Constitution with Dominion Status as the objective for India for the acceptance of the Government. In the absence of any adequate response by the Government, the Congress at its session at Lahore in December, 1929, changed its objective as the attainment of Purna Swaraj (Complete Independence) by legitimate and peaceful means, and organised a campaign of Civil Disobedience of non-moral laws and non-payment of taxes, in the summer of 1930. The Government of England on the one hand called a Conference in London to which it nominated certain Indians to advise it about a Constitution for India, and on the other adopted repressive measures, including the promulgation of a number of most drastic Ordinances for suppressing the Civil Disobedience movement in India. In March 1931, there was a pact entered into by Lord Irwin (the Viceroy representing the Government) and Mahatma Gandhi representing the Congress, as a result of which Civil Disobedience was suspended and Mahatma Gandhi attended the Round Table Conference in London towards the end of 1931. As was to be expected, nothing came out of the Conference and the Congress was forced to revive the movement

early in 1932 and carried it on till 1934, when it was suspended.

In the two movements of 1931 and 1932 hundreds of thousands of men and women and even children, courted imprisonment, received lathi blows and other kinds of torture and suffered loss of property. Many were killed as a result of fire by the Government forces and crowds. The Salvaguardians showed remarkable power of organisation and suffering and were, on the whole, completely non-violent in the face of the greatest provocation. Congress organisation showed great vitality and powers of adaptability and survived the great attack made on it by the Government. The country came out of the fiery ordeal with credit but with its achieving its great objective of Purna Swaraj.

Fundamental Rights

By a resolution passed at Karachi the Congress also adopted certain fundamental rights and drew up an economic and social programme. It made it clear that in order to end the exploitation of the masses, political freedom must include real economic freedom of the starving masses and laid down four essentials of citizenship such as freedom of speech and association, of person and property, of election and conscience. It also laid down that the interests of Agricultural Labour shall be safeguarded by securing for them healthy conditions of work, limited hours of labour, stable machinery for settlement of disputes and protection against economic consequences of drought, sickness and unemployment and the right to form unions. It insured the peasantry to secure equitable adjustments of the burden on agricultural land by a reduction of rent and revenue and exemption from rent or revenue for uneconomic holdings, with such relief as may be just and necessary to holders of small estates affected by such exemption or reduction in rent. It also provided for a graded tax on net incomes from land above

a reasonable minimum, death duties on a graduated scale on property above a fixed income, and drastic reduction of expenditure on military and defence and civil administration, fixing the salary of State servants at a maximum of Rs. 500 a month. It also laid down an economic and social programme of excluding foreign cloth, protecting indigenous industries, prohibition of intoxicating drugs and drinks, state control of key industries, relief to agricultural indebtedness, regulation of currency and exchange in the interest of the country and provision for the military training of citizens for national defence.

Constructive Programme

The session of the Congress at Bombay in October 1930 endorsed the policy of engaging the Legislatures and laid down a constructive programme including revival of and encouragement of hand-spinning and hand-weaving, promotion of useful village and small industries, construction of village life in its economic, educational, social and hygienic aspects, removal of untouchability, promotion of inter-communal unity, total abstinence, national education, spread of useful knowledge among the adult population, organisation of industrial labour, growth and strengthening of the Congress organisation. It also revised the

total number of delegates and made it proportionate to the number of primary members on the Congress roll and insisted on equal labour and habitat sharing on behalf of all elected members and office-bearers of Congress Committees.

Then after a few years' respite there came a crisis. When the war was declared in 1939 India was dragged into it without her consent. It was an affront which she could not tolerate and for a time in order not to embarrass the British Government individual Salvagardians was launched. But the Government, totally ignoring the sentiments of the people of India, became ruthless in crushing individual rights and

British M.P.s Address Pressmen



Addressing Pressmen at New Delhi on the eve of their departure members of the Delegation expressed deep satisfaction at the warm welcome accorded to them everywhere they went. "When we go back to England," declared Mr. Godfrey Nicholson, one of the Conservative members of the Delegation, "we shall carry back the report of a great and a noble nation that has reached the full stature of political maturity." The leader of the Delegation (Prof. Richards) extended to him the warmest welcome, so great as to free a room along with our great nation to extending the liberty and prosperity of a much-tortured world. Mr. Wyndham member of the British Labour Party thought that India must become independent this year, or in any case, the fact must be set on record as the road to independence.

Prof. Richards, one of the members of the British Parliamentary Delegation, is seen in this picture summing up his impressions of the tour. Only a few of about 700 journalists who listened to him are seen here.

liberty. It was then, in August, 1942, that the now historic "Quit India" resolution was passed by the All-India Congress Committee which met in Bombay, which was replied to by the Government by flinging into prison every one of the leaders of the people and following it up by an orgy of oppression and repression on a mass scale, with the object of crushing the spirit of the people. The history of the three years that followed is written in letters of blood. But the object of the Government was defeated: the spirit of the people could not be crushed, and the prison gates had to be flung open and fresh negotiations had to be carried on with the very people the Government had spurned.

THE DOCTRINE OF THE SWORD

Mahatma Gandhi's views on non-violence expressed a quarter of a century ago are a guidance to the world to-day more than at any other time. We owe no apology, therefore, for reproducing them here on this great occasion.

I do believe that, where there is only a chance between cowardice and violence, I would advise violence. Thus when my eldest son asked me what he should have done, had he been present when I was unjustly falsely assaulted in 188, whether he should have run away and seen me killed or whether he should have used his physical force which he could and wanted to use and defended me, I told him that it was his duty to defend me even by using violence. Hence it was that I took part in the Boer War, the so-called Zulu Rebellion and the late War. Hence also do I advocate training in arms for those who believe in the method of violence. I would rather have India resort to arms in order to defend her honour than that she would in a cowardly manner become or remain a helpless witness to her own dishonour.

But I believe that non-violence

Since then, with the Simla Conference, the Parliamentary Declaration, the Cabinet Mission and the rushing of the Viceroy to London and the calling of the people's representatives by the British Government, things have moved very rapidly and now ends with the retiring of the British Government and handing over power to India. Thus has ended triumphantly a great struggle for freedom fought against a mighty Empire by means of Passive Resistance.

The portion up to 1934 of this brief survey has been taken from the introduction written by Dr. Ravendra Prasad to "The History of the Congress" by Pattabhi Sitaramayya.

a infinitely superior to violence. forgiveness is more manly than punishment. Forgiveness adorns a soldier. But abstinence from forgiveness only when there is the power to punish, it is meaningless when it pretends to proceed from a helpless creature. A mouse hardly forgives a cat when it allows itself to be torn to pieces by her. I therefore appreciate the sentiment of those who cry out for the eternal punishment of General Dyer and his ilk. They would tear him to pieces, if they could. But I do not believe India to be helpless. I do not believe myself to be a helpless creature. Only I want to use India's and my strength for a better purpose.

Let me not be misunderstood. Strength does not come from physical capacity. It comes from an indomitable will. An average Zulu is a very way more than a match for an average Englishman in bodily strength. he flees from an English boy because he fears the boy's revolver or those who will use it for him. He fears death and is nerveless in spite of his burly figure. We in India may at a moment realise that one hundred thousand English men need

not frighten three hundred million human beings. A definite forgiveness would, therefore, mean a definite recognition of our strength. With enlightened forgiveness must come a mighty wave of strength in us, which would make it impossible for a Dyer and a Frank Johnson to reap affront on India's devoted soil. It matters little to me that for the moment I do not drive my point home. We feel too downtrodden not to be angry and revengeful. But I must not refrain from saying that India can gain more by waiving the right of punishment. We have better work to do, a better mission to deliver to the world.

I am not a visionary. I claim to be a practical idealist. The religion of non-violence is not meant merely for the rich and saints. It is meant for the common people as well. Non-violence is the law of our species as violence is the law of the brute. The spirit lies dormant in the brute, and he knows no law but that of physical might. The dignity of man requires obedience to a higher law than the strength of the brute.

I have therefore ventured to place before India the ancient law of self-sacrifice. For satyagraha and its offshoots, non-cooperation and civil resistance, are nothing but new names for the law of suffering. The rishis, who discovered the law of non-violence in the midst of violence, were greater geniuses than Newton. They were themselves greater warriors than Wellington. Having themselves known the use of arms, they realised their uselessness, and taught a weary world that salvation lay not through violence but through non-violence.

Non-violence in its dynamic conception means conscious suffering. It does not mean meek submission to the will of the evil-doer, but it means putting of one's whole soul against the

The Prime Minister's Work At Viceroy's House

THE Prime Minister with the Chief Members of the first Joint India Mission, the day after his arrival, is seen at work in the Council Room at the Viceroy's House.



Members of the British Cabinet, Mountbatten, conferring with Mountbatten (Mr. Kalam Azad).

The Mountbatten is seen in conversation with Sir Stafford Cripps. Lord Pethick-Lawrence is first from the left.

will of the tyrant. Working under this law of our being, it is possible for a single individual to defy the whole might of a tyrannical empire to save his honour, his religion, his soul, and lay the foundation for that empire's fall or its regeneration.

And so I am not pleading for India to practise non-violence because it is weak. I want her to practise non-violence being conscious of her strength and power. No training in arms is required for realisation of her strength. We seem to need it because we seem to think we are but a lump of flesh. I want India to recognise that she has a soul that cannot perish and that can arise triumphant above every physical weakness and defy the physical combination of the whole world. What is the

I found this non-violence from Sam Lemsalu, for it is so conceived as to be incapable of being offered side by side with violence. But I invite even the school of violence to say this

pitiful non-cooperation and it will not fail through its inherent weakness. I may fail because of poverty of response. There will be no time for re-arguer. The fire-souled men who are wholely willing to own humiliation any longer will want to vent their wrath. They will take to violence. So far as I know, they must perish with or without me. The only way to their country from the wrong. It must take up the doctrine of the sword she may gain a century's victory. Then India will cease to be the price of no-

heart. I am wedded to India because I owe my all to her. I am ever absolutely that she has no reason for the world. She is a dead copy. I am blind. To her acceptance of the doctrine of the sword will be the end of my life. I hope I shall be found wanting. My religion has no geographical limits. I have a living faith in it, it will transcend my love for India and all. My life is dedicated to the service of India through the sword or non violence which I accept to be the root of Hindu

INDIA'S CHALLENGE TO FREEDOM

Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of the Environment, who was passed by the Constituent Assembly.

This Covenant Assembly declares its firm and sover-
eign intention to treat as an
Independent, Sovereign Republic
and to draw up for her future
government a Constitution

Wherein the territories have now comprised British India, the territories that now form the United States, and several parts of Europe are now British India and the States as well as each other territories are now to be constituted into the Independent Sovereigns. It shall be a turn of the wheel and

The said Committee is
whether with the present Com-
mittee or with such others as
may be selected by the Com-
mittee. Accordingly, and there-
fore, in the law of
Constitution, still possibly in-
clude the status of a political
unit, together with its own
powers, and executive powers
and functions as are vested
or assigned to the Union or
are inherent or implied in the
Union or resulting therefrom.

where all power and authority of the sovereign independent state and its constituent parts are derived from the people and

When it shall be guaranteed
 no second to all the people of
 India justice, social, economic,
 and political equality of status,
 of opportunity, and before the
 law, freedom of thought, ex-
 pression, belief, faith, worship,
 and movement for and action,
 subject to law and public moral

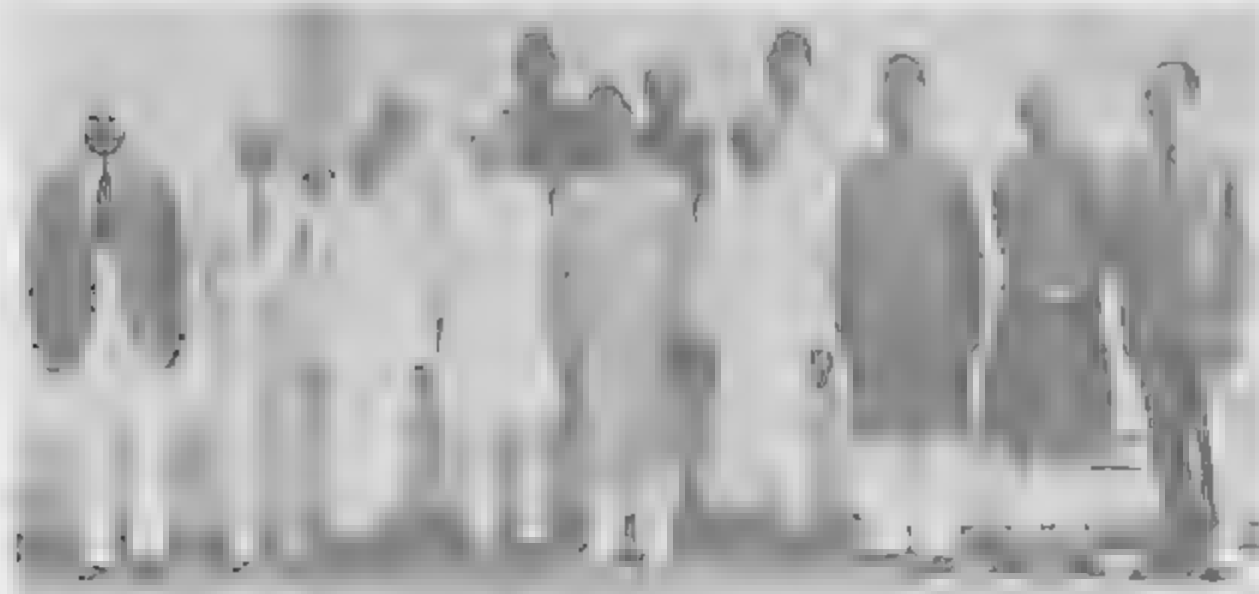
There are adequate safeguards to be provided for minorities, backward and tribal areas and caste and other backward classes and

State now should be maintained
the integrity of the territory of
the Republic and its sovereign
rights on land sea and air
according to justice and the law
civilized nations, and

This ancient land again a righted and honored place in the world and make us full and $\frac{1}{2}$ contribution to the promotion of world peace and the

INDIA INDEPENDENCE NUMBER

Members Of The Indian Interim Government



(Left to right, first row) — The Hon'ble Sardar Baldev Singh, the Hon'ble Dr. John Mathai, the Hon'ble Mr. I. Rangaiah, the Hon'ble Potti Swamikal Nehru, the Hon'ble Mr. Jaganath Ahluwalia, the Hon'ble Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel, the Hon'ble Mr. T. T. Dikshit, the Hon'ble Mr. Asaf Ali, the Hon'ble Mr. C. H. Bhabha.

(Left to right, back row) — The Hon'ble Mr. J. C. van Rhee, the Hon'ble Mr. Chaudhary Ahluwalia, the Hon'ble Mr. Rajendra Prasad and the Hon'ble Mr. Asaf Ali Nizamat.

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Provincial Premiers and representatives with Members of the Interim Government on the occasion of the Premier's visit to New Delhi.

(Left to right) — The Hon'ble Mr. Shree Krishna Sahasrabudhe, the Hon'ble Dr. Khan Sahib (N. W. F. P.), the Hon'ble Mr. Hari Krishna Mahata, the Hon'ble Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant, the Hon'ble Mr. T. T. Dikshit, Mr. R. G. Khanna, the Hon'ble Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant, and the Hon'ble Mr. Asaf Ali Nizamat.

Mr. C. H. Bhabha.

Where India's Constitutional Future Was Being Decided



INDIA INDEPENDENCE NUMBER

For the first time in the history of India popular representatives from all parts of the country including the princely states and the leaders have met in a constituent Assembly for deliberations regarding the constitution of the future of the country

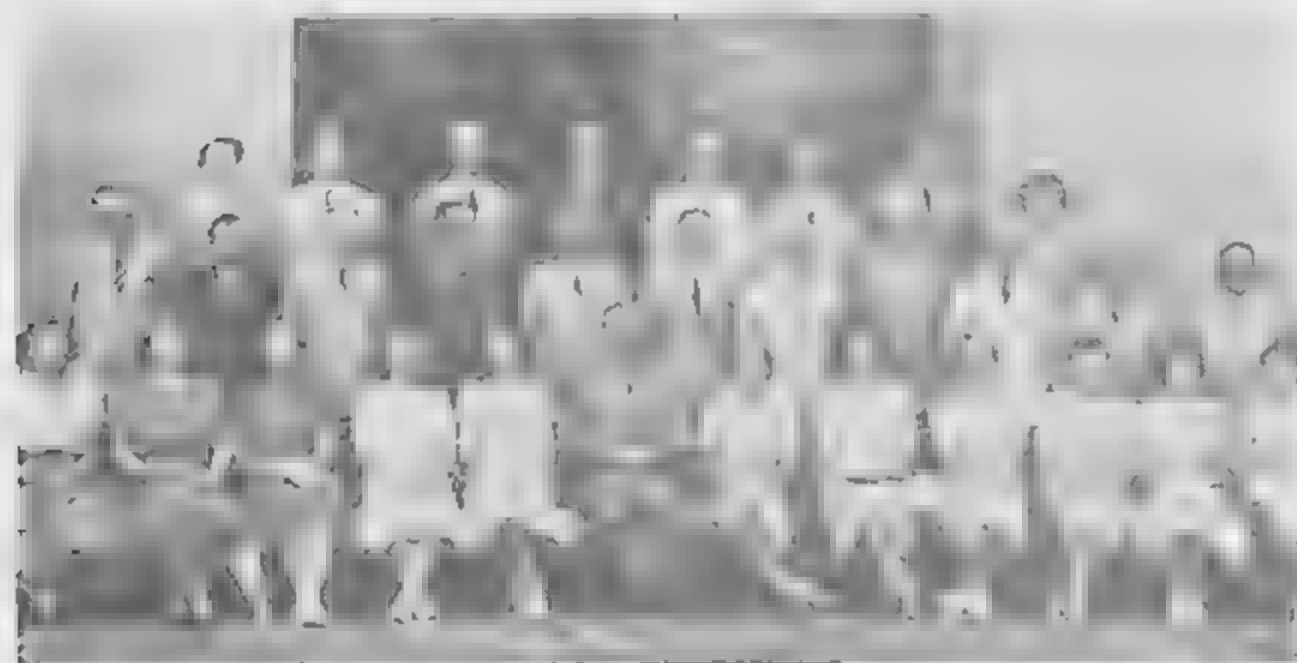
The Constituent Assembly is a body which will be responsible for the framing of the constitution of India. It will be a body of representatives of the people of India and will be responsible for the framing of the constitution of India.

INDIA INDEPENDENCE NUMBER

Pandit Nehru Outlines India's Foreign Policy



The Hon. Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru, Minister for External Affairs, is seen on the right, addressing a group of men in the House of Representatives, outlining India's foreign policy.



The Hon. Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru, Minister for External Affairs, is seen on the right, addressing a group of men in the House of Representatives, outlining India's foreign policy.

INDIA INDEPENDENCE NUMBER

Asian Relations Conference



Asian Relations Conference was held in New Delhi from April 4 to 14, 1954. It was the first of its kind in the world. The conference was attended by representatives from 29 countries, including India, China, Indonesia, Japan, and the Soviet Union.

The conference was held in the presence of the Prime Minister of India, Jawahar Lal Nehru, who presided over the opening ceremony.



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First to be seen in the picture are the Prime Minister of India, Jawahar Lal Nehru, and the Prime Minister of China, Zhou Enlai, who were seen together in the picture.

INDIA INDEPENDENCE NUMBER

Indian Delegates At Peace Conference



Mr. Asaf Ali, India's first ambassador to the U.S.A., is seen in the Paris Peace Conference, last October, presiding over the Indian National Congress. He is at the head of the Indian delegation, because it is so long that when the delegates are seated, the first thing of people entering the hall is to see him. He is sitting at the back, against the wall, on the right side of the hall. He is the only Indian who has the task of settling the numerous clauses of the draft peace treaty. He is the most important of all the members of the Indian delegation.

India's Ambassador In Washington



Photograph taken when Mr. Asaf Ali, India's first ambassador to the U.S.A., arrived at the La Guardia airport by the Pan American World Airways Clipper.

A large gathering of Indians greeted Mr. Asaf Ali. Picture shows (left to right): Dr. Ambedkar, Mr. Asaf Ali, Mr. H. Rakhit (back to the camera).

Second row: Mr. K. Singh, Mr. E. W. Arnold, Assistant Secretary, India Embassy, Pan American Airways Official, Mr. M. D. A. Haig, First Secretary of the Embassy (behind Mr. Asaf Ali's left shoulder).

Photo by Pan American World Airways

INDIA INDEPENDENCE NUMBER
Constituent Assembly In Session



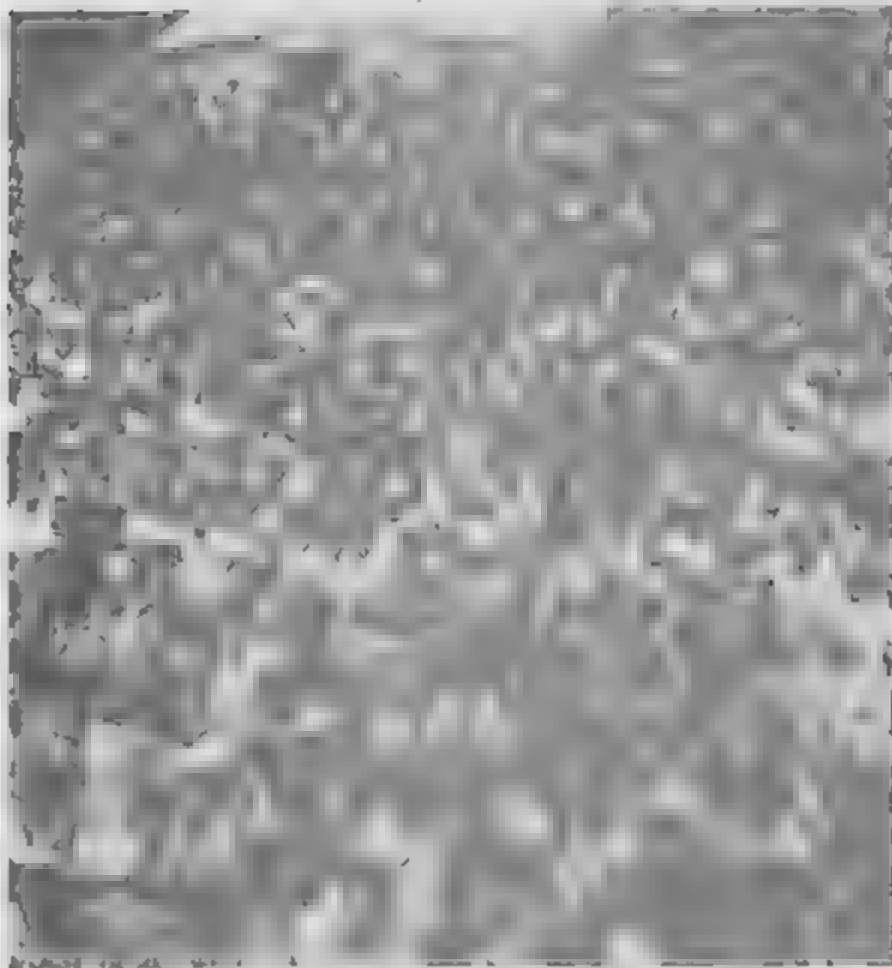
Photo shows Acharya Kripalani (President of the Indian National Congress (in front of the mike) moving the resolution for the election of the Provisional Committee.



In the front row are the Honble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Acharya Kripalani
President of the Constituent Assembly and President of the Congress

INDIA INDEPENDENCE NUMBER

A Scene In Simla



Exhaustion was at a high point with the crowd. The scene was captured in the Simla City. The crowd was at a high point in the summer of 1946. Here a large crowd is seen at Pindi Jawahar Lal Nehru speak.

Indo-Dutch Air Transport Negotiations



The Netherlands Delegation led by Mr. C. L. A. van der Pyl, Director General of Civil Aviation, Netherlands, (second from left) photographed with officials of the Government of India. Mr. Masarruf Hussain Zuberi, Secretary, Government of India, is seated at the far right.

INDIA INDEPENDENCE NUMBER

Signing Of Air Transport Agreement Between The United States and India



The signing of the Air Transport Agreement between the United States and India was a significant event. The agreement, which was signed in Washington, D.C., on September 2, 1946, provided for the establishment of a regular air service between the two countries. The agreement was signed by the United States Secretary of State, Cordell Hull, and the Indian Minister of Transport, B. K. Chatterjee. The agreement was a landmark in the history of air transport between the United States and India, as it was the first time that the two countries had entered into such an agreement. The agreement provided for the establishment of a regular air service between the United States and India, with flights operating between New York and Bombay. The agreement also provided for the establishment of a regular air service between the United States and India, with flights operating between New York and Bombay. The agreement was a landmark in the history of air transport between the United States and India, as it was the first time that the two countries had entered into such an agreement.

Provincial Labour Ministers Meet



The Provincial Labour Ministers met in New Delhi on September 1, 1946, to discuss the labour situation in the various provinces. The meeting was presided over by the Minister of Labour, B. K. Chatterjee. The ministers discussed the labour situation in the various provinces and agreed to take steps to improve the conditions of the workers. The meeting was a landmark in the history of labour in India, as it was the first time that the Provincial Labour Ministers had met. The meeting provided an opportunity for the ministers to discuss the labour situation in the various provinces and to agree on a common approach to dealing with the labour situation. The meeting was a landmark in the history of labour in India, as it was the first time that the Provincial Labour Ministers had met.



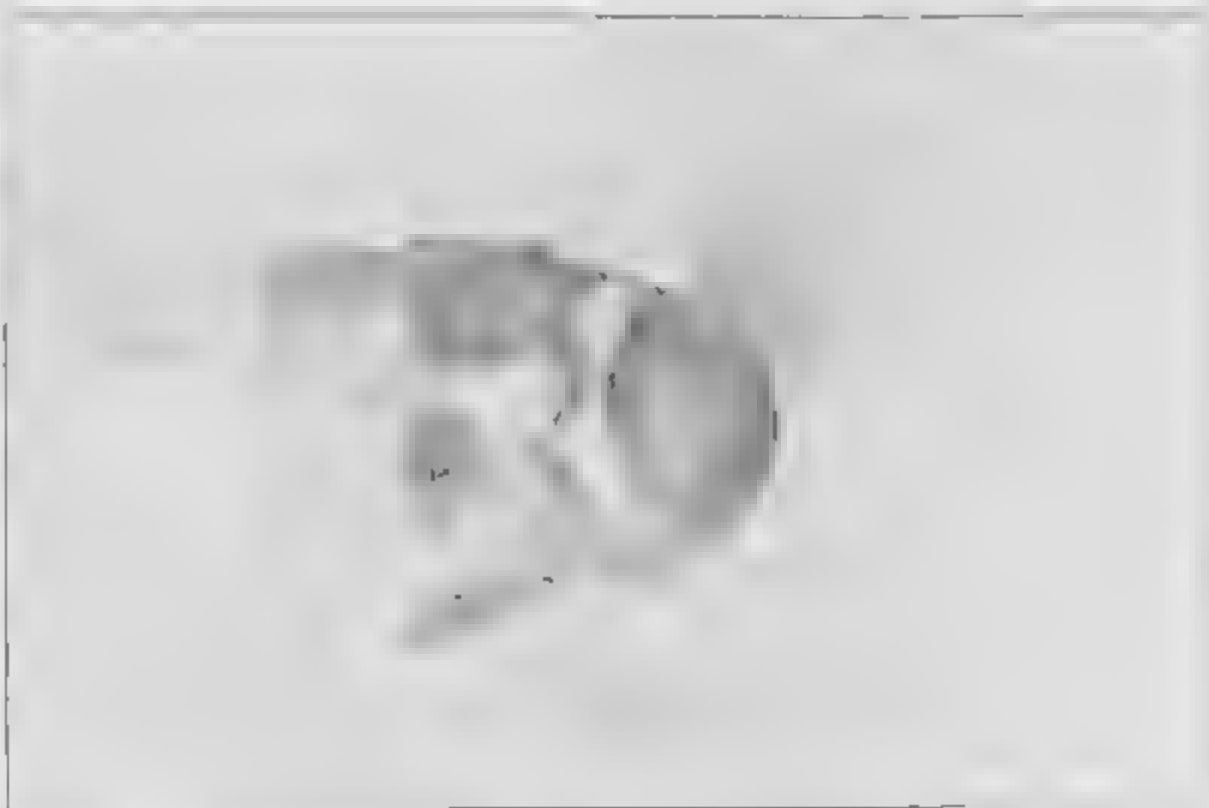
MR. D. W. L. (left) Patrick Lawrence, Secretary of State for India



Pandit Motilal Nehru And His Beloved Wife Rhiri Swaroop Rani Nehru

10th AUGUST, 1947

INDIA INDEPENDENCE NUMBER



Vir Jawahar, Kamala Will Shower Blessings On You For Your Great Sacrifices For The Cause Of Freedom

The Youth Of India Bows To You Both



PANDIT JAWAHARLAL NEHRU



The late Shri KAMALA NEHRU
beloved wife of Pandit Nehru

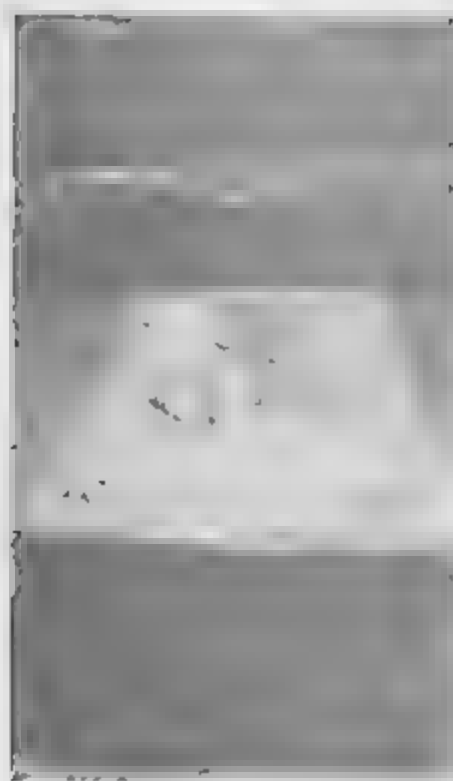
★



MAHATMA INDIRA GANDHI,
daughter of Pandit Nehru

————— ★ —————

The Aga Khan Palace —And The Toll It Has Taken



Here was cremated
KASTURBA
beloved wife of Mahatma Gandhi

his and the Aga Khan Palace was
taken in 1948 and
the present
recreation

out having lost for over two of his
dearest and dearest ones who were to
be as his right hand and left hand



Here was cremated
MAHADEV DESAI
beloved Secretary of Mahatma Gandhi



Sarat Chandra Bose



Lala Lajpat Rai



Khun Abdul Gaffar Khan with Gandhiji



Sir S. Balakrishna



J. B. K. K.



Sardar Patel



Pandit Nehru



Dr. Rajendra Prasad



Pattabhi Sitaramanna



Maulana Abul Kalam Azad



Rajag

The Late Vithalbhai Javerbhai Patel



A BRITISHAN SON OF INDIA

who served in the service of his Motherland. He served the Disobedience Committee, imprisoned by the British Government in 1922. In August 1928, he became the President of the Indian Legislative Assembly and proved himself a very able person. But it was said of him that he was scared to give a vote to the British Government. He was re-elected President in 1932. He gave away two-thirds of his salary to the cause of the country. In 1934, when the Civil Disobedience campaign was continuing, he resigned and threw in his lot with his suffering fellow countrymen and women.

SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE

A GLANCE AT HIS EVERY-DAY LIFE AS SUPREME COMMANDER OF THE INA

How did Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose live and work as the Supreme Commander of the INA? What was his daily routine like? Only those who had the privilege of associating with him closely during the crucial period of his life can answer these questions.

Ever since Netaji's arrival in East Asia in June, 1943, his entire life had been a whirlpool of action and it is extremely hard to single out any one period as "lighter" than another. July 4th, 1943, the day on which he assumed the Presidency of the Indian Independence League (East Asia), and the Supreme Command of the INA, opened a new and glorious chapter in the life of this dynamic leader. Since that day his daily routine had been a stream of conferences, public meetings, interviews, inspections and strenuous work at the desk, planning, directing and looking into the minutest details.

If one may make a venture, perhaps the first fortnight that followed Netaji's arrival in Singapore could be classed as the busiest period in his life only to be outvalled perhaps by the period when the INA was in action on the Indo-Burma border from March, 1944, onwards.

Netaji Revitalises the INA

On his arrival Netaji was confronted with a badly organised League, a disorganised nucleus of the INA, a domineering Japanese who wanted to have a hand in every pore, and a band of "workers" with an unquenchable thirst for power and position but with little initiative and no efficiency. It was here that the master in Netaji was clearly revealed to the astonishment of many of his assistants. Inside of 48 hours the League and the Army Headquarters were humming with activity as though a new revelation of the sacredness of the mission had dawned on their executives.

By V. K. G. NAIR in the "Orient"

... do that period when Netaji had, dressed at least three meetings of League workers and the INA at separate places and camps, he had two press conferences, had lunch with some prominent foreign personality or another, attended



SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE

who has been much mentioned by the British Government and described as a Quaker. He may have been so described if he had been that, but he was an ardent Indian patriot who had long been persecuted by the British Government in his own Southern country for whose independence he had fought, sought refuge in Hong Kong and was now in India. As he was one of her best sons, he was more with us in body, in spirit and in the heart of every Indian.

... both at the Supreme Command and the League Headquarters, addressed a mass rally lasting nearly three hours and had broadcast a lengthy message to the people of India. Yet the next morning when he came to the office his ADC would inform him his portrait was a bust. Reports and papers which Netaji had gone through and commented, a number of directives to the INA commanders and

League executives, notes to important correspondents signed and ready for despatch. How could he manage to get all these things done in such a short period of 24 hours?

Well, it was this superhuman energy in him and his bold approach to difficult problems under difficult conditions that made a sweeping revolution in the League and the INA organisations and put them on a really steady revolutionary footing.

Netaji, a Picture of Simplicity

Netaji's personal life was simple to the extreme. As Supreme Commander he received some handbills and letters, signed as the lowest soldier. When Burma he issued strict instructions that the ration scale laid down for the army was applicable to all the workers of the Provisional Government, and the Supreme Commander down to the humblest sweeper lived on the same issue of rations. While the officers and men could augment their rations with extras to be purchased with their "pocket money," Netaji was content throughout with the soldier's rations as he had no funds of his own. And the Supreme Commander's menu was but a one course lunch or dinner followed by dessert, but more often that not he skipped his lunch in order to get through his overloading programme of appointments and interviews.

Netaji's dinner table was on the same conference table. It was a daily affair for commanders and departmental heads to be summoned to his house for consultation or issuance of personal instructions and all matters of an open nature.

★

The picture below shows a part of the huge gathering of people who stood in drenching rain to hear Mahatma Gandhi prior to embarking at Bombay to attend the Round Table Conference in 1931. "I am a poor man," Gandhi said, "but I have seen the difficulties and miseries of the millions."

★



THE LEADER



AND HIS FOLLOWERS

were usually discussed and decided upon while they sat to dinner with the Head of the State. The dinner rarely lasted more than half an hour and this half an hour period provided a combination of work, food and relaxation to Netaji. He was free and easy with everybody at the dinner table and would even go to the extent of discussing men and matters in a lighter vein.

Long drawn-out social functions which were not few or far between, were a source of irritation to Netaji although he was a very liberal host and an amiable guest.

Crowded Programme of Activity.

Netaji had no private life as such. His entire time, thought and energy, were dedicated to India's freedom. Though a strict disciplinarian he was easily approachable and the cause of the lower ranks was always uppermost in him. He neither favoured nor feared anybody in particular. Ever since July 4th, 1943, the khaki uniform had been his only dress. Once, while in Rangoon the Propaganda Officer of the Japanese Army wanted a photograph of him in national dress, but Netaji flatly refused to put on anything other than khaki as long as he was engaged in battle.

Like most other public men, Netaji could never stick to a set time table. His programme was so crowded throughout the day and night that he found it impossible to keep appointments or receive visitors to the minute.

A few days after his arrival at Singapore, Field Marshal Count Terauchi, the Japanese Supreme Commander for the Southern Regions, had invited him to luncheon. Netaji had a busy programme that morning and while Count Terauchi was impatiently waiting to receive the I.N.A. chief at one o'clock, the latter was still addressing a meeting of army officers some 15 miles away! Netaji's A.D.C. was on the utters and all that he could do was to ring up the Marshal's secretary and apologise for the delay. What would have been

the feeling of Terauchi when he had to wait without lunch until three o'clock when the Netaji finally turned up, could be better imagined than expressed. The same thing applied in the matter of receiving visitors as well. Evenings saw a stream of callers at Netaji's residence and it was not before 3 or 4 in the morning that the last caller usually left.

"Restless" Even as Napoleon

Sleep? Well, that was a thing that worried Netaji the least. Actually a lot of his planning and desk work was done towards the early morning. He had that amazing quality of being able to work 24 hours non-stop without showing any apparent physical fatigue or having to alter or interrupt the next day's schedule.

On occasions when he was too tired he would take advantage of a few spare minutes in between interviews or appointments and would lie down and go to sleep immediately. And like Napoleon he would himself get up in time for the next appointment fully refreshed after only 20 minutes or so of sound sleep.

He was a lover of the Gita and never retired at night without reading a few verses from it, and the precious little book lay by his side whenever he slept.

Courage and Calmness

Since the removal of his headquarters to Burma in February, 1944, Netaji had to live and work under the most nerve-racking conditions. But his coolness in the face of danger and utter disregard for his own personal safety not only set an example to all as the national consciousness but also earned him the love and praise of all. Half a dozen air raids a day, seven days of the week and incessant bombing and machine-gun attacks by the enemy did not alter his programme at any time. There was a first-class air raid shelter in his Rangoon house in University Avenue built of reinforced concrete and fitted with a table and chairs and an electric light so that he could work inside in times of prolonged air raids, but Netaji

never used it! One night his own bungalow was the target for enemy bombers. Chin Tsong Palace, a couple of furlongs away provided a good landmark, and numerous bombs were dropped all around his house. Netaji was at his desk working with the aid of a thickly shaded light and in spite of persuasion he wouldn't go into the shelter. Army commanders say that when he was in the firing line crossing the Indo-Burma border Netaji displayed such superb courage as would put many a trained General to shame.

Netaji Mastered the Science of War

In spite of being a civilian all through his life, Netaji took an active part in formulating military strategy and his introduction of modern German technique into the Azad Hind Fauj proved to be of immense advantage to operational commanders in the field.

The Final March to Bangkok

Again, at the time of our withdrawal from Rangoon a plane was put at the disposal of Netaji by the Japanese to take him to Bangkok, but he flatly refused the offer. He preferred to walk it with his men, sharing their hardships and looking after their comforts. The march from Rangoon to Bangkok was not an easy one. The enemy was on their heels, snipers were active everywhere, the Burma Defence Army had joined hands with the British and were proving to be a great menace to our men, yet the offer of a plane did not attract Netaji. He did the journey partly in a motor lorry and mostly on foot with the rest of the Azad Hind men.

It can be proudly said and without fear of contradiction, that if ever there was one leader in the whole of East Asia who refused to bow down to the all-too-powerful Japanese and met them on an equal plane, it was Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, whose service in raising the status of India and Indians from slavery to independence will be recorded in letters of gold when the history of Free India comes to be written.

JAI HIND



Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru broadcasting from the Delhi Station of All India Radio



Lord Wavell ex-president of India broadcasting a message to the people of India outlining the constitutional changes proposed to be adopted.

Hail To The 'Dear Son Of India'



THE LATE HON. GOPAL KRISHNA GOKHALE

who ranks among the foremost leaders of the Nation. But the "Grandhi" is still in search for a Spiritual Guru but he accepted Gokhale as his political Guru. "With a liberated manhood, with buoyant hope, with a faith that never shirks duty, with a sense of justice that deems fairly by all, with an honour that is exact and powers fully cultivated and, lastly with a love that overleaps all barriers, renovated India will take her proper rank among the nations of the world and he will rise to the situation of a father of her own destiny." These were Gokhale's prophetic words.

JANUARY TWENTY-SIXTH

THIS is a historic Day in India. It has been observed since 1930 every year as the Independence Day and the following resolution passed by the Congress Working Committee has been read at public meetings throughout the country:

"We believe that it is the inalienable right of the Indian people, as of any other people, to have freedom and to enjoy the fruits of their toil and have necessities of life, so that they may have full opportunities of growth. We believe also that if any Government deprives a people of these rights and oppresses them, the people have a further right to alter it or to abolish it. The British Government in India has not only deprived the Indian people of their freedom but has based itself on the exploitation of the masses and has ruined India economically, politically, culturally and spiritually. We believe therefore that India must sever the British connection and attain *Purna Swaraj* or Complete Independence."

India has been ruined economically. The revenue derive from our people is out of all proportion to our income. On average, income is seven paise (less than two pence) per day and of the heavy taxes we pay 20% are raised from the Land Revenue derived from the peasantry, and 3% from the Salt Tax which falls most heavily on the poor.

"Village industries such as hand-spinning, have been destroyed, leaving the peasantry idle for at least four months in the year, and dulling their intellect for want of handicrafts, and nothing has been substituted, as in other countries, for the crafts thus destroyed."

"Customs and currency have been so manipulated as to heap further burdens on the peasantry. British manufactured goods constitute the bulk of our imports. Customs duties betray clear partiality for British manufactures, and revenue from them is used

not to lessen the burden on the masses but for sustaining a highly extravagant administration. Still more arbitrary has been the manipulation of exchange rates, which has resorted in millions being drained away from the country."

"Politically, India's status has never been so reduced as under the British regime. No reforms have given real political power to the people. The ill-effects have to be borne before foreign authority. The rights of free expression of opinion and free association have been denied to us, and many of our countrymen are compelled to live in exile abroad and cannot return to their homes. All administrative talent is killed and the masses have to be satisfied with petty village officers and clerks."

"Culturally, the system of education has torn us from our moorings, and our training has made us big the very chains that bind us."

"Spiritually, compulsory disarmament has made us unarmed, and the presence of an alien army of occupation, employed

with deadly effect to crush in us the spirit of resistance, has made us think that we cannot look after ourselves or put up a defence against foreign aggression, or even defend our homes and families from the attacks of thieves, robbers and miscreants."

"We hold it to be a crime against man and God to submit any longer to a rule that has caused us four-fold disaster to our country. We recognise, however, that the most effective way of gaining our freedom is not through violence. We will, therefore, prepare ourselves by withdrawing, so far as we can, all voluntary association from the British Government and will prepare for Civil Disobedience including non-payment of taxes. We are convinced that if we can but withdraw our voluntary help and stop payment of taxes without doing violence, even under provocation, the end of this man-made rule is assured. We, therefore, hereby solemnly resolve to carry out the Congress instructions issued from time to time for the purpose of establishing *Purna Swaraj*."

ALL-INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE "QUIT INDIA" RESOLUTION

THE following is the text of the resolution passed by the All-India Congress Committee on the evening of August 8, 1942:

The All India Congress Committee has given the most careful consideration to the reference made to it by the Working Committee in their resolution dated July 14, 1942, and to subsequent events, including the development of the war situation, the utterances of responsible spokesmen of the British Government, and the comments and criticisms made in India and abroad. The Committee approves of and endorses that resolution, and is of opinion that events subsequent to it have given it further justification, and have made it clear that the im-

mediate ending of British rule in India is an urgent necessity both for the sake of India and for the success of the cause of the United Nations. The continuation of that rule is degrading and enfeebling India and making her progressively less capable of defending herself and of contributing to the cause of world freedom. The Committee has viewed with dismay the deterioration of the situation on the Russian and Chinese fronts and conveys to Russian and Chinese peoples its high appreciation of their heroism in defence of their freedom. The increasing peril makes it imper-

bent on all those who strive for freedom and who sympathise with the victims of aggression, to examine the foundations of the policy so far pursued by the Allied Nations, which have led to repeated and disastrous failure. It is not by adhering to such aims and policies and methods that failure can be converted into success, for past experience has shown that failure is inherent in them. These policies have been based not on freedom so much as on the domination of subject and Colonial countries, and the continuation of the Imperialist tradition and method. The possession of Empire, instead of adding to the strength of the rising power, has become a burden and a curse. India, the classic lard of modern Imperialism, has become the crux of the question, for by the freedom of India will Britain and the United Nations be judged, and the peoples of Asia and Africa be fired with hope to enthusiasm.

The ending of British rule in this country is thus a vital and immediate issue on which depend the future of the war and the success of freedom and democracy. A free India will assure this success by throwing all her great resources in the struggle for freedom and against the aggression of Nazism, Fascism and Imperialism. This will not only affect materially the fortunes of the war, but will bring all subject and oppressed humanity on the side of the United Nations, and give these nations, whose ally India would be, the moral and spiritual leadership of the world. India in bondage will continue to be the symbol of British Imperialism and the taint of that Imperialism will affect the fortunes of the United Nations.

The peril of to-day, therefore, necessitates the independence of India and the ending of British domination. No future promises of guarantees can affect the present situation or meet that peril. They cannot produce the needed psychological effect on the mind of the masses. Only the glow

of freedom now can release that energy and enthusiasm of millions of people which will immediately transform the nature of the war.

The A-I.C.C., therefore, repeats with all emphasis the demand for the withdrawal of the British power from India. On the declaration of India's independence, a provisional Government will be formed, and free India will become an ally of the United Nations, sharing with them in the trials and tribulations of the joint enterprise of the struggle for freedom. The provisional Government can only be formed by the co-operation of the principal parties and groups in the country. It will thus be a composite Government, representative of all important sections of India. Its primary duty must be to defend India and resist aggression with all the armed as well as the non-violent forces at its command, together with the Allied Powers, and to promote the well-being and progress of the workers in the fields and factories elsewhere to whom essentially all power and authority must belong. The provisional Government will evolve a scheme for a Constituent Assembly which will prepare a constitution for the Government of India acceptable to all sections of the people. This constitution, according to the Congress view, should be a Federal one, with the largest measure of autonomy for the federating units, and with the residuary powers vesting in these units. The future relations between India and the Allied Nations will be adjusted by representatives of all these free countries conferring together for their mutual advantage and for their co-operation in the common task of resisting aggression. Freedom will enable India to resist aggression effectively with the people's united will and strength behind it.

The freedom of India must be the symbol of and prelude to the freedom of all other Asiatic nations under foreign domination. Burma, Malaya, Indo-

China, the Dutch Indies, Iran and Iraq must also attain their complete freedom. It must be clearly understood that such of these countries as are under Japanese control now must not subsequently be placed under the rule or control of any other Power.

While the A-I.C.C. must primarily be concerned with the independence and defence of India in this hour of danger, the Committee is of opinion that the future peace, security and ordered progress of the world demand a world federation of free nations, and on no other basis can the problems of the modern world be solved. Such a world federation would ensure the freedom of its constituent nations, the prevention of aggression and exploitation by one nation over another, the protection of national minorities, the advancement of all backward areas and peoples, and the pooling of the world's resources for the common good of all. On the establishment of such a world federation, disarmament would be practicable in all countries, national armies, navies and air forces would no longer be necessary, and a world federal defence force would keep the world peace and prevent aggression.

An independent India would gladly join such a world federation and co-operate on an equal basis with other countries in the solution of international problems.

Such a federation should be open to all nations who agree with its fundamental principles. In view of the war, however, the federation must inevitably, to begin with, be confined to the United Nations. Such a step taken now will have a most powerful effect on the war, on the peoples of the Axis countries, and on the peace to come.

The Committee regretfully realises, however, that despite the tragic and overwhelming lessons of the war and the perils that overhang the world, the Governments of few countries are yet prepared to take this inevitable step towards world fed-

er 190. The reactions of the foreign Press also make it clear that even the obvious demand for India's independence is resisted though this has been made essentially to meet the present peril and to enable India to defend herself and to help China and Russia in their hour of need. The Committee is anxious not to embarrass in any way the defence of China or Russia, whose freedom is precious and must be preserved, or to jeopardize the defensive capacity of the United Nations. But the peril grows both to India and these nations, and inaction and submission to a foreign administration at this stage is not only degrading India and reducing her capacity to defend herself and resist aggression, but is no answer to that growing peril and is no service to the peoples of the United Nations. The earnest appeal of the Working Committee to Great Britain and the United Nations has so far met with no response and the criticisms made in foreign quarters have shown ignorance of India's and the world's need, and sometimes even hostility to India's freedom which is significant of a mentality of domination and racial superiority which cannot be tolerated by a proud people conscious of their strength and of the justice of their cause.

The A-I-C-C would yet again at this last moment, in the interest of world freedom, renew this appeal to Britain and the United Nations. But the Committee feels that it is no longer justified in holding the nation back from endeavouring to assert its will against an imperialist and authoritarian Government which dominates over it and prevents it from functioning in its own interest and in the interest of humanity. The Committee resolves, therefore, to sanction, for the vindication of the inalienable right to freedom and independence, the starting of a mass struggle on non-violent lines on the widest possible scale, so that the country

ought utilise all the non-violent strength it has gathered during the last 22 years of peaceful struggle. Such a struggle must inevitably be under the leadership of Gandhi and the Committee requests him to take the lead and guide the nation in the steps to be taken.

The Committee appeals to the people of India to face the dangers and hardships that will fall to their lot with courage and endurance and to act together under the leadership of Gandhi and carry out his instructions as disciplined soldiers of India's freedom. They must remember that non-violence is the basis of this movement. A time may come when it may not be possible to issue instructions or for instructions to reach our people and when no Congress Committees can function. When this

happens, every man or woman who is participating in this movement must function for himself or herself within the four corners of the general instructions issued. Every Indian who desires freedom and strives for it must be his own guide urging him on along the hard road where there is no resting place and which leads ultimately to the independence and delivery of India.

Lastly, whilst the A-I-C-C has stated its own view of the future governance under free India, the A-I-C-C wishes to make it quite clear to all concerned that by embarking on a mass struggle it has no intention of gaining power for the Congress. The power, when it comes, will belong to the whole people of India.



THE LATE DR. RABINDRANATH TAGORE

to make the spirit of man, then only he can rise to a height that has no limitation. We aim, therefore, to build up a new India by grouping it out of the four dreams of Tagore. The aim is to make the nation a village in a field of righteousness."

10th AUGUST, 1947

INDIA INDEPENDENCE DAY

Who Have Died In The Service Of Their Country

**They Are
With Us
In Spirit**



The Late Dr. M. S. Ansari



The Late Sri Jambhaji Bafsa



The Late Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya

BANDE MATARAM

© The National Song Of India Translated In English.

Mother Leaf
 Fruit with sweet sprouts flowing,
 Thou thy fruits hastowing
 Cool with zephyrs blowing
 Green with corn crops growing
 Mother Leaf

From the silver joyous, moon-blushed night
 and with the groups of bowing rice-crops bright
 Sweet singing
 a hymn
 sweet blessing

I bought now seventy million axes through the
 I bought twice seventy million axes through the
 I bought twice seventy million axes through the

Yet with all his power now
 Another, whither powerless thou?
 Under the roof of myriad might
 Unshaken, secure, secure I fight
 Thou who must, I do not suffer
 My own blood!

Thou who created, and wisdom art
 Thou our very name and life
 And the life-breath in our loins
 Thou, as strength in arms of men
 Thou, as faith in hearts of men
 And the form from foot to crown
 Thy name O God, bless!

For the cost-effective *Zeigler* power
 R has throne there - her looks low
 Wasn't she with a down down
 Mother ha!

I consumed one royal e-
 Rabot in thy spotlessness,
 Thon whose fruits and waters do
 Mutter, but—

11a thou, verlan, unbegun
 11b O du, sel'ne, sweet, so bog,
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दशैः कविः ॥

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क बोले आ तमि अयले
दशरथ विगिन लमाभि लाभिण

त्वमि विद्या, त्वमि धर्म
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मन्त्रि मन्त्रि मातृम् ५३५

ॐ ह्रीं क्लीं दक्षिणाय नमः

यथा विदुः श्रुतिं

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नमोऽस्यै कर्मसाम् अभिलाषम् भवन्नाम

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धरणम् भाष्यम् भातरम्

IN COMMEMORATION
OF THE MANY
STUDENT PATRIOTS

WHO DURING THE CPM AND BRUTAL
DAYS OF

AUGUST 1942

AND THEREAFTER GAVE THE
MOST THAT MAN CAN GIVE;

LIFE ITSELF

FOR THE FLAG & FOR THE COUNTRY

AND WHO BY THEIR SUPREME

COURAGE, DUTY AND SACRIFICE

MAN ENGAGED THE SACRED CAUSE OF

LIBERTY

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સરવર મહાવાઈ મહાભારત કલિયોગવાળા

૧૯૪૭ નવેમ્બર પોસ્ટલો, જોહાનન બોર્ડર મેલમ મેલમ મેલમ
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Indian Opinion

FRIDAY, 22ND AUGUST, 1947

Independence Day Celebrations

AUGUST 15, 1947, will remain a memorable day in the history of the Indian people. That day was celebrated by Indians throughout the Union with unsurpassed enthusiasm. We have seen Armistice celebrations and Peace celebrations after the War when drink, dancing and merry making was the order of the day. Unlike that this great day was observed by Indians in a truly religious spirit. The most remarkable thing was the spontaneity with which the people rallied en masse. The call came from within their hearts as indeed it should. We cannot recall a single instance when our people did team work in such a perfect manner as they did to make the celebrations on August 15 a brilliant success. There was not a single jarring note, not a single untoward incident. The celebrations in Durban and Maritzburg were witnessed personally by us and we can speak about them authoritatively. The hoisting of the Flag of Free India at the Durban beach at sunrise in the presence of a gathering of over five thousand men, women and children was unique in the history of South Africa. When the suggestion to hold such a function was made it was resented as being impracticable. People would not be able to come

at that early hour from distant places without conveyances it was felt. But "God helps those who help themselves" was never so true as it was on that day. Our bus owners spontaneously and most willingly took upon their shoulders to convey passengers free to the beach and many people even went on foot and never in Durban's history did such a gathering ever take place and at such an early hour. In that pure and beautiful morning breeze, invigorating to the mind and soul, away from the humdrum of the city with its sordid and oppressive atmosphere, and amidst the chiming of religious verses from the Vedas and the singing of national songs the Flag of Free India was hoisted exactly as the sun peeped out from the horizon. It was truly a sight for the gods to see. That was indeed the most impressive function of the day.

The mass rally at the Curries Fountain where not less than thirty thousand men, women and children had gathered was also unique in the history of Durban. Here too a few speeches saluting the dead and the living who had sacrificed in India's struggle for freedom were made national songs were sung and the school children were given a gay time. Sports by children, acrobatic performances by adults, fancy

dress parade by little children, floats, and eastern type of dancing by little girls accompanied by national songs rendered the day pleasant and most enjoyable both to the young and the old and terminated with the distribution of prizes to the winners in the various parties.

In congratulating the India Independence Day Celebration Committee for their grand success we wish purposely to avoid mentioning any particular names as it would be unfair to do so when all had equally put their shoulders to the wheel. It was a unique example of how we can do a thing if we are determined to do it. May that spirit prevail and ever grow in our community.

We wish also to very heartily congratulate the Maritzburg Celebration Committee for its great success. Maritzburg, it must be said to their credit, excelled Durban in simplicity in their decorations which made their show all the more attractive. While Durban had spent a good deal on ribbons and other costly material for their flags, Maritzburg made their flags from crepe paper which looked much more colourful. Their parade was unique in the history of the City. Their programme at the sports grounds on Sunday afternoon was rendered most interesting by national songs, maypole dance by little girls, acrobatic performances by young and old and other items interspersed with speeches suited to the occasion. Truly

of ad demomination, day to bless India with strength and wisdom to play her part in bringing peace and happiness to an aching world.

Tale-Carrying By N.I.O.

THE following is the text of a circular letter sent to leaders in India by the Natal Indian Organisation. The letter is dated June 18, 1947, and is signed by the President and one of the Secretaries of the Organisation.

Dear Sirs.—We send herewith a cutting from the *Natal Daily News*, dated June 18.

It will be observed from this that our important officials of the Transvaal Indian Congress, whilst on the one hand they are not to be criticised for their attitude towards the Government, they are at the same time, by their own admission, not to be criticised for their attitude towards the Government.

We are sure that the members of the Natal Indian Organisation will be able to see the value of the Natal Indian Organisation in the eyes of the Government. We are sure that the members of the Natal Indian Organisation will be able to see the value of the Natal Indian Organisation in the eyes of the Government.

The following is a list of the members of the Natal Indian Organisation who are members of the Natal Indian Organisation.

The cutting referred to in the above letter contains the following:

Johannesburg, Monday, June 18.
While condemning the prohibition of the Natal Indian Organisation to Representations in Africa, the Natal Indian Organisation has not only not been criticised for its attitude towards the Government, but it has also been criticised for its attitude towards the Government.

The members of the Natal Indian Organisation who are members of the Natal Indian Organisation are listed below.

The members of the Natal Indian Organisation who are members of the Natal Indian Organisation are listed below.

A similar function was also held by the Surat Hindu Association, the Hall being gaily decorated and illuminated for the occasion.

Most of the places in the Indian locality in Durban were decorated with flags and bunting and illuminated with coloured lights.

Young Men's Vedic Society

In addition to the special services held at the Hindu Temple, Umgeni Road, on Friday, there assembled a very large gathering at St. Aidan's Hall, Short Street, Durban, on Sunday afternoon. The hall was beautifully decorated for the occasion. A very large number of women were present, some of whom appeared in saris of national colours.

Mr. T. S. Pillay, the president of the Society, occupied the chair supported by the other members, Messrs. G. B. Chetty, J. M. Nair, M. Y. Nair, C. G. Chetty, K. A. Chetty and S. S. Nair. Most of the Indian Tamilians were present.

Prayers were led by Mr. G. B. Chetty and a tribute was paid to those who laid down their lives for the cause of Independence.

Mr. T. S. Pillay spoke on the significance of the occasion and stated that the event will be remembered for generations to come for its unique and historic importance.

Amongst the speakers were Messrs. T. M. Nair, G. B. Chetty, M. Y. Nair, M. G. Naidu, P. Abboy Naidu, V. S. Lingam and S. S. Pathe.

An interesting programme of music and national songs, some of which were specially composed for the occasion were sung. The musical part of the programme was in the capable hands of Mr. Iyavoomurthy Pillay and the South Indian Musical Society. Booklets of National Songs published by the Luxmi Vilas Press were distributed and the function concluded with Prayers and the partaking of refreshments.

Congratulatory messages were sent to Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and other leaders.

Arya Pratinidhi Sabha

The Arya Pratinidhi Sabha of South Africa sent a message of congratulations to Pandit Nehru.

Under the auspices of the Arya Samaj (Westville), prayer, thanksgiving and hoisting of Indian flag to mark the great

event of transfer of power to the Dominions of India under Pandit Nehru, was held at the Samaj hall on Friday, August 15. The National Flag was hoisted by the president of the Mahila Arya Samaj Westville, Sarinmati Charnawati, etico, and the national song was sung by the pupils of the Hindi Pathshala and Navajivan Vidya Mandir.

Congress Verulam Branch

Hindus and Muslims jointly celebrated India Independence Day under the auspices of the Natal Indian Congress (Verulam and District Branch). There was a large gathering of over 1500 including men, women and children. The local schools had to remain closed as the children attended the celebration. The



The above picture shows Flag of Free India being hoisted on August 15 at dawn at the Durban beach in the presence of over five thousand people

Shri Gopallal Hindu Temple

A prayer meeting on India Independence Day was held at the Shree Gopallal Hindu Temple, Verulam. Mr. Chocollal Raghavjee was in the chair. The havan ceremony was performed by the temple priest and prayers were offered by the Hindi school children and all those present. National songs were sung by Messrs. J. R. Telawantingh, S. R. Lalbehari and S. S. Maharaj. Speeches were made by Messrs. S. R. Maharaj, V. Jute, Balasur, J. Kamdayal and others on India's freedom. A resolution was passed unanimously to send a cable congratulating Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru.

celebration commenced with prayers offered in Hindi by Messrs. S. R. and S. M. Maharaj and in Urdu by Mr. G. C. Mohammedy. Amid scenes of much jubilation and shouting of slogans the National Flag of India was hoisted by Mr. C. Raghavjee and the Pakistan flag by Mr. G. H. A. Kathrada. Music and national songs were provided by the City Youth Club of Durban. Resolutions were passed congratulating the Indian leaders for the attainment of Independence. At the conclusion of the meeting, medals and badges were distributed to all those present.

At Chaka's Kraal

A large crowd of Indians including many children assembled

at the new school site ground, Chaka's Kraal. Muslim and Hindu prayers were offered. The National Flag was hoisted by Mrs. Boodina Maharaj, a prominent Indian woman of the district. Songs were rendered by Hindi and Tamil school children. Speeches were made by Messrs. S. Roopasingh, P. K. Moodley and K. S. Tewary.

Lower Tugela

The Hindu community of Lower Tugela District assembled at the Veda Dharma Sabha Hall, Stranger, on Friday, August 15, to offer prayers and thanksgiving and to celebrate the transfer of power to the Indian people of India. The hall was beautifully decorated with palms and bunting in saffron, white and green, the colours of the Indian National Flag. Pictures of Indian patriots were displayed with the background of the National flag of India. The hall was overcrowded, a large number of people having had to wait outside. Mr. A. P. Naidu, president of the Sabha, presided. Children from all parts of the district attended and the numerous vernacular schools provided the national songs of India. The Prakash band entertained the gathering with music. Mr. D. D. Lalla addressed the gathering in English and gave an outline of the struggle of the Indian people for independence. Mr. S. Roopasingh addressed the meeting in Hindi whilst Mr. N. Ramasamy Panchabai spoke in Tamil and Mr. B. Veerasamy Naidu in Telugu. The National Flag of India was hoisted by Mr. Maganlal Patel at 12 noon. Thereafter there was a pause for three minutes and Miss Narayanaswami Naidu recited the independence pledge. At the conclusion of the function the children were provided with sweetmeats and refreshments.

A meeting under the auspices of the Natal Indian Congress (Stranger and District Branch) was held on Independence Day at the Sports Ground, Stranger. A large and representative gathering assembled to pay homage to the two Dominions and the Indian leaders for the tremendous sacrifice made in the attainment of independence. The Chairman of the Congress Mr. E. M. Molla addressed the meeting and referred to the heroic struggle of the Indian people. Mr. D. D. Lalla and Mr. Chota Omarjee also spoke and paid a tribute to the Indian leaders.

(Continued on page 258)

INDIA DAY CELEBRATIONS

★

At The Beach

The picture shows the huge
crowd at the beach
celebrating the day

★

★

At Currie's Fountain

Huge crowd is seen assembled
at Currie's Fountain

★

★

The picture shows
the huge crowd at Currie's
Fountain

★

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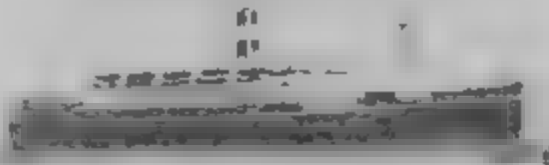


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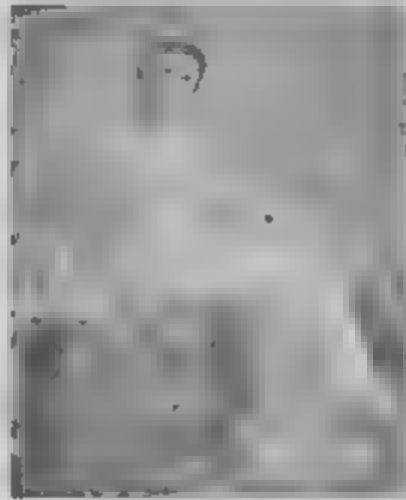
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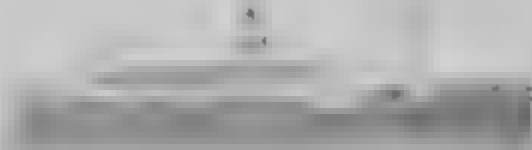
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bathrooms, 11-2 garages. Bedrooms and living room with
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INDIAN OPINION

MAHATMA (GANDHI)
IN INDIA

No. 34 - Vol. XLV.

FRIDAY, 29TH AUGUST, 1947.

Indian Opinion

FRIDAY, 29TH AUGUST, 1947

As We Were

FROM the latest correspondence between the Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa, General Smuts and the Prime Minister of the Union of India, Pandit Nehru, on the South African Indian question, which was released last week and appeared in our last week's issue the deadlock between India and the Union on the question still continues and we are as we were a year ago. Both the parties will go to U.N.O. once again with empty hands. India, in fact, had nothing to do. She was the aggrieved party. The Union was to have implemented the resolution passed last year by U.N.O. It has failed to do so. In fact General Smuts showed no inclination to implement it from the very beginning. He made it quite clear in the first public statement he made on his return from U.N.O. When no step was taken on this side India extended the hand of friendship to the Union but there was a very poor, if any, response from the latter. The bone of contention was the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act. The Prime Minister has made it clear beyond the shadow of a doubt that it will under no circumstances be removed from the Statute Book. He further insisted that he would not talk unless the High Commissioner for India, who had been

recalled as a result of the passing of the Act, was sent back to the Union. The basis of the talk was to be the implementation of the U.N.O. resolution. To that General Smuts has said:

Nothing doing. He claims ignorance of any Agreements having been broken and denies having violated the principles of the United Nations Charter.

In the face of these facts India can not be accused of any unreasonableness. Much has been made of the trade restrictions imposed on South Africa by India. This was merely the termination of the trade agreements between the two countries. Every country had the right to trade with any country and on terms that suited it. For instance if jute bags were required by India she would certainly not export them to the detriment of her own interests. Again if she found it profitable to export them to another country than South Africa she would quite justifiably choose to do so. India has a grievance against South Africa. It is not a small grievance. The affront she has suffered at the hands of South Africa in the shape of a divisive legislation is not of a trivial nature. It is of a very serious nature. Much less serious ones have led to wars. If, therefore, India has broken off trade relations with South Africa she has demonstrated

in the most possible manner her protest against a very serious injury done to her as a nation. There was no need for her to seek the authority of the United Nations for this. Compared with the Asiatic Act, passed by the Union, could be described as a crime against humanity and the flagrant violation of the Charter of the United Nations against it is a far more grave still.

Even during the year since the U.N.O. resolution all possible attempts to harass the Indians into submission by the boycott movement have been made by hostile elements in the European community with the connivance of the Government and by trying to create divisions in the community an act which, we regret to have to say, has received the blessings of the Prime Minister. The Indian community, therefore, had to struggle and to keep its equilibrium not only against indignities but provocative

It, having attained this position now stands on an equal footing with South Africa. The Indian question in South Africa is no longer a question between the Union and local Indians. It is between the two countries and it is best left in the hands of the Governments of the two countries to fight it out. Any interference on our part is uncalled for. We would do well, instead, to behave in a manner that would not give cause to India to be ashamed of her nationals in

South Africa.

confronting the atmosphere of lawlessness, extreme and such, and statements that it would not help our cause it is better to do everything in our power to improve the situation in South Africa which we will do well to take heed of the words of Lordship.

"Disruption of the Commonwealth cannot be the enemies of one another. I am watching with painful interest how the South African Dominion behaves towards the Dominion of India. Can they afford to be not Indian? Europeans of the Dominion even to travel in the same compartment with the Indians because they are Indians?"

Senator Edgar Brookes has made a proposal for a round table conference between the representatives of the different racial groups behind closed doors. We see no harm in holding such a conference. An exchange of views may bring about a better understanding between the various sections of the community and help towards an amicable solution of the vexed colour problem of South Africa. But what needs to be remembered is that

You cannot be a person hand and foot and start conversing with him as to what should be done with him. He should first be made free and then you can talk to him. There are the first steps. The first step is the removal of the colour bar before any other steps can be taken.

NOTES

Joint Wards Committee Finds Something To Gloat Over

Your reply expressed sentiments for the voluntary return to India of all Indians in South Africa are fully endorsed and appreciated here. Furthermore it is regretted that the Government's choice of an adviser to sit at U.N.O. did not fall upon you who so accurately express Natal's sentiment as to be locally expressed by the recent referendum throughout Natal against Indians on local government boards.

This is the text of a telegram, reported by the Municipal supporter of the *Natal Mercury*, to have been sent by the Durban Joint Wards Committee to the Administrator of the Orange Free State, Dr S. P. Barnard.

The sentiments referred to were expressed by Dr Barnard, in response to a request by the President of the Natal Indian Congress, Mr. J. B. M. Durrheim, for a message on the occasion of the celebrations of the Independence of India.

The Congress President, evidently, did not know that if you touch a scorpion it was bound to sting, and this one has proved to be somewhat of a virulent type.

Dr Barnard's feat has gained for him the admiration of the Durban Joint Wards Committee to such that they would now select him to represent South Africa at U.N.O. instead of Mr. J. B. M. Durrheim.

His favourite son last year.

It is reported that the Durban Joint Wards Committee has protested to General Smuts against the appointment of Mr. A. L. Barnard as a delegate to U.N.O.

Not In The Best Taste

Under the above caption the *Star* (Johannesburg) dated Aug 29th.

"The Durban Joint Wards Committee has protested to General Smuts against the appointment of Mr. A. L. Barnard as a delegate to U.N.O."

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happy way out of
African's lot of the Free State

with openness of that kind, and in the
last, this was not the occasion to sit

Indian Congress, he should be
allowed publicly to lend his support

few occasions when the Administration

illusions, the
Indian question

India Flag Red Flag

The Bull

In view of the Indian King
seems to have raised the ire of
the Durban Joint Wards Com-
mittee. It has become like a
red rag to the bull. It has
caused the committee to pass
the following resolution dealing
with foreign flags:

In view of the inter-
ber of foreign flags which
displayed indiscriminately in
this country, the Committee is
of the opinion that, following
the example of other countries
is imposing proper respect for
their national flags, which are
an outward sign of sovereignty,
the time has now arrived when

and businessmen, should only be
allowed on stated occasions
granted Government per-
mission to do so.

"In all such cases the foreign
flag must be accompanied by
the Union flag in the place of
honour on the right of the
foreign flag.

The Indian community will
doubtless have no objection to
this resolution as they have
never dreamt of showing any
disrespect to the Union flag.

have they ever been doing so. But loyalty does not
consist merely in showing re-
spect to the flag. It consists in
practising the principles the
flag denotes—the principles of
democracy—and we would not

be far wrong in saying that that
is just where the Durban Joint
Wards Committee seems to be
woefully lacking. We Indians
claim to have more respect for
the Union flag than the Com-

mittee. Weedy speak must

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Cost Of Living Allowance

Mr. M. E. Lakhl of Graytown
has received a letter from the
Divisional Inspector of Labour
in connection with cost of living
allowance which will be interest-
ing to Indian traders. The letter
intimates that in terms of War
Measure No. 49 of 1942 an
imposed cost of living allowance
applies to all stores situated in
urban as well as rural areas. The
notice of the above mentioned
regulation appears in the Union
Gazette dated 7th December 1945
and came into force on the 15th
December 1945.

British Delegates To

U.N. Assembly

The names of the British dele-
gates to the meeting of the
United Nations General Assembly
on September 24th have been
officially announced. They are:
Mr. Hector McNall, Minister of
State; Mr. Philip Noel Baker,
Air Minister; and Mr. Arthur
Crean, Joint General Secretary.
Mr. Brand Forde, of the South
African House, left London on Tuesday,
August 26th, for the United States
to take up his new appointment
as secretary to the permanent
South African Mission to the
United Nations.

A ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE OF ALL RACES

By SENATOR EDGAR H. BROOKES

In 'The Star' (Johannesburg) Dated August 23

RAE relations in the Union are critical but not hopeless. Every-
now and again there are signs of better feeling and of renewed
faith in the methods of negotiation and goodwill, but the forces
making for disharmony and advocating various forms of direct
action are very strong and are to be found among the extremists of
all races.

With the general election in view there is a temptation not
only to soft-pedal statements and programmes designed to make
any radical difference in the position of the non-European but
even to appease the more reactionary European elements. Many
South Africans are acutely conscious of the effect of any false steps
or unwise statements here or our international position; others—
perhaps a smaller number—realise that the kind of statement that
meets the election situation may well do irreparable harm in the
minds of the non-European communities, increasing suspicion and
ill-will, fanning the flames of extremist agitation and destroying
the confidence that is our only hope for a settlement of our diffi-
culties by the methods of negotiations and goodwill.

Bear in mind that no solution of the deadlock with the Natives
Representative Council has so far been found, that the position of
the Indian community is still capable of producing international
effects most harmful to South Africa, that an increasing section of
educated Coloured people are turning to Communism as apparently
the only road of hope. With these facts in mind, dare we go on
through the turmoil of the next twelve months or more with all
the temptations that are caused by a general election and then
hope that at the end we can make terms easily with non-European
fellow citizens? We have to live with them our children have to
live with their children. A way out must be found.

South Africans resent, and in my opinion with some justification,
the intervention of the United Nations in what we consider our
domestic affairs. We are not sure of getting fair play from the
United Nations; we are not sure that the facts will be known in
their fulness to those who debate our policies. Whether we are
right or not in these very human reactions, the fact remains that if
we will not let others put our house in order for us we must be
prepared to put it in order for ourselves.

It is for these reasons that, at the recent conference of the
South African Institute of Race Relations in Durban, I suggested a
meeting of representatives of the different racial groups behind
closed doors, to try to hammer out, if not a final solution of our
difficulties, at least a modus vivendi for the next 10 or 15 years. It
is difficult to get the right name for this gathering. "National
Convention" is perhaps too ambitious a name, "Commission" is
hardly big enough. Perhaps it could best be described as a family
talk or an all-races round table conference.

It is tremendously important that such a conference should
take place in private. There should be no temptation to talk to
the gallery. Our only hope of success would arise from the spirit
of give and take that comes when a number of men sit together
day after day, determined to agree, with a minimum of oratory
and a maximum of goodwill. The composition of such a confer-
ence would be a matter for very anxious consideration, but so one

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FIRST PREMIER OF FREE INDIA IS SWORN IN



Mr. Jawahar Lal Nehru, the first Premier of Free India, is sworn in by the Chief Minister, Mr. C. B. Jadhav, in the presence of the members of the Council of Ministers and the members of the Executive Council of the Government of India. The ceremony took place in the Red Fort, Delhi, on August 15, 1947.

INDIAN NATIONAL ARMY'S RALLY AT RED FORT



The Indian National Army (I.N.A.) is seen in formation during its rally at the Red Fort, Delhi, on August 15, 1947. The I.N.A. was formed by the Indian National Army (I.N.A.) and the Indian National Army (I.N.A.) in 1942.

INDEPENDENCE DAY CELEBRATIONS

In Ladysmith

India Independence Day celebration in Ladysmith was held at the premises of the Indian Consulate. The programme commenced at 10.30 a.m. with the singing of the National Anthem. The programme was presided over by Mr. V. K. Rajwade. The programme was held at the premises of the Indian Consulate. The programme was held at the premises of the Indian Consulate.

Mr. V. K. Rajwade, the Indian Consul, presided over the programme. He addressed the gathering and spoke of the sacrifices made by the Indian people for freedom. He also spoke of the need for unity and cooperation among the Indian people. The programme was held at the premises of the Indian Consulate.

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In Newcastle

Independence Day was celebrated in Newcastle on the 29th August. The programme was held at the Newcastle Town Hall. The programme was held at the Newcastle Town Hall. The programme was held at the Newcastle Town Hall. The programme was held at the Newcastle Town Hall.

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In Portlpatrick

Independence Day was celebrated in Portlpatrick on the 29th August. The programme was held at the Portlpatrick Town Hall. The programme was held at the Portlpatrick Town Hall. The programme was held at the Portlpatrick Town Hall. The programme was held at the Portlpatrick Town Hall.

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ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE

AN APPEAL FOR PRAYER

Since the independence of India, the people of India have been struggling for freedom. The people of India have been struggling for freedom. The people of India have been struggling for freedom. The people of India have been struggling for freedom.

In August 1947 I took a service in which we prayed for the freedom of India under the new constitution of Government.

I have always supposed, and have put it in my prayer, that it would take some sixteen years before perfect harmony would be established among the peoples of India. But I was totally unprepared for what has actually

happened. The recent events have been particularly distressing. I have visited India since 1936, and have visited it since. I have friends among the Hindus and Muslims in India, as well as among the Christians in India.

I have seen the distressing conditions in India. I have seen the distressing conditions in India. I have seen the distressing conditions in India. I have seen the distressing conditions in India. I have seen the distressing conditions in India. I have seen the distressing conditions in India. I have seen the distressing conditions in India.

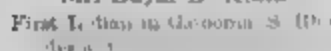
O. J. KENNEDY DAVIE, Bp. We are grateful to the Rt. Rev. Bishop Ferguson for his concern about the situation in the Punjab. We hardly think there is an Indian who does not ache at the thought of the slaughter of the war reported to be taking place in our unhappy country. But we are doubtful if there is not

working behind the scenes to bring about the end of Britain. Whether it takes sixteen years or six hundred years the destiny of India is left in the hands of the British. Ever since the end of the war the two Dominions have been in a state of tension. The world is filled with news which would not bring harmony between the peoples of India but to engender animosity between them.

It is that the British Government requires to be brought to its senses. It is that the British Government requires to be brought to its senses. It is that the British Government requires to be brought to its senses. It is that the British Government requires to be brought to its senses.

which took place while giving birth to twin sons. Deceased was thirty five years of age and leaves behind her husband six sons and many members of the family to mourn their sad loss.

"India does not practice two nations," said Gandhi. "Hindus and Muslims are one nation."



The many friends of Mr. M.
H. Nash of Grand Rapids, Minn.,
will be deeply grieved to learn
of the very sad death of his
beloved wife of 25 years.

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મળી શકશે.

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જોડે આપનાથી મળી શકશે.

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કાવનાટ પ્રધર્સ

હોલસેન લેધર બેન્ડ મોન્ટરી મરચન્ટસ

"સર્કર્સ", "મોચીઓ", "મોચીઓ" અને "મોચીઓ"
સોલ બેન્ડસને સોલ રાખીએ છીએ.

અથવા કોઈ પણ રાખીએ છીએ

મોચીઓ આપને કોઈ પણ રાખીએ છીએ

૮૪ હેનોવર સ્ટ્રીટ.

જોડે મોકલો

ફોન ૩૩૦૬૬

...

ડી. કે. પટેલ

ફરનીચરો અને વેલ્ડેબલ આવાજનાર અને મોચીઓનાર.

મોચીઓનાર અને વેલ્ડેબલ આવાજનાર અને મોચીઓનાર

મોચીઓનાર કેપ કોટ પાછા રાખીએ છીએ.

મોચીઓનાર અને વેલ્ડેબલ આવાજનાર અને મોચીઓનાર

હોલસેન લેધર બેન્ડ મોન્ટરી મરચન્ટસ

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P. O. Box 766. 106 Prince Edward St. Durban.

20th August, 1957

1. 1990年12月1日以前

P. O. Box 1168.

Page 33 2032

$$I = A \cdot e^{\frac{1}{2} \pi \sqrt{1 - A^2}} \quad (A' = 1)$$

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OBJECTS:

The following table shows the results of the analysis of variance for the effect of the type of soil on the yield of the different varieties of wheat.

TERMS: Strictly 30 days against security of ~~_____~~ () D.

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INDIAN OPINION

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IN 1903

No. 35 -Vol. XLV.

FRIDAY, 5TH SEPTEMBER, 1947.

Registered at G.P.O. as a Newspaper
PRICE 10 PENCE

Indian Opinion

FRIDAY, 5TH SEPTEMBER 1947

Our Prayer

As we pen these lines in anguish and, we have no doubt, millions of others must be feeling the same over what is taking place in India. Only a few days ago India and with her Indians throughout the world celebrated with unbounded joy the Independence of India and the time has come so soon to hang down our heads in shame at the orgy of cold-blooded mass murders which seem to have become the order of the day in one part of that unfortunate land. If anybody deserves sympathy in this tragic affair it is those on whose shoulders has fallen the burden to govern. No Government is known to have been faced with such a terribly difficult task so soon after coming into power. One cannot but view with the greatest admiration the wisdom and courage with which they are facing that task. Would to God that they may survive the ordeal to lead the country when peace is restored.

Mahatma Gandhi has played a great part in moulding the destiny of India. In fact it would not be amiss to say that he was born for that purpose, for no other weapon but that of non-violence, which he has revealed to the world, could have brought freedom to India. It has proved a weapon that has baffled the

worst weapons of destruction. That weapon and the wonder of it is to-day being put to the severest test. All religions have laid down that hatred should be conquered by love. Nobody can deny this. A human-being with the intelligence God has given him should be the last to do so. How is it then that man cannot banish hatred from within his heart? The wielder of the sword will not be able to wield it unless he has faith in his weapon. The weapon of love—which is non-violence—too, demands faith and that is faith in God. Gandhiji has taught us in South Africa and in India to wield that weapon and it cannot be denied that we have done so with remarkable success. The same message he is giving to the world which has become so unhappy with hatred and strife raging all over. All eyes are anxiously fixed on India to-day. How is this weapon of Love going to work in the midst of reeking hatred? Gandhiji has lost the light. Darkness has surrounded him. His weapon does not seem to work. But he has not lost faith in God. He has therefore decided to surrender himself unto Him. That is why he is fasting, which means he is applying the same weapon against God. He has said, what his word has not done his fast may do. He has dedi-

cated himself to God. It is now left to Him to change the hearts of the people or to take him. If our hearts are not changed and we do not come to our senses it will mean that we did not deserve the presence of Gandhiji and we had yet to pass through the purifying fire, and the same with the world. There are many who believe Gandhiji has taken a wrong step. He expects mortals to perform feats that are super-human, they say. It is the lack of faith in our Creator that makes us think so. If we were to look at our past

history we would see what fools we have been. Jesus was crucified before we followed his teachings. Socrates had to drink the cup of poison and his worth dawned on the people when he was no more. Many such instances can be quoted. What is to happen now? Are we going to come to our senses while Gandhiji is still with us or shall we do so when he is no more? Millions of hearts are to-day praying that Gandhiji may be spared to guide India and the world to the path of peace and happiness. May God in His mercy grant our humble prayer.

INDIA'S REPORT TO UNO ON S.A. INDIAN QUESTION

New York, September 3.

INDIA today submitted an 18 page memorandum to the United Nations Organisation on the question of the treatment of Indians in South Africa.

India charged South Africa with ignoring last year's resolution by the General Assembly calling for negotiations, and called on the Assembly to ensure the implementation of the resolution and respect for the Charter.

The memorandum declared that anti-Asiatic feeling and the anti-Indian boycott had increased as one of the direct results of the Assembly's resolution.

The memorandum said that the boycott had at first been confined to the Transvaal but had later spread to Natal and had the active support of members of Parliament of both Parties.

The memorandum then declared that a proposal for the municipal franchise for Indians was defeated by the Europeans, and the position was the same today as it was when the General Assembly passed its resolution.

"The proposals of the Natal Administrator, which were unsatisfactory to the Indians, founded on the rock of racial prejudice, and the subsequent proposals were so discriminatory and segregatory that they were wholly unacceptable to the Indians."

After reporting the continuance of the passive resistance movement the memorandum said that India had expected some action by the South African Government but this had not materialised and the Indian Government had themselves taken no specific steps since the General Assembly action.

It then listed the correspondence between General Smuts and Pandit Nehru and gave the texts of the declarations made in the Union Parliament on the Indian issue.

"The Union Government have completely ignored the General Assembly resolution. They have clearly indicated that they do not desire to remove discriminatory treatment against Indians and other Asiatics," the memorandum concludes.

The Union Government report is expected to be delivered in the next few days.—Saps Reuter.

DEPENDENCE DAY CELEBRATIONS IN INDIA'S CAPITAL

UNPRECEDENTED SCENES OF JOY OF FREEDOM

NATIONAL FLAG UNFURLED OVER RED FORT

(FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT)

New Delhi, August 16.

SOUL STIRRING events crowded into 24 hours, marked the celebration of Independence Day. Beginning with swearing-in of the Governor-General and of the Prime Minister and other Ministers at 9 a.m. yesterday and ending with the unfurling of the National Flag by Pandit Nehru over the Red Fort at 9 a.m. today, the capital witnessed scenes unparalleled even in its colourful history.

Pandit Nehru as the first Minister and Lord Mountbatten as the first Governor-General were the heroes of the drama. They got receptions which any monarch or President would have envied. The outburst of popular joy was like the burst of a dam and the mighty current breaking through all barriers.

At least 200,000 swarmed round the Council House when the sovereign Constituent Assembly was addressed by Lord Mountbatten and the National Flag was unfurled over the Council House dome. More than 500,000 gathered in the Grand Vista on the occasion of the parade near India Gate when the National Flag was hoisted and the Governor-General and the Prime Minister saluted.

Freedom Day began with the swearing-in in the Durbar Hall of Government House. Two flags, the National Flag in deep blue and the Star of India flag were hung over the walls of the hall, for the first time among the civil and military officers generally invited for such functions. There were also present some Princes and the entire diplomatic corps. The Royal Commission was read by the Home Secretary, Mr. R. N. Dinnagee.

The significance of the ceremony lay in the fact that, whereas the Governor-General took the oath of allegiance to the King and his heirs and successors, the Ministers swore "faith and allegiance to the constitution of India as by law established" and pledged themselves "to do right to all manner of people after the laws and

usages of India without fear or favour, affection or ill-will.

All the Ministers except Mr. Jawahar Lal Nehru, who is in hospital, took the oath. The oath to Lord Mountbatten was administered by Mr. M. J. Kania, the first Indian Chief Justice of the Federal Court, and to the Ministers by the Governor-General. The Ministers were sworn-in in the following order: Pandit Nehru, Sardar Patel, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, Maulana Azad, Dr. Mathai, Sardar Baldev Singh, Mr. C. H. Bhabha, Mr. Rafi Ahmed Kidwai, Rajkumar Amrit Kaur, Dr. Ambedkar, V. Shammukham Chetty, Dr. S. P. Mookerjee and Mr. N. V. Gadgil.

Sea Of Human Heads

Then followed the Governor-General's State drive to the Council House preceded by the Cabinet Ministers and other high dignitaries. Viewing from the lofty verandah of the Council House one could see nothing but a sea of human heads and crowds breaking through all cordons. The main route was blocked.

Twice Pandit Nehru appeared on the balcony and signalled to the crowd to swing back and make way for the Governor-General's carriage. As the carriage passed crowds swarmed round it, some shook hands with Lord and Lady Mountbatten stepping on the coach. Both Lord and Lady Mountbatten felt overwhelmed by this joy of a free people and profusely smiled.

The troops and the police got mixed with the crowd and raised cries of *Jai Hind*. It was a most good-humoured crowd and everything went off without incident. Nothing so dramatic and spectacular had happened before.

Inside the Hall of the Constituent Assembly were gathered the chosen representatives of the people, diplomatic representatives and about 600 visitors. Guests went up as the Governor-General and Lady Mountbatten entered the Hall in the company of Dr. Rajendra Prasad and Pandit Nehru.

The proceedings began with the President of the Assembly reading out numerous messages of goodwill that had poured

in from all parts of the globe, including those from the Presidents of China and the U.S.A. and the Prime Ministers of Britain and other Dominions.

Lord Mountbatten began by reading out a message from the King which was cheered by the Assembly. It assured India of his sympathy "in all efforts to promote the prosperity of your people and the general welfare of mankind." It was significant that the King referred to "your people" and not "my people" thereby acknowledging the new democratic order.

Lord Mountbatten said that the rejoicings were tempered by the sadness that it did not come to a united India. He was cheered when he announced that "practically all the States concerned" had acceded to the Indian Dominion. He added that Hyderabad had decided not to accede to the Pakistan Dominion and that the future of India would be continued.

The House applauded him as he observed: "I am sure that the Government of India will be continued."

General and I would ask you to regard me as one of yourselves." He also announced that after the interim period ended on March 31, 1948, he would ask to be released so that they could have an Indian as their Government.

Tributes To Nehru And Patel

As a result of whose management of the States Department had been established "a unified political structure covering more than 300 million people and the major part of this great sub-continent."

The climax came when the loudest applause burst forth as he observed: "At this historic moment let us not forget all that Mahatma Gandhi has done for India."

We miss his presence here to-day, and would have known how much he is in our thoughts."

To the world outside Lord Mountbatten said "The emer-

gence of a stable and prosperous State will be a factor of the greatest international importance for the peace of the world."

Dr. Rajendra Prasad followed with a speech which unfortunately was not audible. "More than a day of rejoicing," he said, "it is a day of dedication for all of us to build the India of our dreams." His message to the world was that India whose conquests in the past had been of spirit would follow the same tradition and that it would offer to the world the weapon of non-violence.

A salute of 31 guns was fired and the National Flag unfurled over the Council House. The vast concourse outside burst into spontaneous applause. Simultaneously Union Jacks over North and South Blocks of the Secretariat were replaced by the Tricolour. The Governor-General and Lady Mountbatten then drove to Government House amidst another outburst of cheering and clapping. Pandit Nehru came and greeted the crowd from the balcony of the Council House.

The crowd melted away peacefully and after a hurried lunch began to throng in the Grand Vista round India Gate. Meanwhile, Lord and Lady Mountbatten attended a children's fete at the Polo Ground Club. More than 300 different organisations participated in more than 300 celebrations in Delhi. The Mahatma leader, Mr. Shaukat Khan, General Secretary of the Congress, hoisted the National Flag over the historic Kashmir Gate which has huge dents caused by British guns during the Mutiny. National flags were also hoisted over the Delhi and New Delhi Municipal buildings with impressive ceremonies. The previous evening a huge torch-light procession was taken out by the students to the precincts of the Constituent Assembly.

People's Function

The greatest event yesterday from the popular point of view was the parade in the Princes Sector near the War Memorial, India Gate. More than 50,000 people gathered in that vast space which is more, it broke through

all bacteria and occupied every space, including the thousands of chairs, reserved for invited guests. The people thus made it their own function. The military, police and Works Department officials had made arrangements according to pattern. Little did they realise that India that was born yesterday was dynamic. Where they expected thousands, lakhs turned out. The result was that the parade could not be held according to the schedule.

The flagstaff and the platform round it provided a little island on which stood Pandit Nanu. Sardar Patel and other distinguished in that sea of humanity.

Pandit Nehru, suiting the Governor General's daughter, Pamela Mountbatten, caught in the crowd, went to her and said: "I am your uncle." When Lord and Lady Mountbatten drove to the polo ground they appeared thoroughly to enjoy the way the people had taken possession of the grounds.

He is reported to have remarked, "This is the best parade I have attended. It was meant for the people, they have done well at it and, be-

As aeroplanes soared overhead and the Flag was unfurled a spontaneous cheer burst forth from 500,000 people. It was the great moment for which they had waited. Hats, sticks and tops were thrown up in the air expressing outpoured joy. Simultaneously appeared a rainbow in the sky almost matching the colours of the Flag. This coincidence increased the joy of the people who considered it providential.

As the Governor General and Lady Mountbatten drove back along with Pandit Nehru they found two women and a child getting crushed. They lifted them to the State carriage and took them to Government House from where they were sent home. This was a moving gesture much appreciated by the crowd.

Illuminations

illuminations and fireworks in the sky at night. The most striking spots were Princes Place round India Gate, the Municipal Office in New Delhi, the Central Telegraph Office and Queensway block of business houses. Taxis and tongas did a roaring business. The former charged Rs. 60 and the latter Rs. 20 for going round the town. Until past midnight the capital was alive and masses of people moved about.

At Government House the chief attended a reception, preceded by a State Banquet. It is said that at the Banquet Paulit

Nehru proposed the toast of the King and Lord Mountbatten of the new Government. The Moghul Gardens of Government House were converted into a fairyland for the occasion.

As the dawn broke lakhs made their way to Red Fort. Thousands slept on the Parade Ground to make sure they would have a good place to witness to the most moving ceremony of their lives. They had dreamed about flying the National Flag over Red Fort which stood as a symbol of authority. The I.N.A. under

Crowds went up in jubilation that Pandit Nehru, the first Prime Minister of India, had arrived to unfurl the flag. Two minutes later the flag went up. Fluttering high against the background of the clear summer sky it gave a thrill to the vast concourse. At this time a formation of aircraft zoomed overhead causing another burst of cheers.

Addressing the vast gathering Pandit Nehru expressed pleasure at the fact that the crowds were peaceful. He said no police or

Muslims and Sikhs to the eyes of the State. All will be equal citizens. Any one professing particular religion would not enjoy higher privileges than those professing any other. Everyone of the 39 crores of Indian people was a king because what they had achieved was the people's inf. But this did not mean that they could do what they liked. They must act through their chosen representatives and obey the law. Delhi had seen many kings, but the period of kings was over. It was the period of Panchayat.

I am tribute to those who laid down their lives, Pandit Nehru singled out Subhas Bose, for he (Subhas) had unfurled the Flag of Independent India in another land. He said today a wall had been raised between Hindustani and the Jostani. They must believe that it may become possible to reunite the country. He particularly appealed to the villagers to take back the message of unity and peace to the villages and stop all warfare.

After his speech, the I.N.A. soldiers sang Sukh Chain. When the ceremony was over, the crowd ran to Lahore Gate to have darshan of the leaders. As it became impossible for the car to pass, Pandit Nehru, Lady Mountbatten, who attended the function, Sardar Patel and other leaders changed the route and went through the Delhi Gate.

Thus ended the 24 hours whose memory shall never be effaced from those who were fortunate to witness the acts of joy and whose accounts will pass from generation to generation and will be heard with reverent attention by our future generations.

GERMISTON COUNCIL PROTESTS

AGAINST EXEMPTION OF LAND FOR NON-EUROPEANS

Ament Gazette of August 1 exempting foot stands in Pinnaroo and one in Pinnaroo Extension from the provisions of the Precious and Base Metals Act relating to Coloured persons being prohibited from residing on or occupying these stands, led to a unanimous protest at the monthly meeting of the Germanistown Town Council.

A report by the Finance and General Purposes Committee stated that after consultation with the Council's legal adviser it had been ascertained that the Minister could, after consultation with the local authority, exempt areas from the "Coloured cinema

"The Council," states the report, "was consulted in the matter, as evidence was given before the Asiatic Land Tenure Act Advisory Committee that the Council was prepared to accept the recommendations of that committee, provided a rider was added that the properties in Germiston falling within the scope of the inquiry should not be

used for purposes other than those obtaining on May 1, 1932.

Subsequently the Advisory Committee informed the Council that it was not legally possible to accept the rider, and accordingly, at its meeting on October 23, 1944, the Council decided to protest against the proposed change of

The publication of the notice exempting the standards indicated that the Minister was up to the Council's protest.

Mr. T. Stark suggested that a memorandum should be prepared on the subject and that the three members of Parliament for Germiston should be approached to use their influence to see that something was done.

Mr. J. H. Roseow, the Deputy Mayor, who supported Mr. Stark said that the Council should not take the matter lying down, as the position in Germany would become dangerous.

Mr. Stark's motion was carried unanimously.

Subhas Bose had shouted the slogan, *Chalo Delhi*. The moment for fulfilment of that pledge had arrived and although Subhas was no more his troops were there to participate in the historic ceremony. Never before had such a scene been witnessed. The huge parade ground could not accommodate all, from the Fort to the *Chandni Chowk*, *Bara Imambara* and *Chandni* in front of to the right and left it was a sea of human heads. Even the loudspeakers could not reach more than half the people. But the people wanted not so much to hear songs and speeches as to see the flag unfurled over the Lahore Gate of the Fort.

armed force could control such a mass of people unless the people co-operated. He enjoined on them discipline as essential for the nation's progress, the next impressed on the people the need for ending abject poverty. The Government was determined to bring order and bring about peace. Whatever their disputes in the past that chapter must now be closed.

People's Review

Referring to the Flag, Pandit Nehru said that whoever saluted the Flag was the citizen of India entitled to equal treatment.

SOUTH AFRICA'S PLACE IN THE WORLD

[illegible]

men and women were fraternising. The attitude to Europeans was a little more reserved. The sight of a European face generally brought a rather challenging 'Jai Hind' from the more excited young people, but the moment 'Jai Hind' came in reply, all was well. In one crowded square during the evening, the sight of European women crying 'Jai Hind' and waving flags brought a burst of applause from the crowd.

"The change from fear and dread to joy and peace was so

sudden as to seem spontaneous. Probably the truth is that the common people were all longing for peace and reconciliation. But someone had to touch the blind spring. Only a great soul could do that. The Mahatma's decision to take Subramanyam into close and affectionate partnership was the symbolic act that touched the spring. But he knows better than any man that the work of reconciliation is only just begun. The partners must strive day by day to consolidate the ground they have won."

TRANSVAAL INDIAN CONGRESS

ELECTION OF NEW OFFICE BEARERS

AT the biennial general meeting of the Transvaal Indian Congress held in Johannesburg on August 24 Dr. Y. M. Dadoo was re-elected president of the Congress with Messrs. M. A. Dinuth, J. V. Ooka, E. K. Liber, Mrs. P. K. Naidoo, Messrs. T. N. Naidoo, Ravjibhai G. Patel, Dr. V. G. Patel, Messrs. Somajee Ramonjee, Manvi L. M. Balanjee as Vice-presidents. Messrs. Y. A. Chakala and D. U. Mubry were elected joint secretaries and Messrs. G. H. L. Pabai and J. G. Vaidayar joint treasurers. The working committee of 20 was elected which includes two women members.

Joint Secretarial Report

The joint secretaries in their report stated:—"Our political perspective is clear. Racial abuse against the Coloured Act must go on. The Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act must be defeated in operation and in every form and racial discrimination resisted in every sphere. We must have faith in the United Nations and its decision. We must give the fullest backing to our case, and give a lie to the Prime Minister Smith's statement that Indians are prepared to co-operate with the Union Government without reference to India or the United Nations."

"It is our task, that internally we maintain the great unity of all sections within the ranks of Congress, achieved in the course of struggle and discredit with our determined opposition, any move by any group or individual willing to barter his honour and freedom for the sake of selfish interest and good favour of the Government and authorities."

Dealing with the problems lying before the Congress, the secretaries said the Congress will have to re-organise itself to cope with the huge tasks facing it, not only in regard to the Resistance campaign, but also in many other ways.

constantly come before it. Its attention must remain priority number one. Departments must be created to deal with education, transport, commerce, health, and civil liberties, housing, trade unions, labour and unemployment, social services and the internal organisation of Congress and its branches.

Resolution On India-South African Relations

The meeting unanimously passed a resolution paying tribute to the leaders who had served the movement and it regretted the refusal of General Smuts' despite the intensive talks by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, to agree to the holding of a round table conference with India with a view to settling the Indian question in the United Nations.

The resolution repudiated the allegation of General Smuts in the House of Commons that groups of representatives of Indians were associated with the progressive policy of the Indian people. It maintained that the Indian people were more united than ever before, the unity resulting from the racial oppression.

The resolution expressed support and confidence in the stand taken by Pandit Nehru in his communication with the Union Government and the United Nations, and called on the Indian people to give full support to the Indian case before the General Assembly.

Cost Of Living Allowance

The war measure providing for payment of cost of living allowance was passed by the Union Government in 1947, at the same time the Government which would make the necessary provision for the continuous payment of these allowances for as long as the war lasted, as a condition of the war measure.

UNIVERSITY INDIAN STUDENTS BURSARY COMMITTEE

THE above Committee was formed in 1943 by the Indian Students of the Witwatersrand who felt the need of a Bursary to help out needy and deserving students. The Committee in its first drive for funds in Johannesburg and Pretoria succeeded in collecting a sum of £1,000 over £700.

However for the next year or two the above Committee was forced into a position of inactivity due to the High Commissioner's activities to create an entirely new bursary com-

mittee in the faculty of Architecture is enough to see a student through the entire course. Details of the conditions under which these bursaries are granted will be supplied to those interested on application to the secretary.

Coincident with this grant the Committee launched a campaign for funds which has resulted in a total of £1,000 so far. Hitherto the activities of the Committee have been confined to the Johannesburg, Pretoria and district areas. This year the students intend broadening their

GANDHIJI FASTING

GANDHIJI narrowly escaped injury on Monday evening when a mob of youths stoned the house occupied by him. A brick, which smashed a window, just missed his head. Gandhiji has begun a fast since Monday night announcing that he will not stop it until Calcutta returns to sanity.

Gandhiji told those around him that for some time past he had been groping in the dark and was now happy God had shown him the way. Gandhiji had written to his close associates some time ago that he may have to lay down his life in Bengal. His fast has cast a gloom over all sections of the public. A call has been made by prominent leaders of the Congress to the people to save Gandhiji's life.

Dr. Dinabhai Mehta, who is a well known nature cure doctor and who attended on Gandhiji at the Agakhan Palace when he underwent a twenty-one days' fast, is attending on him. Gandhiji

was suffering from chronic high blood pressure and Dr. Mehta has expressed the fear that his body could not stand the fast.

While going to Press it was learnt from the All India radio that Mahatma Gandhi was much weaker and could not take a large quantity of water. The Governor of Bengal Mr. Rajagopalachari accompanied by several other leaders, called on Gandhiji yesterday. Mr. Rajagopalachari assured Gandhiji that the trouble that took place was not due to communal rioting but to a few bootlarks. Gandhiji said he wanted the Hindus and the Muslims to give him an assurance that they would maintain peace.

The situation in the Punjab and elsewhere was reported to be quiet.

The Calcutta police force has decided to observe a twenty-four hours fast in sympathy for Gandhiji.

Subramanyam has appealed to all to observe Saturday as a day of fast.

called by the High Commissioner's Office. The aim was £30,000. After months of delay and with the committee never materialised and any hopes of it ever coming into being vanished with the High Commissioner's recall to India.

Three events made the University Indian Students Bursary Committee baffle itself. The Committee had intended to grant annual bursaries in those faculties in which Indian students had as yet not been enrolled. The first of these bursaries was granted two years ago as the first step towards fulfilling its objects. The bursary awarded

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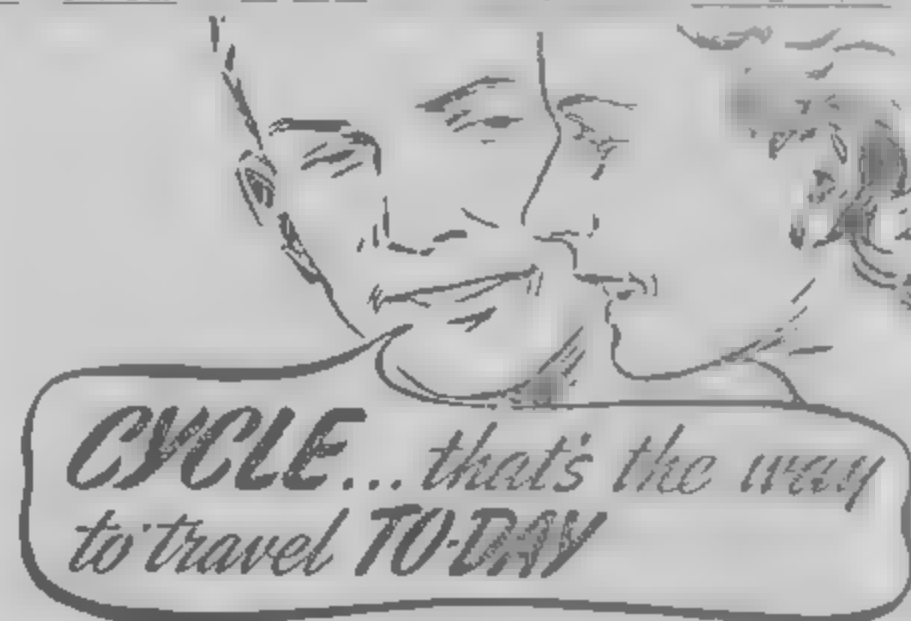
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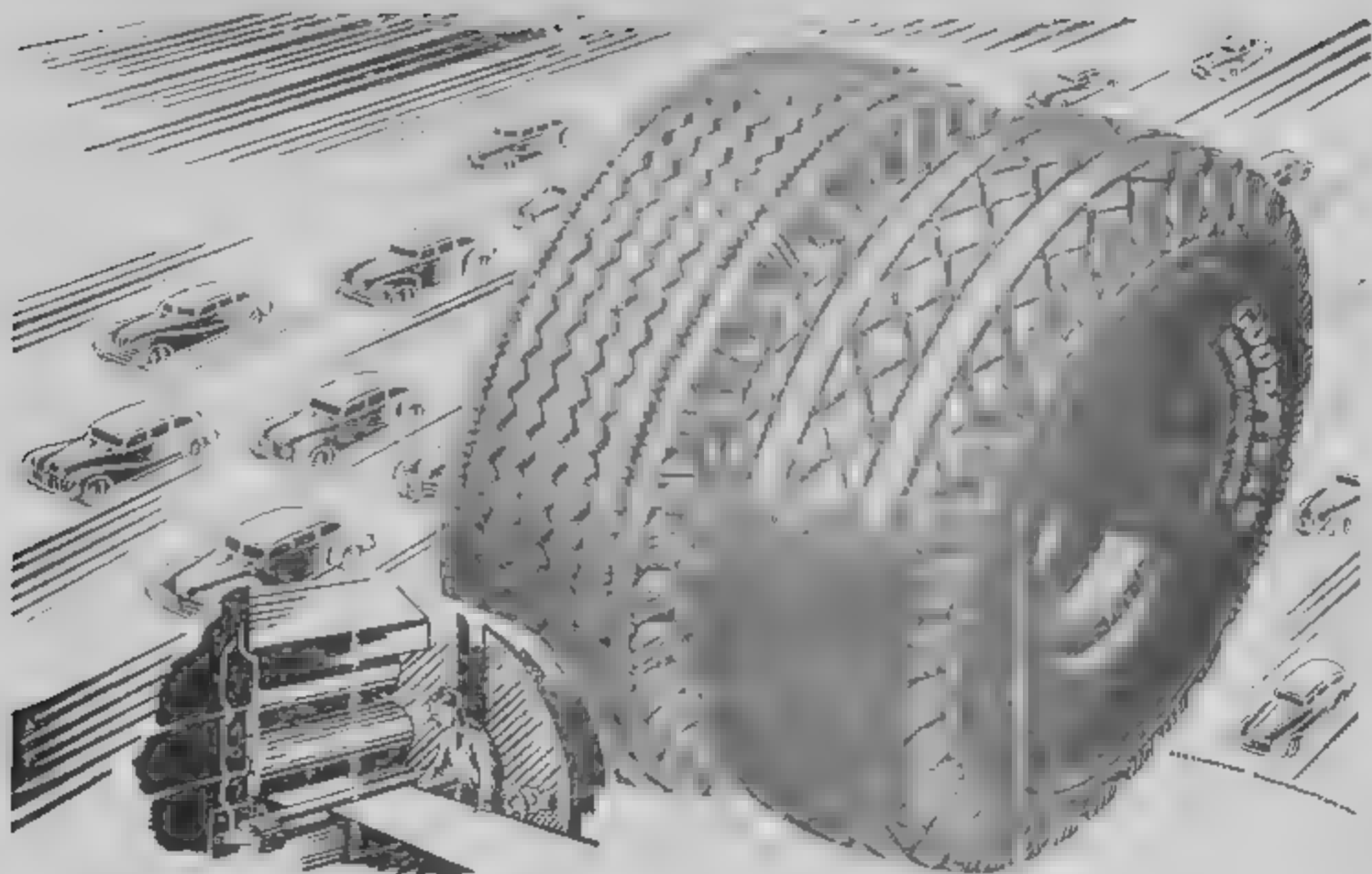
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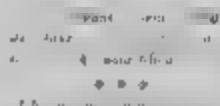
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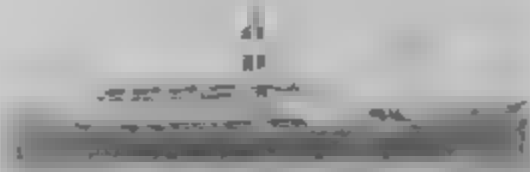
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INDIAN OPINION

MAHATMA GANDHI
IN
INDIA

34 Vol. XLV

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Indian Opinion

FRIDAY, 12TH SEPTEMBER, 1947

Senator Clarkson On Asiatic Act

THE following is a

statement of Senator C. F. Clarkson, on the introduction of the Asiatic Land Tenure Act, at the United Party meeting Johannesburg, on Monday as a delegate sent to discuss with Africa and to force. At least that is the light in which we view it and, we think, any self-respecting person would view it. Whatever Senator Clarkson may say the fact remains that the Indian community as a whole has totally rejected the Asiatic Land Tenure Act, as offending their national honour, and that there has not been any hearty co-operation on their part in the administration of that Act. Weaklings in the community, who look to material interests only, have, no doubt, submitted to the Act. They have done so not because they consider the Act a blessing but because they have not had the strength and the courage to suffer the penalty for non-submission. Senator Clarkson has, however, admitted that "there has been a systematic defiance of the trespass laws and many hundreds have gone to gaol as a demonstration against the Asiatic Land Tenure Act." Be it remembered that the hundreds of men and women who went to gaol and are still going to gaol represent not only the

Provinces—the Transvaal, Cape and Natal. To say

Mr Clarkson has said, that 99 per cent. of the Indians are not affected by the terms of the Act is as much as to say that India is not affected by the terms of the Act. The Act would affect all those who desired to, or whose economic position allowed them to, exercise their legitimate right to purchase land wherever they wished to or to occupy it or reside thereon. Indians are fighting against the Act because it deprives them of an existing right. India is fighting against it because it is a stigma of inferiority on the whole Indian nation.

No Political Aim

For Senator Clarkson to allege that the demonstration on the part of Indians is purely political is not quite correct, for Indians have not sought to gain any purely political end. They have not sought to usurp the power to rule this country from the Europeans. They have never questioned their right to rule. What they have protested against is

If Senator Clarkson has the satisfaction to feel that the protest by Indians cannot and has not achieved any result, he is very welcome to do so. For our part, it may not have achieved the desired result but it has certainly roused world

not a little heart burn to South Africa, the direct

to enforce the notorious piece of legislation in defiance of world opinion, a challenge, the wisdom of which we doubt very much of the thinking people of South Africa are too sure of the complacency of Indians as Senator Clarkson would say. In any country and with any countrymen in India, he thinks, Indians are living in a paradise.

Not In Good Taste

We hardly think it is in good taste to appointable Minister the Senator Clarkson to refer to Indians of the things that are happening in India. The way Senator Clarkson has referred to them it would appear that he has done so with certain amount of glee which in our humble opinion is as barbarous as the deeds themselves. Does it become South Africa to be complacent and derive self-satisfaction simply because own deeds are not as bad as the worst deeds committed on this earth? Can there any progress in the world with such an attitude? The world would not be worth living in in that case. But we have faith that there are not many who would support such an attitude. We would not like to be as unkind to South Africa as Senator Clarkson is to India. But when Senator Clarkson says "no one has been molested, let alone killed" nor is there any likelihood of this taking place in South Africa, it might be well to remind him that what is happening in India today is due to embittered religious feelings, and history is replete with instances of

religious heads such as is taking place in India. Let us hope and pray that it is a passing phase and surely will soon reveal and peace and tranquility will once more reign supreme.

Peculiar To South Africa

But colour and race prejudice is peculiar only to South Africa. South Africa may not forget that they had done everything short of putting to death Mr M. K. Gandhi, who is now better known as Mahatma Gandhi when he first landed here as a young barrister just because he happened to be an Indian. And to quote a very recent name, what about the hissing and snarling in Durban against Indian men and women passive resisters in the beginning of their struggle against the Asiatic Land Tenure Act? They had committed no acts of violence. Their only crime was that they were Indians and they were protesting peacefully and in the most dignified manner against what they considered to be an unjust law. Here was a place where just and innocent people were subjected to barbarous acts without rhyme or reason. But comparisons are, at times, unpleasant and it does not help to manage in them. South Africa would do well to vie with other countries in their good deeds and not try to copy the bad ones. Senator Clarkson hopes that the wanted Nationalism will realise that Indians in South Africa should be grateful for the benefits and advantages they enjoy in this land. We

1947

in gratitude to Indians for the sweat and blood their ancestors have given in developing this land and what they

ask in return is the right to live in it as nothing more and nothing less than self-respecting human beings.

COLONIAL WAR IN INDONESIA

By I. HALIUTA

HOLLAND'S colonial war in Indonesia is being prosecuted for the purpose of suppressing the Indonesian republic and re-establishing the pre-war situation before the war. Indonesia was the object of cruel exploitation on the part of the Dutch and other imperialists.

The Dutch Army, with foreign aid, has been fighting against Indonesians for almost two years, devastated towns and villages, thousands of Indonesian dead and wounded—these are the atrocities which Indonesia is still making in this war.

The events in Indonesia have been discussed at the Security Council before. It will be remembered that the efforts of those who tried to establish peace in Indonesia did not lead to positive results because the U.S.A. and Britain refused to accept the sensible proposal made by the Indonesian delegates.

Now that the colonial war in Indonesia has developed on a large scale the Dutch Indonesian question is again in the forefront in U.N.O. This question has now ceased to be a local one. The events in Indonesia of great international importance and cannot be ignored by the freedom loving peoples, by all those to whom peace is dear. Those who support Dutch

policy must be aware that the peoples of South East Asia, victims of the colonial slavery, do not wish to put an end to the war in Indonesia as declaring openly that he is striving for the enslavement of her people and the seizure of her riches by the big capitalist monopolies.

When the Indonesian events were discussed by the Security Council the British and United States delegates attempted to replace the "Indonesian question" by a discussion of the "Greek situation." In addition to this they made no small effort to prevent the question being put on the agenda. American diplomacy even tried to put itself in the place of U.N.O. offering its "good offices" for the regulation of the "incident."

Despite all these manoeuvres the Security Council finally adopted the recommendation to ask for a cessation of hostilities in order that a peaceful settlement of the question might be reached.

The Anglo-American supporters of the Dutch land grabbers, however, twisted the wording of the resolution in such a way that it did not contain any condemnation of the unprovoked Dutch aggression or a demand for the withdrawal of Dutch troops from the Republican territories they have seized.

Although Holland has verbally welcomed the decision to stop the bloodshed she is still continuing operations against the Indonesian Republic. "Peace operations" have turned out to be a real colonial war and after the Security Council decision the Dutch are still continuing to seize Indonesian towns and villages in the same way as they did before it.

If the United States and Britain had really tried to stop hostilities they could easily have done it. Neither of them, however, has attempted to, but, on the contrary both are helping the Dutch. The United States are worried about their capital investments in Indonesia and not about the Indonesian people. It will be remembered that the United States Government sent the Indonesian Government a note which demanded the protection of American oilfields in Sumatra. The note said in part that the Government of the United States of America was profoundly disturbed at the fact that American citizens and their property might suffer from the operations. The American Government hoped that in the interests of Indonesia, the United States of America and the whole world the Indonesians would not destroy the oil wells.

This "profound disturbance" is expressed by American help for Holland to arms and cash.

As far as Britain is concerned, she was the first to demand that the British Government has a special obligation to stop the war in Indonesia because Britain was the first to interfere in Indonesian affairs and because she, to a great extent, trained and armed the Dutch troops.

It is a well-known fact that Holland, who suffered from the war and from lengthy German occupation, would not have been

capable of conducting a lengthy colonial war if she had not had outside support. The Dutch need credit, arms and other things necessary for the prosecution of war. They obtained this support from the United States and Britain. They continue to receive the same support even now.

The Indonesian people have the right to a free existence. The events now taking place in Indonesia are not only a threat

to the national independence of Indonesia but are also a threat to the preservation of South East Asia. The attitude of the United States and Britain towards the suppression of the national liberation efforts of the peoples who have only just broken free themselves a road to an independent existence. It is the sacred duty of all lovers of peace and democracy to remove this threat.

MINISTER REVIEWS ASIATIC LAND TENURE ACT

At a United Party meeting in Johannesburg on Monday night the Minister of the Interior, Senator C. P. Clarkson, said the Board established under this Act had done excellent work in its 18 months of existence. The Act was functioning satisfactorily.

Many applications had been dealt with—some granted and others refused. In addition, the delimitation of Durban, Port Shepstone and Colenso in Natal, which had to be completed by June 5 last, had taken place and the decisions had been generally accepted. In addition, in some of the towns in Natal, although a period of five years had been allowed for time to be done, areas had been set aside for Indian trade and occupation.

In some of the country towns the Board had been successful in securing the land tenure Act was being enforced and any breaches of it with regard to prosecutions taking place as they were being done.

Notwithstanding all the complaints that the Indians made, they have in South Africa in comparison with their countrymen in India they are doing in a paradise.

There is no question of moving millions from one area to another because they cannot live side one another.

No one has been molested, let alone killed, nor is there any likelihood of this taking place in South Africa.

As you know, Mr. Lawrence, the Minister of Justice, will lead the South African delegation at the United Nations Conference. He will worthily represent the country.

The Board would be called upon to deal with the situation for Indians in their own areas, where they can live peacefully. The Board will particularly the larger ones, must be provided in this regard.

Illegal occupation in Johannesburg and Pretoria, which cannot be remedied unless suitable accommodation is provided for Indians where they can carry on their business and live in peace.

stratification against the Asiatic Land Tenure Act

"The irony of it is that of these people has been convicted for a breach of the Land Tenure Act and 90 per cent. of them are not able to pay the terms of the Act as they represent the section of the Indian community which was not responsible for the situation."

The Land Tenure Act was being enforced and any breaches of it with regard to prosecutions taking place as they were being done.

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WORLD GOVT SCHEME TO REPLACE U.N.O.

A Parliament in Britain has

considered a scheme for the creation of an all-India World Government. The scheme is based on the principle of a world government which would be created by the United Nations Organisation. The scheme is based on the principle of a world government which would be created by the United Nations Organisation. The scheme is based on the principle of a world government which would be created by the United Nations Organisation.

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the creation of an all-India World Government.

World Government must be created to take over all the existing national armed forces. The scheme is based on the principle of a world government which would be created by the United Nations Organisation.

the creation of an all-India World Government. The scheme is based on the principle of a world government which would be created by the United Nations Organisation.

Government, which is what they ought to be," states the memorandum.

"A group of members of the House of Commons has now devoted its attention to the subject of this revolution. The group is known as the 'World Government' group. The group is known as the 'World Government' group. The group is known as the 'World Government' group.

come to prevent war, the memorandum adds, the U.N.O. Charter is actively amended to provide for the destruction of all national armed forces.

the creation of an all-India World Government. The scheme is based on the principle of a world government which would be created by the United Nations Organisation.

a place? "U.N. must speedily be created which has the necessary power to enforce the will of the world. It is to enforce national sovereignty to achieve peace, which cannot be entrusted in any other hands."

To work out the details of the World Government and to draw up its Charter plans have been made to hold a People's World Consultative Assembly in Geneva in the autumn of 1950.

It is proposed that representatives of the peoples of all countries should be invited to attend the assembly and, in conference, to agree to the draft Charter of the World Government.

the creation of an all-India World Government. The scheme is based on the principle of a world government which would be created by the United Nations Organisation.

used in every day life. The scheme is based on the principle of a world government which would be created by the United Nations Organisation.

countries during the summer of 1947.

the creation of an all-India World Government. The scheme is based on the principle of a world government which would be created by the United Nations Organisation.

the creation of an all-India World Government. The scheme is based on the principle of a world government which would be created by the United Nations Organisation.

memorandum, will be to have the Charter of the United Nations Organisation.

Governments of the nations of the world. It is suggested that in British ratification of the Charter will be the first step towards the creation of a world government.

GANDHIJI ENDS FAST

GANDHIJI ended his fast on Thursday night September 4 after obtaining an undertaking from the leaders of the Moslem, Hindu and Sikh communities that they would preserve peace in their respective areas.

Groups of youths laid down hand grenades, Sten guns and other weapons at Gandhi's sweet home where he had ended his fast.

including some Europeans, went on a 24 hours fast the same day in sympathy with Gandhiji's fast.

On the third day after ending the fast Gandhiji left for Delhi to acquaint himself with the conditions in the Punjab.

We call the following from the "Wayfarer's Talk" appearing in the *Natal Daily News* dated September 4.

Once more the highlight of the world has swung on to Mahatma Gandhi as he enters his ninth fast at the age of 77. Though many men have been willing to die for an ideal, few have shown any liking for Gandhiji's method of endangering his own life for the sake of others.

It was not until the latter part of the present century that Mr. Gandhi's method of non-violence was first put into operation by him. It was not until the latter part of the present century that Mr. Gandhi's method of non-violence was first put into operation by him.

"Fasting to draw attention to political wrongs was first practised by Mr. Gandhi about 30 years ago. Since then he has fasted many times. One fast lasted only four days, because the difference was settled in that time."

"Mr. Gandhi's longest fast was in 1943, when he fasted for 21 days. His condition was grave. At that time he was being detained by the British Government for security reasons."

"After men have tried passive resistance and hunger-strikes, they have achieved the same of the situation."

His fast was a success with his aims have paid generous tribute to his morality and his selfless courage. General Smuts is among those who have paid high tribute to Mr. Gandhi.

"This great soul in beggar's garb" is how Sir Rabindranath Tagore described him.

"Few South Africans know that Mr. Gandhi served throughout the South African War as a stretcher bearer."

Charter of Rights Of Minorities

MARTINA ABOT KALAI

to the Charter of Rights of Minorities. The Charter of Rights of Minorities is a document which is being drafted by the United Nations Organisation. The Charter of Rights of Minorities is a document which is being drafted by the United Nations Organisation.

The Charter of Rights of Minorities is a document which is being drafted by the United Nations Organisation. The Charter of Rights of Minorities is a document which is being drafted by the United Nations Organisation.

"I am aware that there are glaring defects in the plan."

once the plan is adopted, it will be a step towards the achievement of world peace. The plan is a step towards the achievement of world peace. The plan is a step towards the achievement of world peace.

The division of Bengal and the Punjab has also been carried out according to the terms. Once the people and their representatives have taken a decision, it would be great mistakes to continue to brood over the past and try to reopen old questions and reintroduce old issues.

"The wisdom of the plan focuses our attention upon the future and try to build new conditions of safety, peace and progress for all the communities concerned. It is unfortunate that communal bitterness should have somewhat marred the victory of Indian nationalism at the moment of its triumph. Nevertheless, no one can deny that India has achieved her freedom under conditions which have no parallel in history. Our sorrow and grief because of the communal tangle should not blind us to the fact that a new era is opening up for India."

The minority question, he said, requires to be treated with calm and wise statesmanship. Minorities to too many minds are full of apprehensions for the future.

"I am confident that, so far as the Union of India is concerned, it will treat its minorities not only with justice but with generosity. I firmly believe the authorities in the so-called areas will adopt the same attitude towards the minorities."

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"I am confident that, so far as the Union of India is concerned, it will treat its minorities not only with justice but with generosity. I firmly believe the authorities in the so-called areas will adopt the same attitude towards the minorities."

INDIAN EDUCATION IN NATAL

SPECIAL ASPECTS IN INDIAN EDUCATION

Continued from Last Week

It is an advantage to have the Union Minister of Natal, in whom the sympathies of the Indian community in regard to education are so well known.

WHO WILL PRESIDE

A Major Kestor, member of the Natal Legislative Council, has written that the Union Minister of Natal, in whom the sympathies of the Indian community in regard to education are so well known.

South of Australia, and Malaya.

As far as the South African Indian question is concerned, the message states, doubtless, that the Union Minister of Natal, in whom the sympathies of the Indian community in regard to education are so well known.

He will be

in their position of a young man, and he is ready to accept the Union Minister of Natal, in whom the sympathies of the Indian community in regard to education are so well known.

[Note is not a question of Western and Hindu does not arise in proceeding India's case]

resident in the Union of India. The Union Minister of Natal, in whom the sympathies of the Indian community in regard to education are so well known.

of them are Hindus. So there is no question of Hindu or Indian. The question will be fought as one of the Indians by the Union of India with the moral backing of Pakistan. The South African Government has to be satisfied in relation to the Union Minister of Natal, in whom the sympathies of the Indian community in regard to education are so well known.

There is no such intention. "However," what is the Union Minister of Natal, in whom the sympathies of the Indian community in regard to education are so well known.

The Union Minister of Natal, in whom the sympathies of the Indian community in regard to education are so well known.

assistance to the Natal Provincial Administration in uplifting the standard of education among the Indian community in Natal.

The department made an appointment

(a) for the introduction of a Bill in the Natal Legislative Council for the purpose of making education compulsory for Indians and Europeans up to the age of sixteen.

(b) for a special financial grant to the Province for the purpose of uplifting Indian education, and

(c) for a special financial grant to the Province for the purpose of uplifting Indian education, and

The lag in primary and secondary education, the Department stated, was due to the racial discriminatory subsidy paid by the Union Government from 1925/26. The subsidy per Indian child was £2-5-0 and the subsidy per European child was £5-5-0. It could not have been expected to do for the Indian child on £5-5-0 what it could do for the European child.

A comparison of European and Indian education reveals the following figures:

	European	Indian
Population	1,000,000	1,000,000
Adults (estimated)	400,000	137,125
Expenditure	£6 12 6	£6 12 6
Aided	£12 7 6	£12 7 6

	European	Indian
Adults—Total	116	35
—Female	116	35
Female	10	41

	European	Indian
Full-time teachers holding classes	32,396	32,391
Part-time teachers holding classes	32,396	32,391

It will be observed that the bulk of the Indian schools and teachers are in the Province of which the Province only contributes 33½-50% of the cost of the building. A poor community like the Indian community with an average annual income of £1.18 per head could hardly be expected to continue to shoulder the burden of erecting and equipping schools for its children.

Indian education is free only up to Standard IV and will be free up to Standard VI in 1949.

The education of Indian children is not compulsory hence there is a tremendous wastage

The average school life of an Indian child is 3.2 years. About 70 per cent. of Indian children leave school in the sub-standard and less than 30 per cent. reach Standard IV, the recognised level for literacy. The literacy level of the Indian population is between 75-80 per cent.

There is today a tremendous pressure on accommodation and teaching staff.

The position is entirely due to the past neglect and discrimination of the Union Government. To bring Indian education to the level of European within a fixed period of say, five years, we require the expenditure of £100,000,000.

The Natal Indian Congress therefore urge the Union Government to make a special grant to the Natal Provincial Administration, earmarked for the improvement of Indian education.

Owing to the large-scale illiteracy prevailing amongst the Indians, the Union Government also urge the Union Government to appoint immediately a special Indian officer under the adult Education Division of the Union Education Department, who would be entrusted with the task of planning and conducting a mass anti-illiteracy campaign. The prevalence of such a high degree of illiteracy militates against the complete integration of the Indian in a common South African citizenship.

'TIMES OF INDIA' ON S.A. INDIAN QUESTION

(From Our Own Correspondent)

COMMENTING on the recently published correspondence between Pandit Nehru and Field-Marshal Smuts, the Times of India says: "The Times of India, South Africa, has been very much disappointed to find that the Union Government has not only refused to accept implementation of the U.N. resolution on Indian subjects, but also refused to discuss the Indian question. It is ironic that Field-Marshal Smuts should complain about 'unfriendly actions' by the Government of India, recalling their High Commissioner and enforcing trade relations against the Union. It is not India but South Africa which must change its attitude if the way is to be opened for discussions 'more promising of ultimate success.' The actions already taken by New Delhi are fully justified, and the new Government can be depended upon to pursue their demand for Indians in the Union with the same vigour."

Referring to South West Africa, the paper says: "Thus there arises the anomaly of a Government unwilling to grant the desires of a few thousands of people in a backward territory while it is ready to grant the wishes of the countries constituting the United Nations. The reactionary policy of the Smuts Government must now find widespread disapproval. Only the strongest pressure from world opinion will bring South Africa to the senses and secure better treatment for the non-European communities within its borders. In attempts to apply that pressure free India, rebuffed by Field-Marshal Smuts in its efforts to bring about a friendly settlement of differences, will undoubtedly play a leading part."

EAST IS EAST

THE following letter appearing in the Fortnightly column of the Natal Mercury will be read with interest.

Sir,—In exhibiting the Indian claim to equality with the

drop into poetry. He quotes Kipling's line "East is East and West is West, and never the twain shall meet," why does he not complete the quotation? In the poem referred to, Kipling went on to say "But there is neither East nor West, nor South nor North, nor any difference that matters between us and them."

says in referring to the Indian—"East is East and West is West, and never the twain shall meet."

surely, of whom that might be said.

"But there is neither East nor West, nor South nor North, nor any difference that matters between us and them."

Kipling was no racist, and it is, I submit, rather gratifying to find him

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of our Indians, for there is not

We have been informed by a
y Member Party for a long time
too, that you are unable to
attend the conference in the
city of Paris for our delegates

We have had complaints in the past where Indians have been refused reservations of a similar nature. We would like to know whether it is your policy to

We await your
sincerely,
Dr. K. Goudan
Acting Sec. Secretary, N.I.C.

Mr. Pandit, leader of the Indian delegation to a session of the United Nations Assembly, said: "We are with you in spirit, and continue to do all we can to give a tithe to the face of such tremendous opposition."

Hindu Youth Organisation in
 New Delhi that if the Dominion
 of Pakistan is set up, it is
 wrong there will be
 no military or police if he
 had his way. He said
 that he was not a
 member of the
 Government but he was
 a member of the
 Council of Ministers.
 For me the transfer of
 power is a matter of
 time. I hope that I will have
 the chance to serve
 the people of
 India in its favour."

THE Constituent Assembly has laid the foundation of true nationhood by dealing to abolish or system of separate electorates which has acted as a virus by accentuating communal hatred and ill-will and has culminated in a division of the country. An election to the Central and provincial legislatures on the basis of joint electorates, seen for the different communal minorities will be reserved on the basis of their population. In addition to this, members of the minority will be allowed also to contest three reserved seats.

Kar of Patel congratulated the members of the minorities who had

OUR INDIA LETTER

(A WEEKLY COMMENTARY)

Baroda, September 2, 1947.

SEPARATE ELECTORATES ABOLISHED

THE Constituent Assembly moved an amendment seeking to provide separate electorates for Muslims.

"When Pakistan was conceived at least it was assumed there would be one nation in the rest of India, and that there would be a separate electorates for Muslims."

Of course the amendment was not. Two other amendments were moved—one of them by the Muslim League Party—making it obligatory for a separate electorates for Muslims.

Referring to this Sardar Patel said the new constitution would not tolerate any communalism in any form. The process which was adopted in the constitution was to have a separate electorates for Muslims, then those who want that kind of thing can have a place in Pakistan but not here. Here we are laying the foundations of one nation. Those who want to divide again and sow the seeds of disruption will have no place and no quarter here. I sincerely tell you that there will be no injustice done to you. There will be generosity towards you but there must be reciprocity. Let us forget the past, and let us be one nation.

Punjab Holocaust

While murder is on the increase in the city and district of Lahore, and a message from Lahore dated August 30, there has been widespread looting in broad daylight. Evacuation of stranded minorities in West Punjab by air and by sea.

each in engaging the attention of the Indian Government, Sardar Nehru, Sardar Patel, Sardar Bhai Singh, Lady Mountbatten, and others.

"The Governor General of Pakistan," says "the Times of India," "has the lead in drawing attention to the requirements of the other party."

He shifted the emphasis by appealing to Pakistani Muslims to bear with forbearance the sufferings of their brethren elsewhere.

casting Service followed up with a magnification of an isolated incident in East Punjab into a general massacre of Muslims.

Mr. Jinnah has gone to Lahore and joint tours of Ministers of the two Dominions in the disturbed areas have been arranged.

We have tried to do a so-called "mass migration," said Sardar Nehru. "Never before, and never again, will we have to do a mass migration of people." The present plan, he said, was that the East Punjab situation was more under control than the West Punjab situation. The Governor of East Punjab expressed the hope that the situation in his province would be normal in the next ten days.

Pundit Nehru's house at New Delhi has become a haven of refuge for hundreds of refugees from the Punjab.

A convey of non-Muslims coming to Lahore on the 27th was attacked by a mob, a few were killed and several were injured.

A large number of Sikhs, says a message from Lahore dated the 28th, and others the people are over come this, there is the gravest danger that the situation may become worse.

Attacks were made on passenger trains near Bucker and other places.

"A large number of Sikhs," says a message from Lahore dated the 28th, and others the people are over come this, there is the gravest danger that the situation may become worse.

South Africans in India

All South Africans in India were asked by the Government of India to secure, before August 31, permission for their continued stay in India. This action is taken under the B-194, to bring in the Indian regulations with those operative in South Africa against Indians. So far as new entrants from South Africa are concerned, these regulations have been in force for some time. These do not apply to Indians who are South African nationals.

Gandhiji in Calcutta

For the first time in the last 26 years, Gandhiji, spoke during his hours of silence. Though he had given a written message to be read at the prayer meeting at Howrah Maidan, it being his day

of silence, seeing the devotion of the crowd, he was moved to speak to them. Contrary to practice, he stood up when Gandhiji was asked. Later he asked Mr. Sahrawardy to address the gathering to enable him to complete his hours of silence. In his speech Gandhiji said: "We know that all over the world enemies have become friends. The example of Britons and Boers, who fought one another strenuously, becoming friends, we know, there is a much greater reason why Hindus and Muslims should become friends. We cannot do that if we are not great enough to shed all malice."

INDIA'S NATIONAL EFFORTS

From Our Own Correspondent

Baroda, August 21

"CLEARLY, the ultimate test of our national efforts will be to translate into simple economic terms, within easy understanding of the masses, the new-found freedom," said Mr. C. H. Bhabha, Minister for Commerce in the first free India Government, in a broadcast on the 17th. "From this day onwards all of us must, therefore, dedicate ourselves to the fulfilment of these responsibilities. In this high task, we shall need the full and active co-operation of not only all sections of the community, of our workers in the fields and factories, of our industrialists and merchants, of all our professions and technical organizations, but we shall also require the services of the armed forces and the police."

the condition of the common

Mr. Bhabha said that it was a happy day for Hindus and Muslims, who were trying to get at each other's throats.

He said that the condition of the common people was a matter of great concern to the Government.

On the 27th Gandhiji told his followers that he hoped there was no distinction between Hindus and Muslims in the community. He said that the community was one and indivisible, and that the only way to build a new India was to work together and to build a new India.

On the 28th Gandhiji said that he was very happy to see the people of India working together and building a new India.

INDIAN CENTRAL SERVICES

From Our Own Correspondent
Baroda, August 26.

THE Government of India have reviewed their policy relating to recruitment to the Central services. In future, a candidate for appointment to the Central Services under the Indian Dominion should be either (i) a national of the Indian Dominion by birth or by domicile or (ii) a person of Indian descent, or a citizen of an Indian State, or a citizen of Pakistan or other territory adjacent to India in whose favour the operation of eligibility has been suspended by the Central Government. Where recruitment is made by competition, or by selection through the Federal Public Service Commission, appointments will be made entirely on merit, subject to a reservation in favour of the Scheduled Castes of 15 per cent of the vacancies filled by direct recruitment. In regard to posts filled from the open competition, the reservation will be 10 per cent for Scheduled Castes, 10 per cent for Scheduled Tribes, 10 per cent for Muslims, 10 per cent for others, and 10 per cent for the general public.

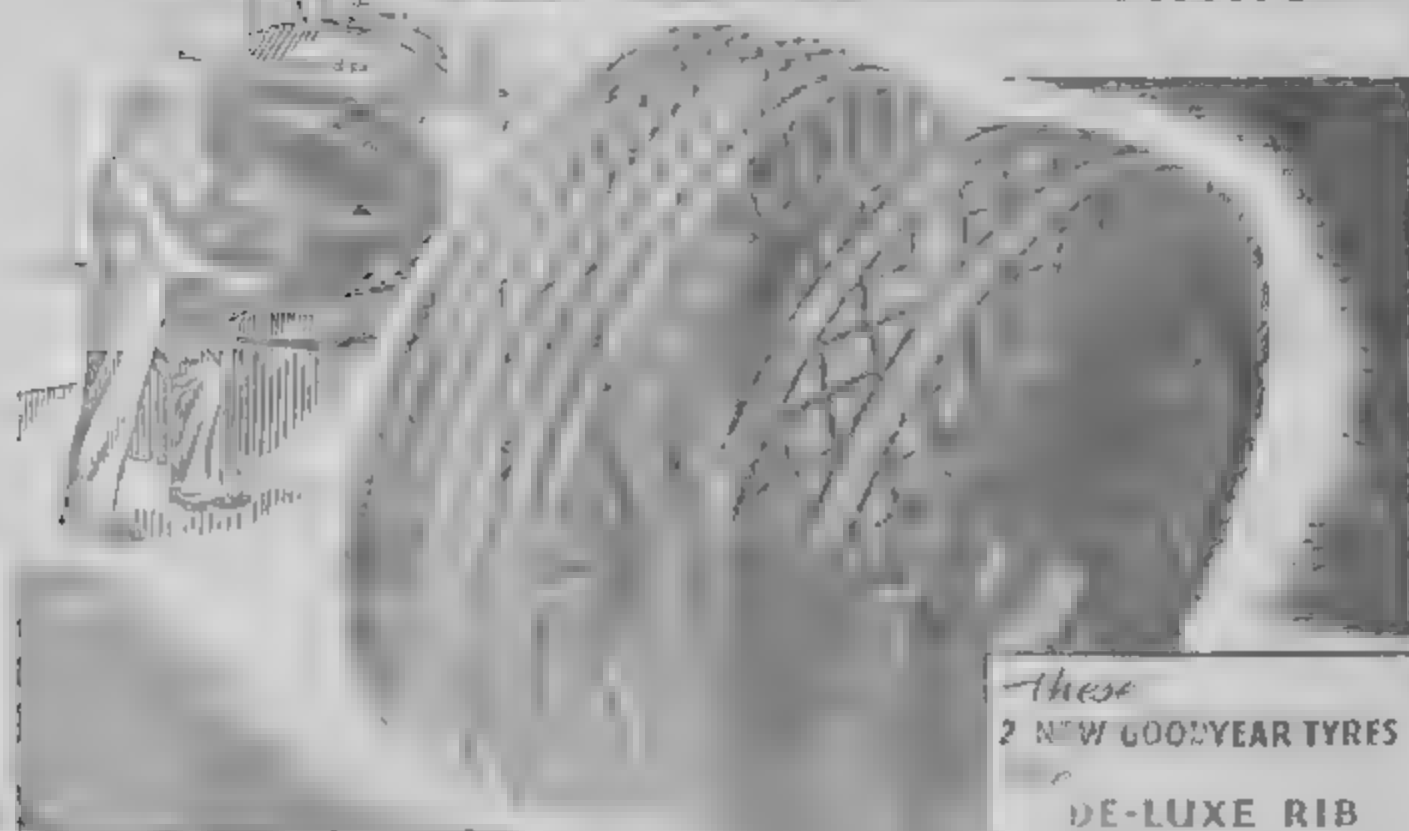
taken a correct perspective of the problems and helped to bring about many reforms.

Mr. Frank Anthony, the Anglo-Indian spokesman, said that, in his opinion, the Government of India should look forward to the future, rather than to the past, when it would take its place and under a communal or racial system, but as part and parcel of the whole Indian community.

"There Shall Be One Nation"

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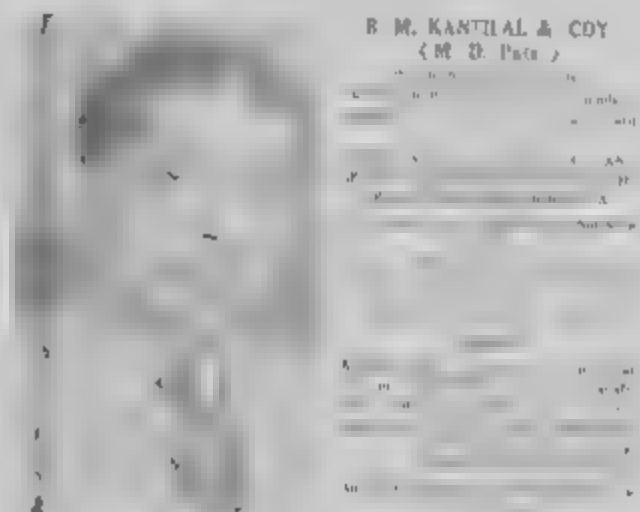
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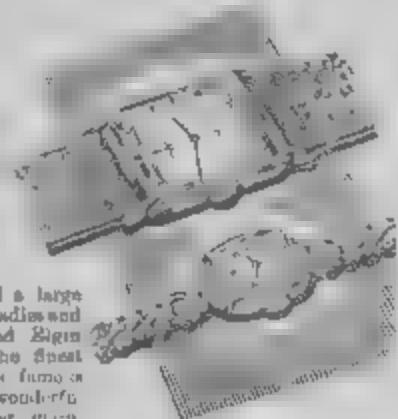
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EDITED BY
MAHATMA GANDHI
IN INDIA

No. 38—Vol XLV

FRIDAY, 26TH SEPTEMBER, 1947.

PRICE 2 PENCE

Indian Opinion

FRIDAY, 26TH SEPTEMBER, 1947

Whither Are We Drifting?

THINGS that have happened during the past fortnight fill one with shame and sorrow. That the Prime Minister and the Deputy Prime Minister should be insulted by the public and not given a hearing as was done in the Transvaal, does not redound to the credit of this country. It puts to shame the recognised principles of democracy. If democracy means a licence for mob rule it is not worth having, not worth cherishing. But that brings us to the question as to who is playing the mob. The Press, we think, is very greatly to blame for all the ills wrought in the world. Scientific achievements have made matters worse. They have become a curse rather than a blessing. Science has discovered means for quicker communications. But it cuts both ways. Good tidings as well as bad could be communicated quicker. For instance plague instead of being localised and its germs destroyed can now spread throughout the world like wild fire before you know where you stand. Thus more harm is done than good. Atom bomb is the biggest scientific achievement. It is a demon dreaded by all and it would not be surprising if, before it is finally decided on whom it is to be applied, it destroys the whole world.

The Point

But to come to the point the Press is a power capable of doing good as well as evil and evil spreads faster than good. We do not seem to have realised the intense harm that it is capable of causing and is in fact causing. Truth, sanity, moderation should be the keynote of true journalism. Instead we seem to be following the path of untruth, insanity and immoderation. That is the role the Press seems to be playing today in leading the world. We talk of ideologies, but we all seem to have our own ideology based, not on truth and righteousness, but on our own whims and prejudices. Things happening in India, in Palestine and other parts of the world are regrettable and painful to the extreme. Instead of expressing its sense of horror and trying to show some better way out what does the Press do? It colours the reports of happenings in its own pet right pours oil over the burning fire instead of trying to extinguish it by soothing words of good advice, indulges in sarcasm and recrimination. All this is fast leading the world to a conflagration, the like of which has never yet been seen.

Our Own Affairs

Coming to our own affairs in South Africa, the Indian question has become

a burning question. It is part of the whole European question which no one denies, is a grave one, endangering the supremacy of Europeans in South Africa. Has the Press softened the position by sane advice or accentuated it by playing up to the prejudices of the thoughtless sections of the European public? Barring a few honourable exceptions, whose voice is in the wilderness, the Press, as a whole, we

say, is to be condemned. We do not subscribe one iota to the language used by Dr. Dadoo during his recent speeches, nor do we endorse all that is being done by the present Congress officials. It pains us to have to say so publicly. We have nothing but praise for them for giving the right lead to the public on the Asiatic Land Tenure Act and for the sacrifices they have made. They have done the right thing and we have no doubt the salvation of our people in South Africa lies in the spirit of sacrifice we are able to show. But we may not swerve from the path of truth and non-violence either in word or deed. If we do so we are betraying the trust of the leaders—Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Nehru—we have chosen to follow, we profess to follow. If we have ceased to follow their lead let us openly confess it to them as to the public.

Mind Our Own Business

Our duty should be to mind our own business and that is to see to our cause not to what Mr. A or Mr. B has been doing behind our backs. If we are straight everything will straighten itself and we shall not lose the confidence of the people. If we are not straight our guilt of having betrayed our cause and the people who have followed us will be far greater than of those whom we accuse of having misbehaved.

To The Press

And to the Press (here we mean the European Press, of course, whose sympathy and support we crave in fighting a just cause) we would say that it should be more indulgent and try to find the root of the trouble and suggest remedial measures. It should not be its business to back one or the other horse of its own liking. It can back only one horse and that is Truth and Justice. It is not quite true to say that the major problem as far as the bulk of Indians is concerned is economic. If that were so all the sacrifices made and the sufferings undergone by us were in vain. Successful efforts have been made to raise the community from that low level to something higher. It is not that we as human beings seek less mere bread and butter. Bread and butter will not be denied as if we accept the status of slaves. But we wish to live as self-respecting human

S.A. DENIES VIOLATING CHARTER

New York, Sept. 17.

SOUTH AFRICA refuses to accept, as a basis and condition of negotiations with the Government of India, the interpretation that last year's General Assembly resolution means that the United Nations has found South Africa guilty of violating the principles of the United Nations Charter.

"This South Africa is not prepared to do," says the Union Government's lengthy report to the United Nations on the subject of Indians in the Union. "It has broken no agreements, internationally binding or otherwise, and has violated no principles of the Charter."

The report expresses strong and direct criticism of the Indian Government's refusal to reinstate its High Commissioner in Africa.

It also criticises the Indian Government's continued application of economic sanctions. By continuing its sanctions, the Indian Government has not contributed to the creation of a favourable atmosphere for the solution of the existing difficulties and has also been undermining the prosperity and welfare of the Indians in the Union.

"As a direct result of these sanctions, those affected by them have started a boycott of Indian shops and undertakings, and public opinion in Natal has hardened to such an extent that the favourable prospects of extending municipal franchise to Indians in that province have been wrecked."

"Having It Both Ways"

On the subject of the High Commissioner, the report says:

"It could fairly be expected that the Government of India, having brought the matter before UNO, would be content to leave the full disposition of the matter to that organisation. Instead, the Government of India is having it both ways."

"While, on the one hand, it is invoking the authority of the international tribunal for peace, on the other hand, seeking to force a solution upon the Union Government by its unilateral actions, taking the law into its own hands and pursuing an independent course of self-help as if UNO did not exist."

The Union Government anticipated and expected that, as a result of the recommendations of the General Assembly and in order to restore the ordinary recognised means of communication between the two Governments, the Indian Government would have arranged for

the return of its High Commissioner.

"It was felt that the necessary preliminary discussions, *inter alia* to devise a mutually acceptable basis of approach, could be carried on best through a High Commissioner rather than the less effective and less expeditious means of cabled communications."

The report adds that the Natal Indian Organisation, representing the Indians who have broken away from the South African Indian Congress because of "the latter's pronounced Communist tendencies and extremist attitude," and the South African Indian Congress itself are deeply concerned that the Indian High Commissioner should return, and regard his reinstatement in the Union as being in their own interests.

After pointing out that the Union Government early on suggested the return of a High Commissioner, the report states that India agreed to do so on condition that South Africa "accepted the implications of the General Assembly's resolution as the basis for discussions."

This the Union strongly refused to do, as "it was apparent the Union Government was being asked to accept a condition which it could not accept."

South Africa was required as a condition precedent, not only to accept that there had been a finding to the effect that it had broken the agreements between the two Governments and that it had violated the principles of the UNO Charter, but also to accept that the finding is the basis, and, indeed, is the only possible basis, for negotiation.

Lengthy legal arguments are offered to show that the General Assembly's recommendations could not possibly serve as a basis for negotiations without previous consultation between two Governments as to the precise meaning of that resolution.

Without a clear answer to the many questions involved "no tribunal could with justice arrive at a general and unqualified condemnation of the Union Government, such as the Indian Government seemed to expect the Union to accept."

After pointing out that "many statements offered before the General Assembly were in dispute," the report states:

The Union Government was not prepared to assume that the

Assembly did in fact intend, on such inadequate proceedings and by mere implication, to one sweeping answer on all these most contentious matters."

Human Rights Question

Other points made are:

Until human rights have been defined and have received recognition in binding form, the provisions of the Charter cannot be said to extend to human rights other than those which are today in international law accepted as being so fundamental that they are not merely of domestic importance, but the concern of the society of nations.

If it is accepted that the Charter forbids all racial discrimination, then it is necessary to consider the position of the Indian people in South Africa, and Pakistan, based, as it

seems to be, on considerations of religious character, and also the repatriation of the Arab and Jewish peoples as a solution of their troubles, do not stand condemned by the Charter."

It is stressed that such distinctions as those drawn in South Africa not only have no repressive effect, but provide the only practicable method for creating and establishing the conditions necessary for the harmonious development of all races to the full stature of each. "The object UNO cannot possibly condemn."

"The truly fundamental human rights of all races cannot be safeguarded in the Union without regard to the rights of the native peoples."

"The effect of the abolition of all distinctions would be to throw upon the European and Indian population of all native peoples of South-West Africa, where economically less-powerful racial groups are today protected against being swamped by Europeans and Indians of land without which these groups would be lost in one heterogeneous mass of landless paupers."

"It would entail a repeal of statutes which allow members of the native races to live and work on their own lands and customs, and which require children of racial groups to receive tuition in their own mother-tongues."

"Not only would modern agricultural methods be introduced, but the native population would be enabled to conduct its own fights with deadly effect, but they would also have access to intoxicating liquors, which on other continents led to the domination of aboriginal

inhabitants of development."

"Separation in the Union has not been devised as an instrument of oppression, but is, in fact, a means to the achievement of the very object of the Assembly's resolution, namely, the prevention, not only of the liquidation of the racial groups, but also of 'the great loss to humanity in the form of cultural and other contributions represented by these people.'"

The Union Government, however, the occasion has been sought to promote better relations between the two Governments. The following illustrations are listed:

The Union recently agreed to hold available vaccine for combating the outbreak of bubonic plague in India, offered to provide facilities, equipment, and transport for an Indian research officer from Pondicherry, and, on the direction of General Smuts, extended these courtesies and facilities to all other persons who may come to the Union on similar missions.

Refusal To Retaliate

"Although the Union Government could have inflicted considerable harm upon the Indian Government by retaliatory economic measures, by withholding from the Indian Government the use of South African coal—it refused to do so."

The Union Government is "anxious to arrive at a settlement of the differences between the two Governments, and it would be very difficult to say that object would have been for the two Governments to agree to examine the policies announced in 1947 and 1952 in the light of the experience gained in the attempt to carry out those policies."

"The Union Government would have welcomed discussions along those lines at all times."

CAMPAIGN STILL GOES ON

AFTER a week of heavy rain, a batch of prisoners went to jail last week. The total number of prisoners arrested to date is 180.

Mr. Dawood hadal was the 8th batch of 17.

M. A. ...

besides venting in the destruction of property on an extensive scale." "Those who are responsible for this holocaust," added the Qaid-e-Azam, "must be dealt with with an iron hand and put down ruthlessly. The civilized world is looking upon these happenings with horror, and the world of the communists concerned stands backhand in the eyes of the Pakistan, threatens the peace of the whole of East India, and there is considerable of the people of the Dominion of India." The States' People Congress in Mysore has started a civil disobedience movement for the purpose of protesting against the Government of India.

The Government of India has established a new Ministry for dealing with the refugee problem, with Mr. K. G. Neogy at its head.

MADAME ZARUTSKY'S PAINTINGS

LAST Wednesday afternoon a collection of Madame Larion Nowicki Zarutsky's paintings was opened at the Kutharwad Bhai a Sava Bhaiji dhat, Larna Street, urban and will remain open till Saturday afternoon. Madame Zarutsky is a Russian and it was has spent some time in China, Malaya and India. At present she is coming from India.

Agents and purpose of having this exhibition at the "Sam" Hall is to attract Indians interested in the art.

India And South Africa

India, in an 14 page memorandum to the U.N., says a message from New York dated the 12th, has charged South Africa with the General Assembly's resolution on the treatment of Indians in the Union, and calls to take steps to implement and respect for the same.

It refers to the movement among the Whites to refuse employment to Indians in European concerns. The memorandum also refers to the franchise question, the continuation of the Indian passive resistance movement, and the con-

tinuation of the Field Mar-
shal and Pandit Nehru

to take note of these facts and decide upon appropriate steps to ensure the implementation of their resolution and respect for the Charter provisions on fundamental freedoms without distinction of race, language and religion." "There is little doubt," concludes the message, "in informed circles that India will put up another set the required majority support, but whether the Assembly will pass the resolution is speculation."

States' Problem

There is doubtless a ferment in the States' Congress, which has decided to accede to Pakistan, through the States' Congress among the people of that province. The States' People Congress has started a civil disobedience movement for the purpose of protesting against the Government of India. The States' Congress has decided to accede to Pakistan, through the States' Congress among the people of that province. The States' People Congress has started a civil disobedience movement for the purpose of protesting against the Government of India.

for performing paid ceremonies for the Indian flag. The States' Congress has decided to accede to Pakistan, through the States' Congress among the people of that province. The States' People Congress has started a civil disobedience movement for the purpose of protesting against the Government of India.

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THIS IS WRONG

THIS IS RIGHT



This man is spoiling the bag.



This man carries the bag carefully - bag is good.



The other man is throwing the bag.



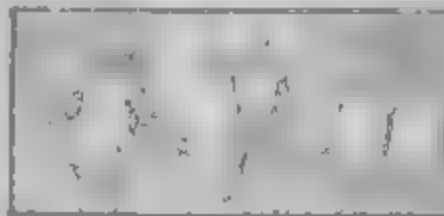
This man carries the bag carefully off cart and carry them.



This man has stored sacks carelessly. Bags have eaten into one, others are spoiled by the bags.



This man looks after his full bags and empty bags. He does not waste food or



This man has lost and spoiled all his bags—now he cannot get more food.



This man brings back his empty bags and gets a ticket for them. Now he can buy more bags for food.

Things In General

N.U.C. Dispute Settled

The dispute between the Students Representative Council of Natal University College, Maritzburg, and the University authorities is stated to have been settled. The Principal, Dr. E. G. Malherbe, has written to the President of the Council advising that the Senate has decided to accede to the Council's views and to alter the charter—the cause of the dispute—to conform with the Council's proposals. The Council's main objection to the charter as it stood, states S.R.P.A., was that the working of the first clause providing for separate European and non-European councils in Durban and Maritzburg was racially discriminatory.

Public Hangings For Black Marketeers

There will be public hangings in South Africa if Mr. McColl, the "leader" of the "New National Party" and third candidate in the recent Parliamentary by-election, is returned and can secure the necessary Parliamentary support. One of the first items in his programme, widely distributed throughout the constituency last week is "food hoarders and black marketeers to be sentenced to death by public hangings."

Indians Send New Year Greetings To Local Jewry

The following telegram was sent by Mr. G. N. Naidoo, President of the Cape Indian Association in Kimberley to the Rev. A. R. Abrahamson, Minister of the Grifeland West Hebrew Congregation, Kimberley: "On this great day, being the New Year of a Jewish people I send this message to you and your people. The mighty weapon to win freedom is non-violence, non-resistance, soul force and self-sacrifice. May the Jewish nation lay this day the foundation to suffer and endure. I am not for honour nor for glory nor for wealth, but for that freedom for which the Jewish nation must sacrifice their all, for their people and for their cause. May this New Year bring forth peace and happiness so that the statesmen of the world will guide the destinies of their people along the path of peace and prosperity."

The following reply was received from Rev. A. R. Abrahamson: "I received your telegram with great joy and pride. It is not only an inspiration to me, but, also to my people to receive such a stirring message of hope from a Jewish brother, who have now all inco-

me status of a Jew. I pray to the Almighty that such a spirit of comradeship as you have exemplified in your message will now prevail between all peoples. I wish to take the opportunity of extending my best wishes to your organization. Long live the comradeship of peoples."

Pakistanis Threats At Muslim League Meeting

At a stormy meeting of the Muslim League in Lahore last week Sir Feroz Khan Noon, Minister of Education, said that if the Muslims did not free radicals Pakistan might not live long. Late Chaudhary Ali Khan, the Pakistan Minister of Food, Agriculture and Health stated that if normal conditions were not restored soon a calamity far worse than that caused by the Punjab famine would overtake the land.

Floods In India Make 1,000,000 Homeless

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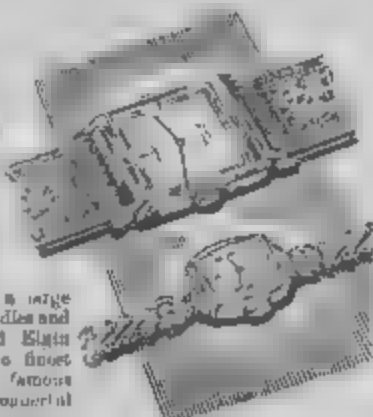
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No. 39—Vol. XLV.

FRIDAY 3 OCTOBER, 1947.

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Indian Opinion

FRIDAY, 3rd OCTOBER, 1947

Whither Mr. Kajeel

WE are tired in our last week's issue to Press propaganda being greatly responsible for the ill perpetrated in the world. Evidence of it is seen in South Africa in regard to the Indian question. Mr. A. I. Kajeel is figured prominently in the Press these days. The reason is that he has allowed himself to become a tool in the hands of reactionary Europeans, who would have Indians in South Africa remain as "hewers of wood and drawers of water." The *Natal Mercury* and the *Natal Daily News* are supporters of reactionary elements and, therefore, they fully support Mr. Kajeel and give him all the publicity he desires. This state of affairs created by Mr. Kajeel is most unfortunate. In a public statement Mr. Kajeel, as chairman of the Natal Indian Organisation, is reported to have given a warning that "intemperate and vitriolic speeches will not help the cause of India." Mr. Kajeel appends to every Indian who values his birth-right in this country "to take fresh stock of the position as seen both in the deplorable bloodshed in India and in the difficult times facing Indians in this country." Whilst we do not support the extreme language used by Dr. Dadoo, we certainly cannot lend any support to Mr. Kajeel's

leadership. His leadership has kept Indians in South Africa backward. The whole period of his regime is marked with retrogression. Indians have, no doubt, economically thrived during that period. And it is just that economic loss and nothing else that seems to concern Mr. Kajeel. Indians are living in a fools' paradise if they believe their status will be enhanced in this country without being prepared to sacrifice and to suffer material loss. Mr. Kajeel's dictionary does not contain the word 'suffering'. We do not stand for any policy of incitement or Communism. But let not Communism be made a bogey to deter people from the main issue. Mr. Kajeel has not been able to suggest any practical policy to be pursued for the future well-being of our people. He points out that to act on Dr. Dadoo's suggestion for the boycott of South African goods would only be detrimental to the welfare of the people of India, who are relying on the export of supplies of South African coal and relief by way of food, medical supplies and many other necessities. Would it not be wise to leave the welfare of the people of India in the much more capable hands of Indian statesmen? Dr. Dadoo's extremism in language we would describe as unwise and imprudent for which

however, there is at least some justification on the score of provocation on the part of our opponents. But Mr. Kajeel's attitude cannot but be described as unpatriotic and treacherous, leading the community to the path of degradation and suicide.

Dr. Annie Besant

THE Theosophical Society in South Africa is celebrating this week, commencing from October 1, the centenary of Dr. Annie Besant, who was a great Theosophist and held the presidency of the Society from 1907 to the time of her death in 1933. India owes a deep debt of gratitude to many an European for bringing national awakening among her people. One such person was A. O. Hume, who was one of the founders of the Indian National Congress, and another was Dr. Annie Besant. We have attached the name of Mr. Hume to that of Dr. Besant because both were great Theosophists. Dr. Besant's name is a household word among the people of India. It was just when India was getting about sick of the British rule and was seeking a lead to fight against it that Dr. Besant supplied the dire need. She had before then done a great deal for the social, educational and religious advancement of the people of India and the work she did to elevate their political status was her crowning

glory. Dr. Annie Besant was the mother and father of the Indian Home Rule movement, which spread like wild fire throughout the length and breadth of India a little before the day of the Civil Disobedience movement under the leadership of Gandhiji. Very few English women, I possessed the oratorical power that Dr. Besant possessed. She literally shook the platform when she spoke. And it was not the soap box oratory one hears of so much these days. It was unsurpassed in its wisdom and intelligence. That served her well in lighting the spark of patriotism and service among the Indian youth. She was an ardent critic of British Imperialism in India and made it so embarrassing to the British in their intelligence befogged by the pride of power, they took the very unwise step of putting Dr. Besant in the dock. That, of course, was like pouring oil over the burning fire which remained perpetually to this very day. Dr. Annie Besant's name ranks among the Indian nation builders, who will, for ever, stand as the strongest pillars of the Indian struggle for Swaraj. Though she is now no more with us in her physical form, her spirit will prevail to eternity and may it guide the destiny of the world which to day seems so

Resigned From Congress

MR. I. M. BAWA and Mr. M. S. Patil have resigned from the Natal Indian Congress. Disciplinary action was pending against Mr. Bawa, who had been closely associated with other political bodies antagonistic to the Congress. The reasons given by Mr. Bawa for his resignation are "that sanctions are a weapon of war designed to bring about the submission of an opponent, and therefore should never be used unless there are reasonable grounds for believing that such a purpose should be attempted. It became obvious long ago that sanctions by the Congress could never achieve their object, and once this was realised the policy of sanctions should have been dropped."

The same applied to the passive resistance movement, said Mr. Bawa. The chief expression of policy of the Natal Indian Congress was still embodied in the passive resistance movement, although the movement had by now lost all significance and had become ridiculous and futile. It had already become impossible to carry on the campaign by means of subsidies to the resisters because no funds were left, and responsible leadership would long ago have superseded the movement, but the Congress had pressed for its continuance.

Mr. Patil said he did not agree with the attitude of the Congress in creating unnecessary bitterness by means of extreme speeches.

We consider Mr. Bawa's reasons for this resignation to be frivolous. Sanctions are imposed on South Africa not by the Congress but by India and they will not be withdrawn at the behest of the Congress or any body. They will be withdrawn as a result of any agreement reached between the two Governments. As for the suspension of calling off of Passive resisters, since nothing has so far taken place to justify that step being taken. The continuance of the campaign does not necessarily mean that it must be going on full force at all times. Even if there were no resisters in Natal the campaign is as good even if none were to go to jail or campaign in any field. It is a fact that

therefore consider the resignation of both Mr. Bawa and Mr. Patil at this juncture as an unwelcome step on their part and worse still if it is taken with the intention of causing damage to the Congress organisation.

One may have dilemmas which ought to be settled within. To rush to the Press is to play in the hands of the enemy, which is an unpatriotic thing to do.

DR. ANNIE BESANT'S CENTENARY

AN APPRECIATION OF HER WORK

THE 1st October, 1947, marks the Centenary of the birth of Annie Besant, a woman outstanding in the history of the last century. She combined unique faculties, for she was not only a philosopher, educationist and orator, but also an author, editor, social worker, labour leader, free-thinker, socialist, humanitarian and philanthropist. Her activities ranged over

his for this ideal, but she died before it was accomplished. She never tired of insisting that only with a free India could India herself, the British Empire and the whole world achieve peace and greatness. She founded the Sons and Daughters of India Movement, and established lodges throughout the country, its objects being:

1. The brotherhood of all Indians of whatever religion, and
2. the Service of Humanity. She also assisted in the foundation of the Indian National Congress, whose "father" was Mr. Hume, a Theosophist and colleague of Mrs. Besant. In 1917 she was elected President of the Congress in recognition of her great work for India. She organised the Indian Boy Scouts Association,

and was responsible for the opening of the Scouts' organisation to all races and religions in India.

Mrs. Besant was a great Theosophist, being President from 1907 till her death in 1933. The headquarters of the Theosophical Society was established at Adyar, Madras, and under her leadership the Society grew and prospered. She stressed its fundamental teachings of the Brotherhood of Man without distinctions of race, creed or colour, the existence of the great Rishis, the Vedic literature, the necessity of personal experience in the search for the Truth. All these and many other ideas she expounded in her many lectures all over the world. She had an amazing gift of oratory, which she used with great effect. She lived every word of her own teachings, asking always for tolerance and understanding of one another's opinions. "All paths lead to God," all are equally valid for those that tread them. And when we reach that Vision we will see that all is but the One Self.

Annie Besant lived and laboured only in the service of that Self and for humanity.



DR. ANNIE BESANT

a wide field, and on the celebration of her centenary, many thousands of people all over the world will have cause, consciously or unconsciously, to think with gratitude of the name of Annie Besant and of her unflinching efforts to help them in their difficulties. Whether over misery and degradation and exploitation abandoned, whether in the social, political or economic field, she helped to bring some happiness and upliftment and confidence.

Annie Besant began her long work for the cause of India in 1893. India was her adopted motherland, her true home, and throughout her life she never faltered in her devotion to the service of India. She inculcated in the Indian youth a new patriotism, a love for their country, whose greatness she continually perceived.

She worked tirelessly for India's political freedom, seeking Home Rule within the British Commonwealth. She wrote, lectured and worked continuously throughout her long

WORLD FEDERATION OF DEMOCRATIC YOUTH

The President of the World Federation of Democratic Youth has sent the following letter to Mr. Trygve Lie, Secretary General, United Nations, Lake Success, New York:—

"Dear Sir,—The Council of the World Federation of Democratic Youth, which met in aague during the month, was seriously concerned to hear reports presented by representatives of South African youth regarding the continued policy of racial discrimination pursued by the Government of the Union of South Africa. The Council condemned this policy which forces social, political and educational inequality on the non-European youth of South Africa. It condemned the denial of the right to vote to the great majority of South Africa's population on racial grounds, and the failure of the South African Government to respect and implement the decision of the United Nations on this question.

"We believe that the policy of racial discrimination is a policy based on fascist principles and must be fought by all democrats all over the world.

"The Prime Minister of South Africa took a leading part in drafting the United Nations Charter. We consider that the refusal of the South African Government to implement the terms of the Charter and the decisions of the United Nations General Assembly is a step that seriously undermines the prestige and authority of the United Nations.

"While pledging full support to the struggle of democratic South African youth against racial discrimination, we call on the United Nations to take measures that will force the Government of South Africa to reverse its policy and carry out the United Nations decisions.

Yours sincerely,
GUY DE BOYSSON, President.

SOUTH-WEST AFRICA

WHEN the question of South West Africa came before the Trusteeship Committee of the United Nations on Thursday, September 25, Mr. H. G. Lawrence, the leader of the South African delegation, after summarising documents presented to the United Nations earlier by the South African Government,

announcing its decision, it is my Government's wish that I should reiterate that it is a cardinal of the basic motive of the General Assembly's resolution of last year. This was concern for the welfare of the inhabitants of the territory—especially that of the non-European.

Concern the South African Government naturally shares. It will continue to safeguard and develop the moral and material welfare of this section of the population in the spirit of the mandate.

"To this end, therefore, it is the intention of my Government, although not submitting the territory to any trusteeship under the Charter, nevertheless to transmit to the United Nations for its information an annual report on the administration of South West Africa.

My Government trusts that the Assembly will appreciate and understand the motives and reasons which have led it to that conclusion and decision.

"It will be apparent that two points in the Union's reply to the United Nations call for emphasis. The first relates to the juridical aspect of the case—the international legal position in which South Africa stands to the United Nations in relation to the submission or otherwise of a trusteeship agreement in respect of South West Africa.

The second point deals with the position which arises from the fact of consultation with the inhabitants of the territory.

Confusion in Assembly

"From a perusal of last year's debate in the committee and the Assembly, there would appear still to be a good deal of confusion as to whether or not it was obligatory on the former mandatory Power to submit to a trusteeship agreement under the Charter.

"This confusion has also been accentuated by appeals to the spirit of the Charter. In fact, it has been very difficult to ascertain from the statements made to the committee and elsewhere last year precisely what was meant to be conveyed by that phrase.

"In most instances, I am not sure that the phrase was used

that when a speaker appealed to the spirit of the Charter he had in mind more what he would have liked to have had incorporated in the Charter rather than what was in fact in it.

"We did not wish to accept a legislative attitude, but one should guard against involving the spirit of the Charter and thereby extending its terms to matters not covered by it.

"The mandatory rights and powers remain with South Africa, which has not surrendered them by any international agreement or by its signature of the Charter of the United Nations. In these circumstances, it will be clear that my Government is under no legal obligations to propose a trusteeship agreement for the territory of South West Africa."

India's Protest

Joining issue with Mr. Lawrence, Sir Mahan Singh (India) said: "The persistent refusal of the Union Government to submit to a trusteeship agreement for South West Africa leads to an utterly anomalous position for that territory. South West Africa does not come at all under the supervision or control of the United Nations Charter."

After outlining facts which led to the present situation, Sir Mahan Singh said: "The position of the Indian delegation is that South Africa is bound both morally and legally to submit for the consideration of the General Assembly a trusteeship agreement for the territory of South West Africa."

He argued that the trusteeship system and Trusteeship Council were necessary ingredients of the Charter. "Every other Power which holds territories under mandate has submitted agreements, or is about to submit agreements.

"It is impossible for the African inhabitants of South West Africa, in their present state of development, to understand fully the implications of the trusteeship system."

Sir Mahan Singh argued that there were very few educated Africans in South West Africa. There was not a single graduate among the Africans in the territory, and extremely few had arrived at the matriculation stage.

He outlined his own experience of the treatment of non-Europeans in South Africa and added: "What do my colleagues think of a Government which gives no political rights worth speaking of to any person of non-European extraction?"

Sir Mahan Singh added, "On two occasions, the Union of South

Africa has flouted a recommendation of the General Assembly.

"On the last occasion, a resolution framed by the representatives of the United States, Denmark and myself was passed without a single vote in opposition, although there were some abstentions. Yet no action has been taken by the South African Government to implement the second half of that resolution. This is a persistent breach of the Charter."

Mr. Lawrence tried to intervene in the debate immediately after the Indian statement with the request that "the merits of the South West African case should not be obscured by any political matter."

He was, however, ruled out of order.

Mr. Lester B. Dulles (United States) said that he did not agree with the view adopted by India that there was any legal obligation on South Africa under the Charter forcing the Union to submit to a trusteeship agreement.

South Africa had respected the United Nations' wishes and not incorporated South West Africa, but "I think it is regrettable, and I cannot disguise my feeling on this matter, that South Africa has as yet failed to respond to the United Nations request for a trusteeship agreement."

"At the same time, I do not believe we have come to the final chapter of this story of South West Africa. The General Assembly has no legal power, it has, however, strong moral power.

"While moral power is strongest in the world in the long run, it cannot operate with the immediate precision that legal power can.

"I believe that if the General Assembly adhered to its position and expressed its regret in this matter, in the long run the moral force reflected in the General Assembly's resolution of last year will prevail."

Mr. Liu Chieh (China) agreed with India that there was more than moral force requiring South Africa to submit South West Africa to the trusteeship system.

"This territory should be administered under a living system (trusteeship), and not under the shadow of a ghost system (mandate system)."

M. J. Drohojowski (Poland) said that South Africa had decided to defy the General Assembly's resolution, and it was regrettable, indeed, that on 1

Africa has not yet submitted to the trusteeship agreement."

Mr. Carlos Romulo (Philippines) said that South Africa had disobeyed the wishes of 11 United Nations, and the whole argument had degenerated into a vicious circle. No new facts had been produced which would warrant the General Assembly's changing its mind. In terms of South Africa's latest statement, the General Assembly was being asked to give its blessing to the evasion of its own resolution.

"From the time South Africa signed the United Nations Charter, South West Africa ceased to be her exclusive concern."

Mr. J. Bergvall (Sweden) said that there was no doubt that South Africa had no legal obligation to submit a trusteeship agreement. "One might regret this, but it is a fact."

Dr. W. J. A. Kerkkamp (Netherlands) declared that South Africa could not be forced to submit a trusteeship agreement for the consideration of the General Assembly, nor can any action be taken against that country.

He suggested that the International Court of Justice could be asked by the General Assembly to investigate the meaning of the Charter in this respect.

EINSTEIN WARNS UNO

PROFESSOR Albert Einstein, famous mathematician and scientist, according to a Saps Renter's message from New York, has warned the heads of delegations to the United Nations that the threat of extinction hangs over humanity.

Peace-loving countries have a potential instrument to prevent a war of extinction. Einstein ruled that the General Assembly of the United Nations becomes a world Parliament and has the final say over a veto paralysed Security Council.

He proposes that the General Assembly should increase its authority by an increase in the number of members. He said that the Security Council should be chosen by popular election rather than by a permanent system, and that the General Assembly should stay a permanent body along with the present five.

The world has seen the grave situation which has arisen in the only body which can prevent the threat of a world war.

NATAL INDIAN CONGRESS REPLIES TO N.I.O.

Things In General

CONSIDERABLE prominence was given in the *Natal Daily News* of September 28, to a statement by the Secretaries of the Natal Indian Organisation disputing the representative character of the Natal Indian Congress and challenging that "very few, if any of their branches functioned outside Durban."

The Natal Indian Congress in a Press statement says: We wish to answer this challenge not by merely issuing a Press statement but by V. I. O. is in the habit of doing but by plotting in the present hour of Northern Natal by Dr. T. M. Dadoo and the Natal Indian Congress officials. Already, and this according to reports in the *Natal Daily News* by its own correspondent, huge and "packed meetings have been addressed by our representatives in almost all the towns in Northern Natal, which is supposed to be the strongest of the three provinces, and whose Congress Branches are alleged to have broken away from Congress headquarters according to Messrs. A. I. Kile and P. R. M. M. M.

Congress held meetings at
Newman, Daenhauer, Dundas,
Lelyson ib, G ewes, Waschbaun,
Futobee), Pinner as well T
Kills as ... I am exp
... ..
A very
... ..
to go will be held before the final
UN Rally in Durban on Sunday
... .. R M
... Dr A Dr Y
... and other national
... speak

"We would like to know both from the Natal Indian Organisation and from Field Marshal Smuts, who in his letter in February 1920 claimed that the N.I.O. was representative of considerable opinion in India, whether the N.I.O. can boast of considerable public meetings besides the private Albert Circus meetings held on the police grounds when about thirty or forty of Mr. Kallen's friends formed the organisat ion?" An attempt to form a branch at Verulam was abandoned when the Congress Branch at Verulam was to address a meeting and oppose the formation of another political body. Congress, however, held a meeting at 101 Overberg Road, Verulam, on the 11th of May 1920.

resolution condemning the formation of another Indian Political body to divide the community.

"We are afraid that Mr. Kajan and Mr. Pather will have to look beyond Natal and Transvaal to find a public platform or any number of Indians who will follow their weak-kneed policy of submission to discrimination rather than resistance against it," he concludes the statement.

A REFLECTION OF THE BANTU MIND

A recent meeting of the Joint Council of Europeans and Natives, when Mr. J. R. Sullivan, M. P., spoke on the topic of liberal Native policy would like for South Africa. Mr. J. Zulu said it had been fine to listen to Mr. Sullivan, but he and his compatriots knew that it is not European who are the cause of the trouble.

1. We should not see this as
 a mere way of expressing a wish
 to be able to do it. It is a
 way of saying that we are not
 yet able to do it.

Although he was a clergyman, he said, and no supporter of violence, he quoted a Swiss writer who had claimed that every oppressed people eventually realized that those in authority could not keep any part of their power unless it was wrested from them.

"I wonder," he asked whether the Europeans in South Africa will surrender, or just fight to the power and win it from them?

"That is being said among my people. I tremble to think of what will be the result. I am sure that the Lord will be with us, and my people have a sense of His presence and His power. How we progress towards a better way of life."

"I will tell you," cried another Native speaker, "we need a change of heart on the part of the European people, and a change of Native policy."

"The newspapers tell us that
... the Government to come
... and tell us it has a new Nat-
... only then will the
... take it seriously."

No Justification To Exclude Non-Europeans

Any system of compulsory education in the Union is premature unless compulsory primary education is provided for all sections of the people, European and non-European, said Professor W. F. Grant, Professor of Education at Capetown University, at a meeting of the University Club last week. There was no justification for excluding them he said and some justification still when it was considered that education for non-Europeans was not even compulsory in Standard IV. Thirty per cent of the children in the Cape Province had not even been to a primary school. The first step was to have a uniform school leaving age throughout the Union. A suitable age would be 16.

Gujarati Vedic Society

At a meeting of the recently established Gujarat Veda Society at Pietermaritzburg, the objects of which are to supply the educational, spiritual, physical and cultural needs of the Hindu community, it was resolved that a vernacular school be opened to impart education in the Gujarati language. The following officials were elected.—Patrons: Messrs. H. B. Datta, J. L. Chingwan Valjibhai & J. P. Vaithar Laloo Lakhsan Chohan Dayaram Ironstone Mopara N K. Vaithar, Kara Narayana N K. Acharjee.
Joint secretaries—Messrs R. Yaghjee and P. Liloo, vice-presidents Messrs. G. D. Soni, H. Ghela and Neram Dama, treasurer Mr J. M. Soni, committee: Messrs N V. Soni, F. D. Kara, M. Dama, G. Ghela, V. E. Cara, S. Bhagwan, Karman H. Patel, O. A. Soni, U. Dama, B. P. Kotanjee, M. V. Soni, Vasht Navjee, G. H. Patel and Nagin Issani, auditors Mr. Neeran Ghela, school management board Messrs. G. D. Soni, P. Bhagwan, H. Ghela, P. D. Kara, D. M. Vaithar, N. V. Soni, S. Mulbhary Pillay together with the president, joint secretaries and the treasurer.

M. P. Balamia submitted a comprehensive report of the past season's activities, and the treasurer Mr. M. D. Chavda presented the financial statement. Both were unanimously elected and the following office bearers were elected for the season 1947-48:—Patrons: Messrs. R. D. Chavda, K. S. Moria, P. Bhaga, and V. Narahi, chairman; Mr. D. D. Vaghinaria, general secretary; Mr. Ramjee Magan, hon. treasurer; Mr. T. P. Bhaga, captain; Mr. M. V. Biltmorla, vice-captain; Mr. Bhykon Magan, delegates to the Western Province Indian Cricket Union; Messrs. M. P. Balamia, Ramjee Magan, M. V. Biltmorla and Bhikho Magan.

Commissioner Of Oaths

Mr. Abdool Gani Haslim of Pietersburg, Transvaal, has been appointed Commissioner of Oaths for the district of Pietersburg.

GANDHI'S BIRTHDAY

MATILMA GANDHI'S 79th Birthday celebrations took place in Durban on October 2 at the Parney Rustonjee Hall, under the auspices of Gandhi Library and Rustonjee Hall Committee, at the Surat Hindu Association Hall, under the auspices of the Surat Hindu Association and at the Kathiawad Hindu Seva Samaj Hall, under the auspices of the Kathiawad Hindu Seva Samaj. Messages of congratulation were sent from all parts of the Union by Indian individuals and the Foreign Gandhi's birthday according to the Hindu calendar is of October 2 and according to the Hindu calendar on October 11. The Government of India has declared October 2 as a national holiday.

N.I.C. Sends Message To Gandhi

The following message was sent to Mahatma Gandhi on October 3 by the Natal Indian Congress: "The Natal Indian Congress on behalf of the Indian community sends you warm greetings on this your anniversary. Your great-hearted efforts for peace and the ending of the fratricidal slaughter in the motherland are greatly appreciated by your

THE world's biggest outbreak comprising eight lakhs of non-Muslim refugees from West Punjab has left on foot for East Punjab, according to information reaching the Military Evacuation Organisation Headquarters here, and a message from Amritsar dated the 14th. The exchange of population was forced on the Government of India, said Pandit Nehru. "Maybe evolutions have come from East Punjab, and a number from East Punjab to West Punjab," said the Minister of India.

"Probably half a million are on the move now on either side, and probably another half a million are waiting to be moved. It means that at least two million people have been moved or are going to be moved. Maybe more. That is a terrific problem."

The official verified figures of casualties in the disturbances in West and East Punjab were 15,000 killed, but Pandit Nehru felt that these figures were very low and might easily be doubled. He said that official and non-official sources realized the number of deaths in the Delhi disturbances roughly at 1,000. The false and malicious propaganda of a part of the foreign press was referred to by him. For instance, he received a message from Washington that a certain news agency had sent a message there stating that half a million people had died in Delhi. It was an extraordinary statement to make, he said, even for a person who had great imagination. So far as he knew no such statement had been sent from Delhi even by that agency. When it had emanated from and how it had reached Washington was for the representative of the agency to find out. Referring to the disturbances in Delhi, Pandit Nehru said that on the whole the situation had been orderly, and Delhi a joint Hindu Muslim life for four or five hundred years. The nearly a quarter of the population now composed of refugees. The refugees that came last month had seen the most terrible things, and many of them might be considered as completely unhinged. He did not know how many of them would have realised similar experiences. He thought it would be correct to say that 75 per cent of what had happened in Delhi was directly due to the treatment of the refugees brought by the refugees. At a number of places in the West Punjab, convoys were attacked by armed Muslim mobs.

Nehru's Punjab Tour

The special representative of the Times of India, who accom-

OUR INDIA LETTER

(FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT)

Lahore, September 16, 1947

WITHOUT PARALLEL

panied the two Dominion Premiers in their tour of the Punjab last week, wrote on the 7th "To Pandit Nehru it was indeed a personal triumph. By his frankness and obvious sincerity he disarmed hostility, whether from Muslims or from embittered Hindus. The press were all praise for him. - Refugees confided their woes to him and showed laughing faith in his word. At Sheikhupore, in the West Punjab, he rescued a Muslim mob for the vandalism committed by the Hindus. At one Muslim refugee camp he was hailed with shouts of Nehru Zindabad."

The Times of India, paying a tribute to Pandit Nehru of today, said: "Only a righteous and fearless man like Pandit Nehru could dare—as he did—to jump into the lion's den and face the angry mob. He showed courage, straightforwardness, and a complete lack of self-interest. He demonstrated in recent weeks, by his personal example, the qualities of courage, straightforwardness, and a complete lack of self-interest. He demonstrated in recent weeks, by his personal example, the qualities of courage, straightforwardness, and a complete lack of self-interest."

'I Have Supped My Fill Of Horror'

During the last three weeks," said Pandit Nehru in a broadcast on the 14th, "I have wandered about the West Punjab and the East Punjab, and my mind is full with horror of the things that I saw and that I heard. During these last few days in the Punjab, I have seen and heard things that I have never seen and heard before. Indeed, in the only tent that I can find in the Punjab, I have seen and heard things that I have never seen and heard before. He administered a stern warning to members of the police and the military who were found guilty of neglect of their duty. "I am ashamed of the things that my people have done," he said, "and I fear that the disgrace and the consequences of the evil deeds will remain with us for a long time. For evil does not end by itself. You cannot by murder put an end to murder. And you cannot by many of our people have thought thus, as I have seen in the Punjab, a mad-frenzied day after day by stories of terrible events, has gone completely mad and has behaved as only mad people can do."

Pandit Nehru bellowed in "a cry in the soul and spirit of India." "Even though retaliation

is bad, this is not even retaliation. It is something which is in the way of effective action of helping our own people. There can be no retaliation about it, no retaliation. He asked people to co-operate with the Government in the task of restoring peace. Then he called with anguish "This morning our leader, our master, Mahatma Gandhi, came to Delhi, and I went to see him, and I sat by his side for a while, and wondered how low we had fallen from the great heights that he had placed before us. I go to the countryside, and people with spikes and all sorts of destructive weapons, when they see me, shout 'Mahatma Gandhi ki Jai,' 'Jawaharlal ki Jai.' I am ashamed to hear from these people these words, who they have committed murder, loot and arson in the name of Mahatma Gandhi." He also said that the Government of India had taken steps to restore order, and Delhi is now

Muslims Thank Gandhi

All Calcutta citizens, Muslims especially, will salute Gandhi for his unimaginedly great efforts to stop the carnage in the city said the Morning News, Muslim League paper published in Calcutta, on the 14th. It is a blow on various occasions to the recent at it had criticised Gandhi. In Calcutta, at any rate, Gandhi rose to heights of immortal greatness. He demonstrated here that he was as much concerned with the welfare of Muslims as of Hindus that his heart beats equally in the matter of the sufferings of Muslims as of Hindus. Calcutta's Muslims, who constitute a minority of 33 per cent of the city's population, will ever remain indebted to the great humanitarian for the personal interest he took in their welfare and safety. He was ready to die, so that they may live peacefully in the city. Calcutta must now prove worthy of Gandhi.

While Gandhi was on his way to Delhi from Calcutta, Chaudhary Lajpat Rai, the U. P., said in a statement on the 7th: "Flowing unobscured in establishing peace and cordial relations between the different communities

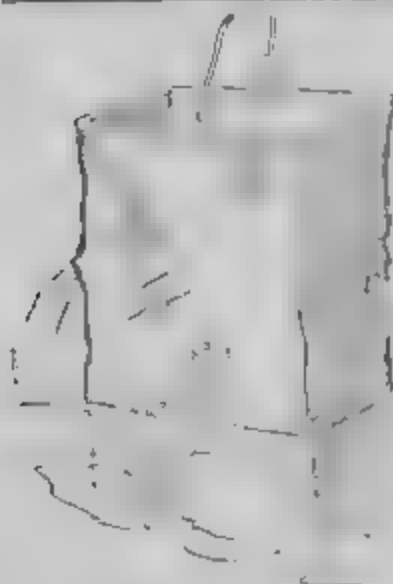
in Calcutta, Mahatma Gandhi has now decided to proceed to the Punjab on his peace mission. I have no doubt that Mahatma Gandhi's visit to the Punjab will do the most to help the Muslims in his work for peace at a time when the human element in India seems to have left many of our countrymen and when the value of life has been reduced to nothing. Mahatma Gandhi is making history by upholding his ideals of peace against odds, and it is the duty of everyone to do his bit to make his mission a success. The people in the Punjab will realise that so long as peace is not fully established there, dishonour will be theirs. The Government will be obliged to control and will naturally lower the prestige of our country. The Government of India has been living in peace with their Hindu brethren."

Gandhi in Delhi

In a statement issued from Delhi on the 9th, Gandhi said: "I heard enough to warn me that I must not leave Delhi for the Punjab until I had regained its former self. I must do my little bit to calm the heated atmosphere. I must empty the old formula 'Dr or Din' to the capital of India. I am glad to be able to say that the residents of Delhi do not want the senseless destruction that is going on. I am prepared to understand the anger of the refugees whom fate has driven from Western Punjab. But anger is short madness. It can only make matters worse in every way. Rationality is the remedy. It makes the original sinners of the Punjab ask all those who are engaged in murder, arson and loot to stay their hands. The Central Government, the Chief, most courageous and most self-sacrificing team that the Union could produce, have not been in the saddle for even a month after the declaration of the Partition. It is criminal and suicidal not to give them a chance to set the house in order."

Gandhi has been visiting both the Muslim and non-Muslim camps in the city. A Muslim at one of the camps said that they had been invited to migrate to Pakistan but were not prepared to do so if it meant that they were to live as beggars there. The refugees said that Mahatma Gandhi was the only person who could really give them honour. Gandhi exhorted a group of Muslim women in Lahore to shed fear and be courageous.

On the 14th Gandhi said that it would not do for either party to plead helplessness and say that it was all the work of the government. He would like the



In the same way
that you cannot
carry water in a
broken tin.

★

...we cannot carry
food in a broken bag.



Look After Bags

Very many bags are needed to carry food from the lands and the mills and the markets to the shops and compounds where you can get it. We only have a very few bags and these must be used again and again to carry all the food that all our people must have. If bags are broken or lost, you and many people will be hungry.



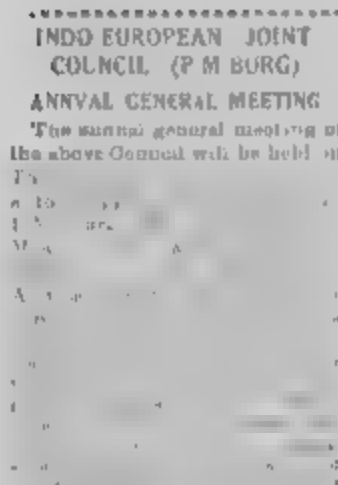
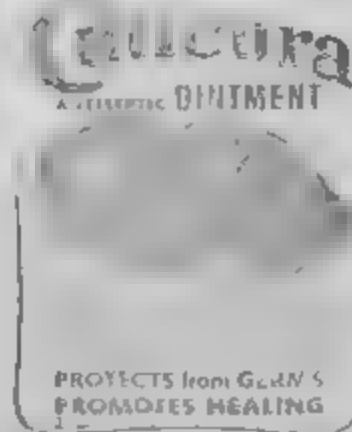
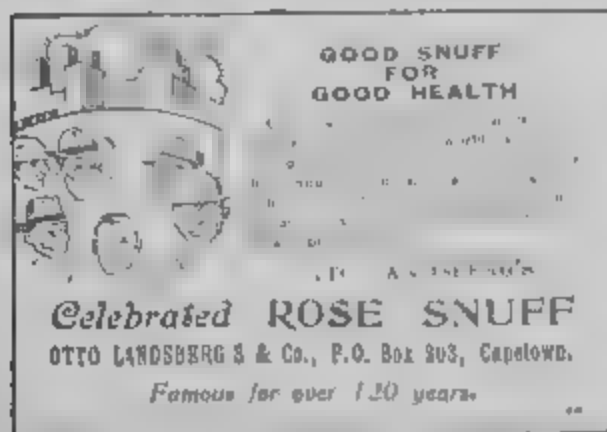
Do not cut hair

Do not drag

Do not keep bugs
where you can
spot them.

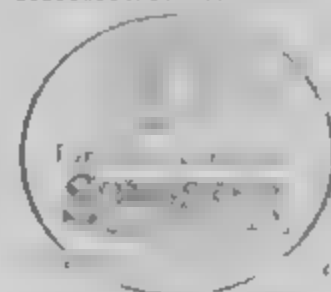
Africans and white people are all being carried off bags. Do not keep empty bags—ask your employer or storekeeper where you must return them.

NO BAGS--NO FOOD



Khushal Natha

Drucker And Commission Agent
 Frederick D. [redacted] and [redacted]
 [redacted] [redacted] [redacted] [redacted]
 [redacted] [redacted] [redacted] [redacted]
 [redacted] [redacted] [redacted] [redacted]



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છપેલી જોરજોટની સાડીઓ	૭ ૧૦ ૦
સીલક મજલીનની ભરત બરેલી સાડીઓ	૮ ૮ ૦
જરી ભરત સીલક મજલીન સાડીઓ	૧૩ ૧૦ ૦
જરી ભરત જોરજોટ સાડીઓ	૧૫ ૦ ૦
છેલ્લા દબની બે રંગીન સાડીઓ	૧૨ ૧૨ ૦
કોટનના સફેદ છુગડાં ૫ વાર	૨ ૫ ૦
જોરજોટ દરેક રંગ ૩૬"	વારની શી. ૧૦-૬

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મહત્ત્વ: આપીલના દરને
સને ૧૯૦૧ના ૨૫મા

પુસ્તક ૨૫ ૧૦-૨૫ ૩૬

ફીનીકસ, ચુકરાઈ, તારીખ ૩ અક્ટોબર, ૧૯૨૭.

પૃષ્ઠ નંબર ૧ પૃષ્ઠ

"ઈન્ડિયન ઓપિનિયન"

પુસ્તક ૨૫ ૧૦-૨૫ ૩૬

મી. કાલ કયાં હોરી રહ્યા છે!

આ અઠવાડિયાના અંકમાં અમે જણાવી ગયા હતા કે દુનિયામાં પ્રવર્તતાં થયેલા અસાધારણ કાર્યો આ અઠવાડિયામાં પ્રગટ છે. અહીં આંકડામાં તેના પુરવો હિસાબ સવલતા સમય માં આપના અર્થ છે. અ.જ.કા.સ. મી. કાલને અખબારોમાં અસાધારણ રવાના આપવામાં આવી રહ્યું છે. તેનું કારણ એ છે કે તે વિદેશી સુરેષીયને, જેઓ હિંદીઓને આ દેશમાં જલ્લબરીયા અને કઠીયારાના દરબાને કરતાં હિંદી દરબાને અલગ દેવા ઇચ્છતા નથી તેઓના કાંઈ માં હથીયાર બની ગયા છે. 'નાટક મરકુર' અને 'નાટક દેવી ન્યૂન' એ વિદેશી તત્વોને દેશ આપી રહ્યા છે અને તેથી મી. કાલને પણ સંપૂર્ણ દેશ અને તેમને લેખને તેટલી પ્રસિદ્ધિ પણ આપી રહ્યા છે. મી. કાલને હવે કહેલી આ સિધ્ધિ અભાવ શોભતીય છે. એક જાહેર નિવેદન માં નાટક ઈન્ડિયન જોરખ નાટકોના પ્રમુખ તરીકે મી. કાલને એવી ચેતવણી આપેલી જણવાય છે કે "સખત અને હલક પાઠન સંબંધી હિંદીઓના સવલ ને મદદરૂપ નહિ થાય." આ દેશમાં પોતાના અનુભવિક કંઈને જેને હિંમત છે તે દરેક હિંદીને મી. કાલ "હા ફક્ત નમા આવી રહેલી શોભતીય સુનરેલ અને આ દેશ માં હિંદીઓની સામે આવી પડેલા સુરેકેલ વખતની દિશ્વે સિધ્ધિને દરિ વિચાર કરવા." અપીલ કરે છે. ડો. કાદુની સખત બાબને તો અમે દેશ નથીજ આપતા પરંતુ તે કાલે મી. કાલના નેતૃત્વને પણ

અમે દેશ આપી શકતા નથી. નમત નેતૃત્વના સવલ આંકિકતા કારીઓને પછાત રાખ્યા છે તેમની આપી કાર્ટી પીછે કંઈની રહી છે. બેચક તેમની કાર્ટી દર મીશન હિંદીઓ આપી રીતે આ બાદ થયા છે ખરા અને મી. કાલને ને કશાની પણ બાદ શીકર થઈ રહી કોઈ તો તે આર્થિક ખેડ સહેલી પડે તેની થઈ રહેલી જણાય છે. હિંદીના ને અમ માનવ. કોઈ કે આ દેશમાં સંકટો ઉઠાવ્યા વિના અને ભોગો આપ્યા વિના તેઓને દરબાને ઉત્તર થયે તો તેઓ સુખોના સ્વર્ગમાં ભોમાં ખાઈ રહ્યા છે. સંકટો એ શબ્દ મી. કાલના શબ્દકે શમાં જમાન થસાવા નથી. ઉરકેરણી કરવાની કોઈ પણ પ્રકારની નીતીને અથવા અનુવાદને અમે સહાનુભૂતિ આપતા નથી. પરંતુ સુખ પ્રથા પરથી લોકોને ચાલિત કરવાને આપવાદનો એક પકાડ તરીકે રજો ઉપયોગ થતા. આપણી કેમની સર્વિયની સુખકારીને માટે અનુસરવાની મી. કાલને કઈ પણ અવકાશ નીતી સુચવેલી નથી. મી. કાલ કહે છે કે સવલ આંકિકતા મહત્ત્વ વાદ્ય-કાર કરવાની ડો. કાદુની સુખના હિંદના હિંદીઓના હિતને નુકસાન કરી થઈ પડશે, જેઓનો આધાર અહીં આંકિકતાના કોલસાપર રહેલો છે અને ગૈરહિંદ, અનાજની અને બીજા થઈ જરૂરીયાતો પણ તેના તરફથી પુરી પાડવામાં આવે છે. હિંદના લોકોની સુખકારીને સવલ હિંદના સુસંચિતોના વધારે સમય કાલમાં એવી દેવે હું

વધારે કહીપણકરેલું નાંક ગણવાં ડો. કાદુની વાતના વધારી નામ તમને અમે ગૈરહિંદાપણકરેલી અને ફરદેશી રહીત તરીકે વધારીશું, જેને માટે આપણા વિદેશી-આપી ઉરકેરણીના કારણે કંઈક વધારીશું. બીજા સમય પરંતુ મી. કાલની વચ્ચે તો દેશકરેલી સિવાય બીજી રીતે વચ્ચેની શકાય તેવી છે નાંક અને જે કારણે કોમને કોમ દેનારી અને થતન અને આત્મકાલને પચેજ હસડી જનતરી હિંદાય.

ડો. એની બેસન્ટ

સા. કમ આંકિકતાની શીયે મ. હિંદીઓ સોસાયટી અન-ટોબર તા. ૧ મી ડો. એની બેસન્ટ ની શત્કાંક ઉભવી રહી છે. ડો. એની બેસન્ટ એક મહત્ત્વ શીયે-સોસાયટી હતાં અને ૧૯૦૭થી ૧૯૨૩માં તેમનો દેશકાર થયો ત્યાં સુધી આસ વરંતું પરંતુ અન્યાય ખરાવી કર્યાં હતાં. હિંદના લોકો માં સંક્રમ જન્યુલિ આજવાને હોઈ અનેક સુરેષીયનોનું ગણી છે. તેઓમાના એક મી. એ. એ. સુખ હતા, જેઓ હિંદની રાષ્ટ્રીય મહાસભાના સ્થાપકોમાંના એક હતા અને બીજા ડો. એની બેસન્ટ હતા. ડો. બેસન્ટના નામની સામે અમે મી. સુમતું નામ બેઠેલું છે કેમકે એ બંને મહાન શીયેસોસાયટી હતા. ડો. બેસન્ટ નું નામ હાંદની પ્રજામાં મરમય થઈ પડ્યું છે. છોટીય અમલથી હોઈ અવારે લગભગ હાથ ચ થઈ મથું હતાં અને તેની સામે બંડ ઉઠાવવાને આગેવાનીનાં સખના કરી રહ્યું હતું તે વખતે એ મહાન જરૂરીયાત પુરી પાડવા ને અનુ-બેસન્ટ પાકમાં હતાં. તે પહેલાં હિંદની પ્રજાનાં માણસ, માણ અને કેળવણી વિષયક વિચાર અમે તેઓ થઈ કરી ચુક્યાં હતા અને સોસાયટી દરબાને ઉત્તર

કરવાનું તેમનું કાર્ય તેમની ઉભાવણ કાર્ટીઓનું શીખર હતું. હિંદનાં સવલ અન્યાય, અન્યાય હો. એની બેસન્ટ માતા નેમજ પિતા હતાં. આપીલનાં નેતૃત્વ હિંદી સર્વિયજનના સુખને ઉદય થયે ને પડેલા સવલ અન્યાય અન્યાય હોઈ અન્યાય બીજા સુધી પ્રસરી ચુકી હતી. અહીં સહારીઓમાં જનન-શકિતમાં ડો. બેસન્ટને તેલે આવે એવી અન્યાય એક પણ હશે અને એ વકતુલ આજે અને "સોપ બોક્સ કોરેટરી" તરીકે બોળા ખવામાં આવે છે તેનું નકોતું જ્ઞાન અને કલપણમાં તે અનોક હતું. ડો. બેસન્ટની વકતુલ શકિત એટલી હતી કે અવારે તેઓ બોલવા ઉભાં થતાં હતા ત્યારે ચાલકો હલકી થતા હતાં એ શકિતના પ્રતીતે તેઓ હિંદના સુત નાના સવલ અન્યાય અને અન્યાય સવલ પ્રક્રિયા કરી શક્યાં હતાં. છોટીય સામાજિક મહાન ન્યા અવલ નીકર હતાં અને તેની સિધ્ધિ એવી કહેલી કરી હોયી હતી કે અના મહમાં જક બની ગયેલી તેની ભુદિ તેને ડો. બેસન્ટને પરદેજ કરવાનું જુલમનું પગલું લેવાને દોરી થઈ હતી. એ પગલું તો સળગતી આગમાં તેલ કોમવા જેવું થઈ પડ્યું જેના પરિણામે તે અ.જ. પર્થત સળગતીજ રહી છે. ડો. એની બેસન્ટનું નામ હિંદના રાષ્ટ્ર મહાસભામાં આન બધું જ્ઞાન થઈ છે અને સ્વરાજ્યની સુદર મહાસભા, પ્રજાક સ્વરાજ્યના એક તરીકે અંત સગી રહેશે. આજે એ કે સહેલે તેને, અ તરીકે વધે નથી પરંતુ તેમને આત્મ આપણી વચ્ચે કાયમ રહેશે અને અમરો દ્રઢ વિચાર છે કે દુનિયાનું બાલ જે આજે અંધકાર મથ બની ગયું છે તે તે આમંદરક થઈ પડશે

કોંગ્રેસમાંથી રાજીનામા આપ્યા

મી. આઈ. એમ. બાબા અને પં. મ. ન. મ. હ. ઈન્ડિયન કોંગ્રેસ માંથી રાજીનામા આપ્યા છે. મી. બાબાની સાથે તે શિસ્તબંધને મટે પમસાં લેવાનો વિચાર આવી જ રહ્યો હતો કેમકે કોંગ્રેસની નીતીથી રાજકીય સરના સાથે તે નીકટ સંબંધ ધરાવી રહ્યા હતા. નાજી મુ. અ. પવાના કારણે મા. મી. બાબાએ જણાવ્યું છે કે કોંગ્રેસ રાજ્યના સ્થાને મદીયક વસ્તુ હતી. વર અ વિદેશીને નમાવવાને કુદરતું હથીયાર છે, અને તેથી જોવા હેતુ સાધવાનો પ્રયત્ન કરવો જાણી છે કે કેમ એ અવધાન વચ્ચે તેનો ઉપયોગ થયો નહીં નહોતો. બાંધકામથી ખાસેલો હેતુ નહીં નહિ શકાય એ વસ્તુ ક્યારે ની (સિદ્ધિ)યજી સુધી હતી અને તેથી કાંઈ સંકેત આપવાના બાધકાર વહાવી લેવા જોઈતા હતા. જોય વસ્તુ મી. બાબા કહે છે કે સભાસભાને વિશે પલ કાણુ પડે છે કોંગ્રેસ ની નીતીના સભાસભાની સહકાર સમાવેશ અર્થ જાય છે. જો કે એ સહકારનું કાર મહત્વ નથી વધુ અને ત્રાસી લેવી અને કાંસીકૃષ અર્થ થઈ છે. સભાસભાએને નાજાની મહત્વ આપી નહિ શકતી હોવાથી સહકાર અલગથી અલગથી અર્થ થઈ છે અને જાણકાર નેતા જોએ તેને ક્યારેથી મોડુંક કરી દીધી હોત પરંતુ કોંગ્રેસ તેને આજી રાખવાનું ક્યાણુ હતો હતું. મી. ખારેએ એ કારણ આપ્યું છે કે સહકાર કામચલાઉ વિન કારણુ કલવાશ ઉપી કરવામા પોતે માનતા નથી. મી બાબાએ આપેલાં કારણો નકામા છે. સાચું આદિકા સાથે નાજી રતી તાંતી કોંગ્રેસ અખબાર નથી કરી પરંતુ કાંઈ કરી છે. અને જો તે ખાલી ખેતી લેવાય તો તે નહિ કે કોંગ્રેસ કે પીજી કોઈના કુકમથી પરંતુ પાને સરકારો જન્મે કંઈ પણ સારાનું. અવાના અ.ધારે તામ રમે સભાસભા મે.કે રાખવા આપ્યા. એમ કવવાન સંબંધમા અત્યાર સુધીમાં જોઈ કંઈ પણ બનેલું નથી કે કોઈ એ પગલું સરના મટે કહ્યું વજાળીય.

ગણા. સહકાર આજી રાખવાને તે આજે વખત પૂર જોશથીજ આપ્યા કરવાની જરૂર હોતી નહીં એક સભાસભા પલુ જેકમાં બેઠેલો કોઈ તો સહકાર તો આજી ગણાય અને કોઈ પણ ન કોઈ છતાં જો સહકાર બંધ જાહેર કરવા માં નહિ આવી કોઈ તો આજી ગણાય. આથી આવે દાંખે મી. બાબા અને મી. પ. રેખના કે.એસ

માંથી રાજીનામાને અમે ગેરકદા- પલુકરેલું પગલું બધીએ છીએ જો કોંગ્રેસ સભાને મુકસાન પહોંચાડ વાને આતર લેવાનું હોય તો વિશેષ ખરાબ ગણાય. આપણે મતલેલો કોઈ થાકે, જેનું અંદર રહીનેજ સમાધાન શુનુ થટે. અખબારો માં પ્રસિદ્ધી આપવા દોડી જઈ એ દુસ્મનતા કાઢમાં રમવા જેનું છે કે એ કોમકારોનો ગણાય.

સાઉથ-વેસ્ટ આફ્રિકા

સાઉથ વેસ્ટ આફ્રિકાને કુનીયનની સાથે બેટી દેવાની કુનીયન સર-કારની હયાતો સખા મુકાર સખ-ટેમર તા. રમ પીના રાજકીયની દરદી થીય કમીટી સમજી આવતાં કુનીયનના રાજકીયના સદર મી. એમ છ કોંગ્રેસે કુનીયન સરકારે આજી રાજ સંમપ મોકલેલા સરનામેને સાર

રજાવિક રીતે સામેલ થાય છે. આ નયની મેસિઃ અને આર્થિક કુખાકારી મેન્ડાના કાવાયમાં બીજાવા અને રજાવનું તે ગણુ રાખતે. એથી આ હેતુથી મારી સરકારના એવા હર દો છે કે, એ પ્રદેશને ખરીત ની ફોલે દુસ્મનતાને સુમત નહિ કરવા છતાં રાજકીયની સમજ તેની જમણે

આન્ડની મનોદશા

સુ. રા. પવા અને આન્ડની મેન્ડાની મે. મ. પવાપર કરવામા મળેલી મોરીયા મી. એ. આર સહીયન એમ પી એ સાચું આદિકા આ મેરીયા મટે તેની કોઈ નીતી રમ. પવા હયા છે તે વિશે કામચલાઉ હતું. તેમના કાવાયુ નાદ એક સુસિ. રાત મેડીય રેવરન્ડ આજ. કુસુએ આ મણ કરતા જણાવ્યું કે મી. સહીયનને સંભળતા મળેજી આન્ડ મપા. પરંતુ હું અને મારા કોઈ જણોએ જણાવ્યું છે એમ કે થજા અસા આ મેને મેડીયા મને એપરવા ક જાહેર તેમનેને વિશેષ કરનારા છે. આવા અપકરમા અપરવા મમાવ તા રીત મમ છો એ મમાવનું નથી. એ કે હું તો એક પાર્ટી છું અને મારેશાને કિખાતી નથી જતા. આ રત સ અપવાના આલ વાદ આને એ તણુ રજી હ કે સમમા કમા વસા માંએન આ.ખરે સમજાય છે કે સવાધારીએ પોતાની કાવાને કોઈક વાક્ય પલુ હોડવા સાચા નથી સિવાય કે તેમની પાસેથી તે કુદની લેવા આ કાવે. અને વિચાર આને છે કે સાચું આદિકાના અંતેને પોતાની કાવાનો કોઈ પણ કામ અમે તે કુદની નહિ મમજે ત્યાં સુધી કે.કેઈ ખરાઈ આ વસ્તુ મારો કોઈ જણોએ આને લોકાક રહી છે. એ મમારમજે એ વસ્તુ તેઓ માનતા મટે તો હું મટે એ વિચાર અને કુમરે છે. પરંતુ પરિસ્થિત દમ જમણી જમ છે એ વિશે જાણ સમ નથી અને મારા કોઈ નિરાક અને કનસ મમ મપા છે. વમારે સારા કાવન નમ અમે કા રત વગીઆ અમ રુ કાંએ

“હું કહીશ” એક મેડીય પોતાની કાવે. અંતેનેમાં કાવ પમરે. મવાની અને મેડીયા કાવની નીતી અલગવાની જરૂર છે. અખબારે આપણને કહે છે કે મારકાક અને કુના, લેવા કુક કુદતપર મોરકેસ. જની મવા, તેનું કારણ અધીયતા અને આરેમની સમવડાની અલત છે. હું એ જીલકુસ નથી માનતા. અમે તો એ માનીએ છીએ કે સરકાર આવાને અમન કદ કે મેડીયા પ્રેમ ની મીની અખલત કરવામાં આ વન છે. તેજ આદિકાને કદી કોમન આપરી.

આપ્યા આજ જણુ ના “મારી સરકારની પોતાનો નિર્ણય જાહેર કરતાં એવી છમ્મ છે કે મારે દરેકથી જણાવનું જોએ કે સ.માન્ય સભાના મત વર્ષના કસવાની પાજગ રહેલો કુળ હેતુ તેના આનખ છે. એ હેતુ એ પ્રદેશના વતીએ, ખાલ કરી અનઅખેનેની સુખાધારીની મિત.તેના કલે. એ મિત.તેના સાચું આદિકાના સરકાર પલુ

માર સંકેત વેસ્ટ અફ્રિકાના વહીવટ પર વાપીક લેવાય રજી કરવે. મારી સરકારના આ નિર્ણય પર આવવાનો કા કો. અને હેતુએ કમ્મા સમજ કકરો એવી મારી સરકાર આસા રાખે છે. રાજકીયને કુનીયનના અવાખમા એ મુકાવર આર મુકવાની જરૂર છે એ રેખુ હ. મમ મુક, સાચું વસ્ત

આદિકાના વખતમ કુદ પલુ ના રજી કરવાના મખમમ મ લેય આ. રમ ની રાજકીય થાતેની આનરર દમ રિમિતના છે.

બીએ મુરો એ પ્રદેશના વહીએની સાથે મમલત કવા કહ્યું રમ ના ઉપરિમત થાય છે.

મત વર્ષે કમ્માની અને સમાન્ય સભામાં મળેલી અયો તપાસના આમલા મેન્ડા કરાવતા રાજ્યને ખરીતાની રૂમ દરદી પખાના કરારન કમ્મા મ રમ. એ કે કેમ એ વિશે થણી સુ મમજ રહેલી છે. વળી ખરીતાની કાવાયે મર કાર મુકીને એ મુમવખમા વમાને કરવાના આમ ૫ કમીક ન ખર તે કાવાય એ કમ્માને અમ્મ શુ થાય છે તેમ વર્ષે કમ્માનીય નમજ કમ્મા બકાર મળેલા નિવેદનોપરથી જણાવું થાવજ મુકેસ પ- પાવ છે. મારે કલિમથ કહ્યું જોએ કે થણુ અસ કાખાએમ જોવામાં આ વશે ન કમ વખતો મપ ર ખર ન. વમા ની માન રે છે. જારે ખરીતાના કમ્મા કમર્મા શુ છે તેના કરતા તેના રિમિત શુ હેતુ જોએ તને તે વિચાર કરત હાય છે

કામદેમરજ રાજ્ય મર ની અ- છમ્મા નથી પરંતુ ખરીતાના કાવાયેને મુકવાને એ વસ્તુનો તેમાં કમાવેસ નથી થતો તે વસ્તુ તેમાં કાખમ કરવા મામે આપણ સાર કરવા છે. મેન્ડાની મળેલા કલે આને સર. આ. કમ્મા સાચું આ રમ પાવ કા. કોઈ થણુ આતરસાચું કરાર વટે ર રમવન ખર ર. પર સલ ક- વ. નજી અન કમી રમ આ નમ આ એ રમજ મટે કે મારી સરકાર સાચું વેસ્ટ આદિકાને મારે દરદી પખા ના કરાર રજી કરવાને કાવદેમર ખમા- એવી નથી.”

કિ કોનો વિરોધ

મી. મેન્ડાના અવાખમા કમ્મા પ્રતિનિધિ સર મેકારાજકિએ કહ્યું કે. “સાચું વેસ્ટ આદિકાને મારે દરદી પખાના કરાર રમ કાવા હું મ સરકાર કરવા. પકવાન આ રમ આમકભરી વિનની પરથી એ પ્રદેશને વિશે થણીજ સુ મમજાવેલી રિમિત જની થમ ક સાચું વેસ્ટ આ રમ ના ખર ખરીતાના અંતુ છે કેમરેખ નામ અખકુસ આપણુજ નથી.

કમ્માની પરિસ્થિત કેવી રીતે કમ્મા થલ તેની રૂપરેખા આપવા આજ કમ મકાર કલિત મ કમ્મા કરવા ન મેરાનના રિમિત આ રમ ના આદિકા સાચું વેસ્ટ આદિકાના પ્રદેશને મારે દરદી પખાને કરાર આ મમા મારે રજી કરવાને મેડીય તેમજ મકારેસા અને રીતે અંધુ છે. તેમજે કલિત કરતા કમ્માવજુ કે દરદી પખાની રહી અને દરદી સાચ કાકીન- સીમ અને ખરીતાની જરૂરી વસ્તુના છે

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INDIAN OPINION

Edited by
MAHATMA GANDHI
N 1405

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FRIDAY, 10TH OCTOBER, 1947

Indian Opinion

FRIDAY, 10TH OCTOBER, 1947

Durban's New Mayor's Call To Indians

MR. L. L. ROYD, Mayor, speaking in the Rotary Club, the other day, said: "It is the wish of the City Council to bring about a progressive improvement in the housing and living conditions of the 113,000 Indians who are now residing in this city. If there are men of goodwill among the Indians who are willing to co-operate in that task, I invite them to come forward now." We wish there was real sincerity behind these words. The Mayor will pardon us for saying that it is lacking. The City Council has done mighty little, and that too most grudgingly, in providing amenities for Indians in the last half a century, and it is doubtful what it will do in the next half a century. If it did desire to do anything it would have treated Indians as part of the City's population and cared for them as it did for the other sections. It does not seem to dawn on the Durban City Council that it owes a greater duty to those who have no voice in the administration than those who have a voice. The actual position is that those who have a voice are cared for whilst those who have not go to the wall. That is how democracy is working in South Africa. It is not true to say that Indians have been wanting in co-operation. There

are no people in the world as submissive as Indians. But their patience has been tried beyond limit. If Indians are not found co-operating to-day it is only in the pet design of the City Council to relegate Indians to Ghettos. It is all very well to say, as Mr. Joyd has said, that Europeans are determined to uphold their right to live in their own areas and that they wish to concede the same to Indians. It sounds very well but in practice one finds that Europeans are in possession of all that is good and what is rejected by them is offered to Indians. The Asiatic Land Tenure Act stigmatises Indians and all Asiatics as an inferior race and having given them that status the co-operation is now sought in improving their own lot. Moreover the City Council's present policy seems to be to do nothing unless Indians acquiesce in the enforcement of the Asiatic Act. The City Council has much scope to prove its earnestness even in the present circumstances. There is much to be done in regard to providing civic amenities for Indians in the existing areas occupied by them. This does not require their co-operation. It requires exercising of the powers already possessed by the City and the Provincial Councils in the manner they are exercised in providing

the needs of the European population. Congress is having a hard struggle even to get this much done by the City Council. If there is to be a change of heart under the new Mayorality we have no doubt it will be profoundly appreciated by the Indian community. The remarks made by Mr. Joyd in regard to the Asiatic Act permanently remaining on the Statute Book, and the South African Indian question being a question of domestic concern and the round table conference need not be discussed here. They are not the concern of the City Council in the performance of the duties that lie before it.

So-called Goodwill Mission To India

A GOODWILL mission, representing the South Africa's Muslim Indian community will go to India. The Pakistan and India Governments are organising the lives of Indians in the Union. Mr. A. I. Kader, Mr. E. L. Haffjee and Mr. I. M. Bawa, will represent Natal and Mr. Eshop Moosa, Mr. Abdulhayr Munshi and Mr. Habibullah Khan, the Transvaal. The Cape's representatives have not yet been named. The Press has normal relations will be restored between South Africa and these countries.

trade relations will form an important part of the discussions. The Government of India will inform the Pakistan Government of the Indian community in South Africa and the content of the discussions. The Government will arrive at a final settlement will be by a round table conference, he declared.

It is hard to say that we are the people of goodwill. They do not carry with them the good wishes of a vast majority of their countrymen in South Africa. After the role Mr. Kader has assumed of playing on the hands of our enemies, it is hard to expect a cold shoulder from the Government and the people of India. In Pakistan they may possibly be welcomed as our old friends but in other respects they will be entirely out of place because they themselves are Muslims of India and will be speaking on behalf of Muslim subjects of India resident in South Africa. The proper place for them to make representation therefore is India and not Pakistan. The Muslims resident in South Africa will have to decide once for all exactly whom they wish to follow and to remove the consequences. They cannot say the subjects of both and expect to enjoy the rights and privileges of both.

NOTES

Mr. E. I. Moolia Clears

The Air
SINCE our leading article on the Goodwill Mission was in print we received the following statement from Mr. E. I. Moolia, a delegate to the Natal Muslim Provincial Conference, which clears the air in regard to Mr. Bawa's attitude:—

"As a delegate to the Natal Muslim Conference held in Durban on September 7, to elect delegates for the Goodwill Mission to Pakistan and India I am surprised at the interview given by Mr. Bawa, the leader of Natal Muslim Goodwill Mission, that they will urge the Pakistan Government to resume normal trade relations with the Union and withdraw sanctions as 'all sections of the Indian community in the Union regard the continuance of trade sanctions with disfavour.'"

"This was not the decision of the Muslim Conference. It was made clear at the Conference that the Goodwill Mission to India must not discuss any political questions such as the Atomic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act, 1947, trade sanctions by India against South Africa, franchise for Indians in South Africa etc. In fact Mr. Bawa himself stated in a press interview after his election as leader of the delegation that 'the deputation will not seek to persuade either Government to change their existing foreign policies in relation to South Africa.'"

"The Goodwill Mission was mandated to convey to both the Governments of Pakistan and India the factual position of Muslims in South Africa in relation to disabilities met by Muslims on matters such as Haj (Pilgrimage) Committee, importation of Muslim teachers, to propagate Islamic teaching, post-mortem on Muslim bodies, and all matters where Islamic teachings and practices are hampered by the laws of the country."

"The mission is an exclusively Muslim mission on matters affecting Islam and its propagation will be discussed. The mission is not entitled to discuss any political question which affect the Indian people as a whole for this is the preserve

and prerogative of the national organisation of the Indian people, the Natal Indian Congress."

"I am even more surprised at Mr. Bawa's utterance in view of the stated stand of the Pakistan Government which, according to its official statement from Karachi, has decided to adhere to the standstill agreement between Pakistan and India which covers, inter alia, the Indian trade sanctions against South Africa, and therefore prevents Pakistan from trading with South Africa. Is it now

liquid Senator Clarkson, who said that the recent Act was not repressive—it gave both parties the right to full development by themselves. There was no desire or attempt to belittle anyone. The Indians resented this, because it was in black and white. "More than 25 years ago I urged the Indian leaders not to be foolish and insist on this attitude of demanding full equality, but to stick to their demands for amenities from the City Council. The Indians objected to some of these amenities proposed from time to time, as segregation. I blame the Durban City Council for taking the line that 'if they do not want it,

the latter are more competent. But Senator Clarkson has stated a fact when he says that the Indians resent it because it was in black and white. They have sound reasons to do so. The principal one is that they do not want a stigma of inferiority placed upon them as no so-called respecting people would. Would South African Europeans be pleased to have a similar Act imposed upon them in India? And yet South Africa is indebted to India for its present flourishing condition. For if India had not supplied South Africa with cheap labour Natal would never have become the "Garden Colony." South Africa has nothing to be proud of the reward it is giving India. Senator Clarkson asks, if it is not human to be annoyed about the way the people of South Africa have been maligned by India at U.N.O. before the world? Might we not ask too if it is not human to be much more annoyed about the way in which South Africa has chosen to flout the sentiments of four hundred million people?"

Rev. Scott Gets U.S. Visa

The Rev. Michael Scott has been granted a visa to enter the United States, states a Cape-Renter's message from London. Rev. Scott, who was unable to get a visa in South Africa, flew to London from Johannesburg. It is stated that the British National Council for Civil Liberties appealed to Mr. Henry Wallson and Mrs. Roosevelt. Rev. Scott will present a petition from some South-West African trustees to U.N.O. delegates.

Pakistan Refuses S.A.'s Coal Offer

Karachi, Tuesday

It is stated that the Government of Pakistan will not authorise the importation of coal from South Africa. Following inquiries through ordinary channels, South Africa recently agreed to export 40,000 tons of coal to Pakistan, and everything in the Union was in readiness to ship the coal. The Pakistan Government, however, is understood to have decided to adhere to the standstill agreement between Pakistan and India which covers, inter alia, the Indian trade sanctions against South Africa, and therefore prevents Pakistan from trading with South Africa.—SAPA

INDIAN HOUSING

A STATEMENT that the report of the City and Water Engineer, Mr. H. A. Smith, over the appropriation by the Durban City Council of Indian owned land for the Sparks Extension Housing Scheme for Coloureds is "inaccurate, misleading, and mischievous," is contained in a letter to the Town Clerk from the Natal Indian Congress.

It will be recalled that, on September 12, Mr. Smith stated that alternative housing in the Springfield Extension Indian Scheme had been promised those Indians who lost accommodation at Sparks Extension, and that, in any case, the majority of the present occupants appeared to be either Coloureds or Natives, while most of the better houses were occupied by Coloureds, even when owned by Indians.

"Following the publication of this report," states the letter, "we have made it our duty to check the information at our disposal, and have re-investigated the position."

"The facts are as follows: There are 72 Indian-owned properties in the area, and eight of these are in Coloured occupation. There are no Natives occupying any of these houses, and it is definitely incorrect to state that the majority of these better houses are occupied by Coloureds."

The letter says that the City Council has played no more part in "robbing" the Indian of the right to purchase land on a free market, and concludes with a request that the Council pursue its task of municipal government freed from the tendency to exploit a section of taxpayers who are denied the elementary rights of representation, and who receive grudging service in no way commensurate with their contribution to the Municipal coffers.

the intention of Mr. Bawa and his co-delegates to go against the Pakistan Government and dictate to it?

Senator Clarkson On Asiatic Act

"The Indian Congress and their leaders have openly admitted for years that they do not like to live alongside the Europeans, and they have not hesitated to carry out this policy—but there are always some scallywags," Senator C. F. Clarkson is reported to have told a Montclair, Durban, public meeting on Wednesday. About 90 people were present. "I have been dealing with Indian matters for more than 40 years," con-

we will not give it to them." If the Council had given the Indians amenities, despite these protests, the Indian leaders could not have kept the mass of their people from using them. The Indians have complained of their treatment in South Africa and about the boycott in the Transvaal. No sane person wants to advocate a boycott, but I ask you if it is not human to be very annoyed about the way their people have maligned us at U.N.O. before the world?"

Who is more competent to decide whether the Asiatic Act is repressive or not? Senator Clarkson or those who are affected by the Act? We believe

MAYOR'S PLAN FOR RACIAL PEACE

ADDRESSING the Rotary Club on Tuesday Durban's new Mayor, Mr. L. L. Boyd is reported to have invited Indian leaders to come forward and help the City Council to improve the Indian areas out of all

Mr. Boyd said: "We can lay the foundation of racial peace in this city and in achieving that we shall bring last and benefits to both the European and Indian

and this goal is separate but equally attractive areas, Europeans and non-Europeans can live in contentment and harmony among their own people.

Seen in that light, he said, segregation seemed to be a bogey far, as the Indian leaders themselves had said before the Broome Commission, "Natural causes, the affinity of religion, culture and race, will always prevail and will always group people of one race, one colour and one religion into certain

Mr. Boyd went on: "When the treatment of Indians in South Africa was debated at UN last year, the South African Government contended that this was a domestic matter, and many other South Africans stand foursquare behind that. I reject utterly the right of any other country to interfere and I am so fully opposed to round table conferences with Hindustan, Pakistan or anyone else.

"This places upon me, as the Mayor of this City, and obligation to see that the legitimate claims of the Indian community for proper housing, recreation and civic amenities are met. I believe I speak for every councillor when I say that they can and I will be met with the minimum of delay if the co-operation of the Indian community is forthcoming.

Speaking of the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act, Mr. Boyd said:

"The Act represents the official policy of the Parliament of the Union and the Prime Minister has recently given the strongest assurances that it would not be repealed. It is doubtful whether any Government in South Africa could repeal it, for there is no doubt that the great majority of Europeans are determined to uphold their right to live in their own areas.

"Personally I am convinced that it is the only realistic policy in South Africa at the present time. But it does not mean that Indians must be restricted by the laws of colour and

ed to live in slums. Nor is it the desire of the average European to see them there.

The responsibility for conditions in Indian areas in Durban has been laid at the door of the European community and the City Council, but in the past the Council's efforts have been hampered by the failure of the Indian leaders to appreciate the value of co-operation, a failure extending at times to active opposition to schemes designed to improve the lot of the Indian

It is to be hoped that the Indian community will make progress in the improvement of amenities for Indians. For while the Council can, and will, if need be, go ahead on its own, it cannot make satisfactory progress if those whom it is seeking to help are working against it instead of with it.

When Durban took on a task of a very great magnitude, it incorporated the Added Areas thereby increasing the Indian population of the city from 18,000 to approximately 94,000. When Durban took over the Added Areas the conditions under which the 76,000 Indians were living, were deplorable in the extreme.

"A vast task of development obviously lay ahead. Yet in the development of these areas there has been a singular lack of co-operation between the City Council and the Indian people, with the result that progress has often been painfully slow.

"My concern is with the future and not the past. I know it is the sincere wish of the City Council to bring about a progressive improvement in the housing and living conditions of the 113,000 Indians who are now residing in this city.

"If there are men of goodwill among the Indians who are willing to co-operate in this task I invite them to come forward now.

"The programme will, of necessity, have to be spread over a number of years for, as Mr. Justice Broome wisely pointed out, the civic purse is not bottomless, and moreover shortages of essential materials are likely to continue for some time yet. But I believe that, given the necessary co-operation, steady progress can be made each year towards developing the old areas into attractive suburbs where Indians can reside in comfortable houses served by hardened streets and footpaths, adequate street lighting and drainage, and where they will benefit of sports fields, swimming baths, libraries and health centres."

the imposition of such a condition was, and remains, nothing less than an indirect rejection of co-operation. The Natal Indian Congress had expressed its readiness to take part in discussion.

At no time has the Natal Indian Congress imposed conditions that would have restricted the freedom of expression or extra the law by force from this kind of conference.

Councillor Boyd has made reference to the Broome Commission report wherein Justice Broome and his colleagues recorded

"Natural causes, the affinity of religion, culture and race, will always prevail and will group people of one race, one colour and one religion into certain areas."

This statement of a social fact is not at issue. But on the other hand, legislative sanction for demarcation of areas on racial grounds we have always considered to be, on the basis of actual conditions to be found in many parts of South Africa, racially oppressive and conducive to the creation of living conditions aptly characterised by the word "ghetto." There is even less justification for the projection of racial considerations into the field of economic activity, which is what the provisions of the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act, restraining the acquisition and ownership of land by Indians, mean. If we add to this the not unfounded fear that the civic licensing policy is also aimed at confining Indian traders to the limits of what are called "Indian areas," one can see through Indian eyes the motives and the threat of economic destruction that are presented to the Indian.

From the foregoing it should be perfectly clear that the Indian community will persist in its struggle to get the Asiatic Land Tenure Act removed from the Statute Book of the Union. This is, however, a matter that must be pursued with the Union Government. The views of Pakistan and the Union of India, the United Nations and any other international tribunal may be available.

It should not, however, impede or halt the Durban City Council in its efforts to discharge its responsibilities to the Indian section of its population, nor is there any barrier to this responsibility being discharged with the co-operation of the people concerned. To dispel any doubt that may exist in the circumstances, the Natal Indian Congress declares once again its readiness to work in co-operation with the Durban City Council to ensure that in

CONGRESS STATEMENT ON CR. BOYD'S PROPOSAL

THE Natal Indian Congress has issued the following statement: The Executive Committee of the Natal Indian Congress welcomes the co-operation offer of Durban's new Mayor, Councillor L. L. Boyd. It reveals a bold and vigorous attitude with much to commend it.

For the second time in the past eighteen months, the Natal Indian Congress declares unequivocally its readiness to lead Indian co-operation to the Durban City Council for genuine and unceasing work aimed at the improvement of social conditions for which the municipality is responsible.

The Indian community has always been willing, day anxious to labour with the Durban Council in a spirit of goodwill and understanding. It was in this knowledge that the Hon. Mr. H. G. Lawrence, then Minister of the Interior, proposed the formation of a standing committee to ensure that adequate civic services are rendered to Indians in Indian occupied areas so that acquisition of property

by Indians in so-called "European" areas may be obviated and Indo-European racial harmony restored. Though Indians fulfilled their part of the bargain the "Lawrence Committee" turned out to be a failure. It is to be regretted that the then City Council did not desire co-operation as genuinely as the present council appears to do.

Again in 1945 a Round Table discussion between the Durban City Council and the Natal Indian Congress was mooted as a forerunner to continued consultation and to the establishment of permanent machinery for joint effort. Before this move could reach fruition, the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act had become law.

In its wisdom, the Municipality then proposed to circumscribe co-operation within the ambit of the provisions of this Act and to make acceptance of this condition a necessary adjunct to joint discussion. The Indian community was and still remains in a position to respond to the offer of the Durban City Council and Indian Representation Act that

which they are now resident when at Cato Manor or Springfield, Riverside or Clairwood, they are provided with adequate civic amenities. In this endeavour Congress will need in mind a number of factors. First and foremost is the knowledge that the civic amenities are not bottomless. And it is the same civic purse that has to be stretched for all sections of Durban's population—not only the Indian. Congress is fully aware of this fact and the fact that the amenities have hitherto been received from the Durban Council, but this is the past.

It is a civic responsibility to provide services for its inhabitants within its boundaries. Generally, those who make the highest individual contributions

to the city's revenues are in least need of most of its services. Hence housing activities, so large a drain on the civic purse, serve those who pay no rates, or very little of it.

But such is civic responsibility—to provide equal facilities to all who live permanently within its boundaries. And if Councillor Boyd can give a demonstration of the present City Council's sincerity in the promise of "equal facilities" that he makes and the City Council should find an insuperable difficulty in establishing either its municipality or its bona fides, Durban can look forward to no immediate improvement in Indo-European relations and the restoration of harmony and goodwill which most of its political office-seekers have so gravely undermined.

SOUTH-WEST AFRICA'S STAND

DESPITE STRONG UN CRITICISM

THE Union's refusal to submit a trusteeship agreement for South-West Africa was criticised in the United Nations Trusteeship Committee on Tuesday.

The Union's refusal was criticised as "merely to extend our hope

and delay" and it was said that the Union's refusal was "a serious blow to the United Nations' reputation."

The Union's refusal was criticised by the United Nations General Assembly on Tuesday.

Replying, Mr. Lawrence said

that the Union's refusal was "a serious blow to the United Nations' reputation."

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There is a recognised international code of law. There is the Charter. There is the International Court of Justice.

But when we come to the moral obligations we are entering on quicksands of uncodified rules of conduct about which there will be wide divergence of belief, and for the determination of which there is as yet no international law. Who will be the arbiter?

The United Nations is established to uphold the rule of law. It is not its function to be the keeper of the consciences of the nations, and it certainly has not been equipped for that task. Each nation remains the keeper of its own conscience.

In moving his resolution, Sir Maharaj Singh said it was by no means clear that South-West Africa would not be incorporated in the near future. There was a strong body of European opinion in the Union which favoured annexation.

As I know, no representative of the African people in the United Nations has ever been heard of. As a part of the world has supported the proposals of the Union Government.

It would be interesting to know in detail the reason why these poor, and admittedly backward peoples—who are altogether unrepresented in the Legislative Assembly of South-West Africa, and are holding only the most subordinate posts—should reject the trusteeship system and the

sympathetic and progressive outlook, and supervision of the United Nations and its Trusteeship Council.

"Why should they, as we are told, desire closer association with a Government which has in its legislative armoury a number of enactments imposing liabilities on Africans as such?"

"Surely an eminently sound reason, which commended itself last year to almost all of us, is that they are wholly unable, in their present state of development, to understand the full implications of trusteeship under the Charter."

Mr. John Foster Dulles (United States) supported the Danish resolution suggesting a special committee to examine the Union's report for 1946 on South-West Africa.

He said: "We want a resolution that will achieve the best results. We believe we must get the co-operation and support of liberal and enlightened people in the Union."

Rev. Scott Sends Documents To U.N.O.

Rev. Scott who is acting as a lobbyist at U.N.O. for the Council for Asiatic Rights of Johannesburg, and the Council for Human Rights in Natal, has sent documents to the United Nations containing petitions from the Hereros, Hottentots and Ovambos living outside Ovamboland.

The petitions, which are dated August of this year, ask, firstly, that the United Nations should not allow South Africa to incorporate South-West Africa, secondly, the return of lands to the Hereros; thirdly, the sending of a commission of inquiry to South-West Africa, and fourthly, the removal of the control of South-West Africa from the Union Government, in view of the injustice of her rule over the African people.

The Herero petition also asks that, if South-West Africa does not fall under the Trusteeship Council, it should become a British Protectorate and, failing that, the territory be placed under the protection of the United States.

The primary purpose of the documents transmitted by the Rev. Mr. Scott is to oppose the incorporation of South-West Africa into the Union, but as the question of incorporation is

not before the United Nations, the documents are irrelevant in this respect.

The petitions and their supporting statements contain a distortion of accuracy, and are incomplete.

The petitions come from comparatively small sections of the non-European population (the Hereros section of the Hottentots and Ovambos living outside Ovamboland), whose opposition to incorporation with the Union Government has already been relayed to the United Nations last year as well as this year.

The allegations contained in what have become known as the "Scott Documents," that the Union Government, in its consultations with the Native peoples of South-West Africa, did not present the full facts of the case, are refuted entirely.—Sapa-Router.

Gandhi's Call To India To Grow More Food

SPEAKING at his prayer meeting on Tuesday in Delhi, Gandhiji called on the people to utilise every inch of land for growing crops for daily food instead of for "money" crops. If the whole nation realised the beauty of partial self-denial, of the fast or semi-fast observed by Hindus every eleventh day each fortnight, India would more than cover the deficit caused by her voluntary deprivation of foreign aid, he said. Gandhiji, congratulated President Truman on his philanthropic gesture in advising the American people to eat less bread and thus save much-needed grain for starving Europe. "I must decline to endorse the suggestion that at the back of this philanthropy there is the sordid motive of deriving pecuniary advantage for America," he said.

Pandit Nehru, at an open-air meeting attended by about 100,000 people in Delhi on Monday, said: "The lawlessness prevailing in India today is not enough to shake the foundations even of a well-established Government. India's economy was shattered, said Pandit Nehru. Freedom would be worth nothing if the country's economy was in chaos. Peace was essential before India's wealth could be multiplied and equitably distributed."

OUR INDIA LETTER

(FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT)

Lahore, September 23, 1947.

RECKLESS CHARGES

working out constructive pro-

Yet More Charges

Sir M. Zafarullah Khan, chief of the Pakistan delegation to the United Nations General Assembly, went one better by saying last evening the Government of India took steps "to end the"

complaint would be filed with the United Nations. "If satisfaction is not obtained, the Government of Pakistan may have to resort to direct measures." The Indian Government had done nothing to control the communal disturbances, he said. "The responsibility for this state of affairs on the Government of India which so far has utterly failed to discharge its responsibility or even face it squarely." This statement was bad even as propaganda. For a prompt statement came from no less a person than Khan Abdul Azad, the acting High Commissioner for Pakistan in India, who asserted that "the Muslims he had met had told him that they did not want to leave Delhi. Muslims in the Indian Union, he said, "seriously and honestly remain loyal citizens of the Indian Union, and they said so." "No representative of Pakistan," he added, "desires in any way, directly or indirectly, to question any measures that the Government here considers desirable for the maintenance of law and order. All Muslims believe that Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Mr. Neogy, in fact, all members of the Government of India are genuinely anxious that the existing peace should disappear, and also that refugee camps are properly looked after. Apart from stray cases—which cannot be remedied by any immediate action—every effort is being

Gandhi Rajgopalakrishnan, leader of the Muslim League Party in the Constituent Assembly of India, came out with a spirited reinforcement of Sir M. Zafarullah Khan's statement, in which he said: "He has not correctly appreciated the situation in India. It is not correct to say that the Government of India are responsible for what has happened. Most gruesome things have happened in spite of their efforts."

The Government of India, in a statement refuting the charges on the Government of Pakistan, are prepared to leave the verdict on Sir M. Zafarullah's allegations

to any impartial authority. He has made no reference to the killing of non-Muslims, which has been going on in West Punjab. The Government of India over-looked, and have never condemned, violence by one community against another. Authorities in Pakistan are, even now, writing articles full of communal venom and incitement to violence. The Government of India have done everything possible to put down disorder, to protect refugees, etc. The Government of India are

An official statement issued after a conference of the representatives of the two Dominion Governments says that any conception of conflict between India and Pakistan is a repudiation not only of the principles of the cause any such conflict would result in disaster to both.

Gandhiji in Delhi

On the 14th Gandhiji said that he was in Delhi to "do or die," and said he had no desire to witness "this mad fratricide, this mad slaughter, this mad betrayal of the principles of the Indian Union." He asked Hindus and Sikhs to take the right step and invite Muslims who had been driven out of their homes to return. He said the transfer of millions of Hindus and Sikhs and Muslims is unthinkable. It is wrong. The wrong of Pakistan will be undone by the right of resolution and transfer of population." He asked the Muslims of Delhi to deliver to the Government all arms in their possession and "trust your Government to defend every inch of its territory."

Mahatma Gandhi, whose life was consecrated to a noble cause, was entering upon the most heroic phase of his career, said Sir Ronald Meys, Acting Governor of Bombay. "I hope," he added, "that in word and deed we shall derive inspiration from the words and words of that lone figure who is fighting so heroically against the bestiality of his own

On the 15th Gandhiji said that if wrong-doing persisted, there was bound to be a way between India and Pakistan. If the Hindus felt that in India there was no place for anyone else except the Hindus, and if non-Hindus, especially Muslims, wished to live here they had to live as the

slaves of Hindus, they would have to go. Pakistan has said that it would be the death-knell of Islam in India. He had no desire to live to see the ruin of Islam in India. Gandhiji on the 17th. On the 18th he appealed to the military and the police to be above prejudice and corruption, and to be faithful servants of the people, irrespective of caste and creed. He was proceeding to the Punjab in order to make the Muslims realise the wrong they were doing to have perpetrated there, but he could not hope for success unless he could secure justice for the Muslims in Delhi. If the Hindus and Muslims of Delhi would begin to live as brothers once again, he would proceed to the Punjab and do or die in Pakistan. He could not rest in peace till every Muslim and Hindu and Sikh in India and Pakistan was not rehabilitated in his own home.

Punjab Holocaust

Over a million refugees have been driven from West to East Punjab and East to West Punjab by the Military Evacuation Organisation. About 80,000 eight days of its being able to function. On several occasions convoys from West Punjab going to East Punjab were attacked by armed Muslim mobs. A serious attack of the kind took place near Lyallpur in West Punjab. Large deposits of arms and ammunition were found in Delhi. Nearly 95 per cent of the walled city of Amritsar is completely destroyed. Inhabiting a ruined city as its capital, the Congress Government has a difficult task ahead in East Punjab.

The entire economic strategy is shattered," said Mr. Gopalraj Aji Khan, Health Minister of Pakistan, after a tour of the Punjab. "Stocks of food grains are not coming to markets. There is nobody to look after standing kharif crops. Millions of acres are left uncared for both in East and West Punjab." "A calamity far worse than that caused by the killing on either side of the Punjab," he added, "would occur if the unfortunate land if normal conditions were not restored soon by the joint action of both Dominions."

Contradicting this statement, and the Pakistan High Commissioner's statement referred to above, with the scandalous accusation made by Sir Muhammad Zafarullah Khan, the Times of India said: "Pakistan has been speaking with two voices, and one voice is hopelessly out of tune

IMEDIATELY following a conference between the two Dominion Premiers, one of them, Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, said at Lahore that the carnage of Muslims in East Punjab followed the execution of an unholy plan chalked out by the enemies of Pakistan to sabotage it at its very birth. "Today we are surrounded on all sides by forces which are out to destroy us." The Muslims in East Punjab, he said, were rooted only by the bullets and bayonets of the forces of law and order. Muslims would have stood stoutly to their posts if the military and the police had not turned on them. He charged the Governments of India and East Punjab with not having "honoured and implemented the decisions jointly taken by the two Governments," while "we have scrupulously adhered to all the

Replying to these statements, Pandit Nehru said: "None of us has thought of treating Pakistan as an enemy or harboured the intention of destroying it. It is unfortunate that any such motive should be imputed to the Government of India. I do not wish to say anything that will add to the dangers of an atmosphere already suffused with passion, and of a situation fraught with tragedy. We desire and seek nothing but a rapid restoration of peace and the establishment, on lasting foundations, of amity between Pakistan and India. Since partition was decided upon, it has been the constant endeavour of the Government of India to discharge faithfully all their obligations flowing from that decision. Devotion of duty by the forces of law and order has been practised on both sides of the border. My colleagues and I have publicly condemned it, and we are doing our best, and not without success, to eliminate this serious defect. At least so far as the forces of law and order in India are concerned, impartiality rather than prejudice has been the

The Times of India writes this evening about Mahatma Gandhi: "Gandhi Aslam Jinnah, who as Governor-General of Pakistan had administrative control, and as a speaker of the Muslims in Delhi as 'without shelter, food or clothes,' and delivers a sermon to the Government of India on how to deal with lawlessness."

Mrs. Pandit said in New York: "All steps are being taken by the Government of India to bring the riots under control. It should not be forgotten that, while these riots are taking place in one part of India, the rest of the country is quiet and peaceful."

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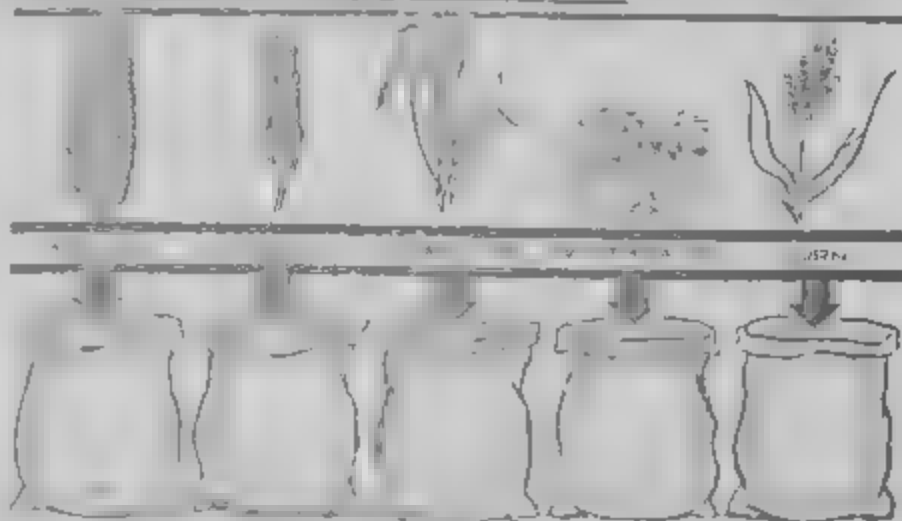
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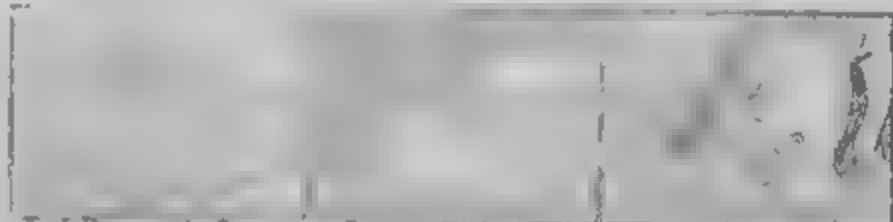


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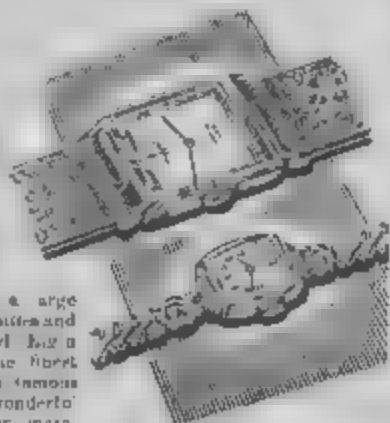
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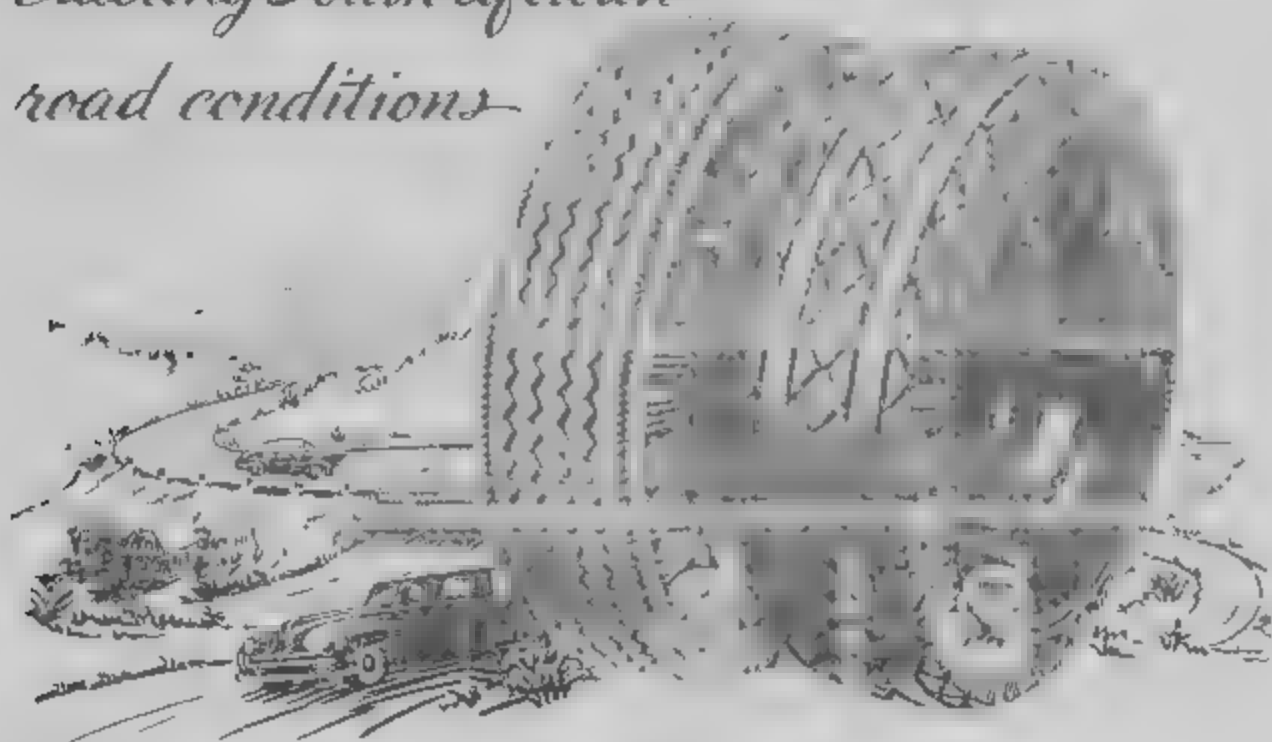
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food from where it grows to
where you can eat it

Food is always needed to the people
who are hungry and ready to cook and
eat it. If there are not enough bags
there cannot be enough food for you.

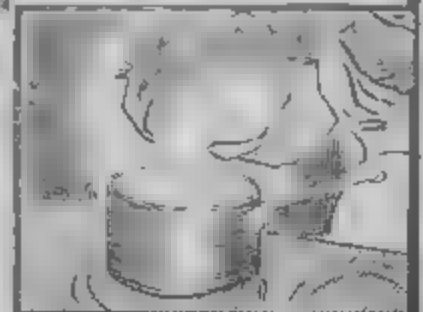
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put in bags to be taken to the stores or
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Indian Opinion

FRIDAY, 17TH OCTOBER, 1947.

S.A. Indian Question Before UN

THE Indian question of South Africa will come before the General Assembly of the United Nations this week. A mass meeting of Indians was held last Sunday under the auspices of the Natal Indian Congress to reiterate the Indian community's protest against the Asiatic Land Tenure Act in particular and discriminatory treatment of Indians and of all non-Europeans in general. As a mark of their resentment a batch of resisters was sent to gaol. The occasion was marked by acts of hooliganism by certain elements of the European public who did not know what serious damage they were causing the country and to South Africa's case—if it had any case. Senator Basner who had attended and addressed the meeting was assaulted soon after the meeting by a European and stray cases of assaults by the same elements on individual Indians took place in Gale Street where they had gone as spectators when the resisters were being arrested. What was shockingly surprising was that the daily Press did not utter a word of regret over the unseemly behaviour Senator Basner was subjected to but on the contrary there seemed to be an unexpressed joy over both

the incidents, as much as to say, "it served the victims right." There seemed also to be an attempt to minimise the whole affair by promptly publishing half truths. This is going to bring discredit to South Africa. However this is by way of warning to those who claim to be moulding the destiny of South Africa.

To come to the point, no sane person can take exception to the speeches made last Sunday both by Senator Basner and by Dr. Dadoo. Truth is at times bitter but nevertheless one has to swallow it. Any resentment would make matters worse. Truth will remain truth however much one may try to twist it as is being done by the aid of Quislings in our own community. It may cause a setback for a time but Truth shall prevail in the end. With this indomitable faith the Passive Resistance campaign has to go on. Gandhiji's message should be taken to heart by every Passive Resister. "Conditions for a settlement," says Gandhiji, require a just cause and a fully non-violent role for the participants. If the Indians in South Africa observe these conditions, success is bound to be theirs.

In so far as South Africa

is concerned she has no case at all. She stands condemned before the bar of the civilized world and yet she is audacious enough to seek to dictate terms. For one year South Africa remained adamant. She flouted the UN resolution and tried underhand methods such as boycotting of Indian traders and of creating divisions in their ranks, to bring them to their knees. These methods have failed and the time has come once again to face the bar of the world. India has at no time transgressed the bounds of reasonableness. The correspondence between General Smuts and Pandit Nehru is evidence of that fact. It was South Africa who cast the first stone and a heavy one at that. Had she shown her willingness to overlook that and extended her hand of friendship but South Africa was too proud to accept it and in her arrogance chose to spurn it. She still insists on dictating terms to India after having hurled insults after insults even during the past year since the UN resolution. India has never at any time been inclined to fight. She has always shown her preparedness to come to an honourable compromise. It is now for South Africa to take the initiative. South Africa insisted on passing the Asiatic Land Tenure Act in the teeth of the opposition of the whole

of India. She cannot now demand the reverting to the *status quo* and the reversal of the High Commissioner's decision as is being done in some quarters, when she herself is not prepared even to suspend the Act, which was the direct cause of the rejection of the High Commissioner. India is, however, prepared to abide by the decision of the United Nations. Is South Africa prepared to do so? She cannot have it all her own way.

Call For Help From India

The Rt. Rev. Bishop Ferguson Davis has received from the Minister of Health for India the following cable:

"Many thanks for your cable of September 30. We have sufficient cholera vaccine and medical officers. Would be grateful for medical supplies, warm apparel and blankets."

The Natal Indian Congress, we understand, is taking the necessary steps to afford every help possible to our distressed brethren in India and Pakistan.

Our Special Diwali Number

WE propose to publish our usual Special Diwali Number this year. We invite our readers to send in material for publication and advertisements to appear in the Special Number and pictures of interest to reach this office not later than October 20. Earlier than that will be appreciated.

There will be no issue of "Indian Opinion" on October 31 and November 14.

SUNDAY'S MASS MEETING

A MASS meeting under the auspices of the Natal Indian Congress was held on Sunday, October 12, at the Nicol Square, Durban. According to the *Natal Mercury* there were about 3,000 people present. According to the *Natal Witness* several thousands were present. According to Mr. C. M. Anglin, of the Natal Indian Organisation, 1,500 were present. According to our own calculation over three thousand were present.

The meeting lasted for nearly three and a half hours. The speakers included Dr. G. M. Nankier, president of the N.I.C., Mr. J. B. Marks, president of the African M. workers' Union, Dr. Y. M. Dadoo, president of the Transvaal Indian Congress, Mr. E. C. Swales, chairman of the African People's Organisation and Senator H. M. Basson, Native Representative for the Transvaal and the O.F.S.

Dr. Nankier appealed for continued support for the resistance movement to indicate the Indians' objection to the Asiatic Land Tenure Act.

Senator Basson's Speech

Senator Basson declared that General Smuts had probably made a mistake when he had taken South Africa into U.N. for he could not have anticipated that the South African Indian problem would be the first question U.N. would be called to discuss. He could not have perceived that, unlike the late League of Nations, the U.N. was not "the instrument of the 'old world diplomacy'" when things were done by the button pressing of the big States. Today the coloured races of the world were very much alive to the situation and the age of imperialism and the exploitation of the coloured races was passing.

He said that a strong case could be made against the U.N. if it was found that the U.N. had taken a decision against South Africa, was unenforced.

Immediately after U.N. had taken the decision the question was "What U.N. live or die?" "If that decision is not enforced it means the end of U.N. as an organisation of world peace, for will the coloured peoples of the world have confidence in it to bring about an end of suffering if that organisation cannot compel the small South African State to act on big issues like South West Africa and Indian questions, then how can it work on the still bigger problems of the world?"

The issue before the world was clear and simple. If the United Nations dies then the

whole of mankind is endangered and humanity faces the horror of a third great conflagration of the capitalist States—and that in this atomic age. There was a terrific responsibility on U.N. to see that this did not happen.

endanger world peace. He should have warned them that however they disliked the decision they should still obey it. Instead he had told the South African Parliament that even though the decision was against

MESSAGES TO RESISTERS

REFERRING to the proposed resumption of the passive resistance campaign in South Africa by the Indian community, both Hindus and Moslems, Mahatma Gandhi last Saturday night advised them to seek assistance from the Indian and Pakistan Governments.

He said that it was the duty of both Governments to give all possible assistance and encouragement to the Indians in South Africa.

"Conditions for a successful campaign require a just cause and a fully non-violent role for the participants. If the Indians in South Africa observe these conditions, success is bound to be theirs."

Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit's Message

"I gladly send my greetings to Indian friends on the occasion of UNO Rally. Once again the question of discrimination will come up before the Parliament of the World and, as before, it will be the endeavour of the Indian delegation to win unanimous support for the principles and purposes of the UN Charter by which freedom, justice and equality are insured to all men. So long as discrimination exists in any corner of the world, so long will there be conflict. We must bend all our efforts towards the abolition of all forms of discrimination so that real peace and security may be assured to every human being."

Raja Sir Maharej Singh's Message

"My affectionate greetings. With success to your Rally. As our Trusteeship Committee of U.N. and, in a humble way, fight daily for elimination of racial discrimination. In this we have many nations to support us, and am confident that with God's help such discrimination will be destroyed or at least reduced to a minimum. We cannot expect to solve a racial question."

Dr. A. B. Xuma (President General African National Congress)

"Although there will be obstacles in the way and there will be opposition from unexpected quarters we must realise that our salvation depends on cooperation among non-European and all other people of goodwill."

"For us here in South Africa to co-operate as non-Europeans is to enter the spirit of the United Nations Organisation. It is a first step towards co-operation with our European fellow-citizens on a basis of justice, fair play and equality of opportunity."

"The spirit of the Charter of the United Nations and the Charter itself are in danger of being sabotaged in order to give way to the old tricks of balance of power which do not recognise the claims of the weak, which accept the principle that might is right."

"We must close ranks and help South Africa become a true democracy for all. We must help her to live up to the spirit and letter of the Charter of the United Nations which recognises human dignity for all irrespective of race, creed or colour."

"To all efforts we make to get South Africa to accord civil liberty and equality of opportunity for all, we are making our contribution for inter-racial goodwill and world peace."

If General Smuts had been a friend of humanity then the first thing he would have done immediately on his return from U.N. last year was to have told the European people of South Africa that if they persisted in their selfish attitude they would

the European people they still had freedom at court and that the decision would be reversed as a subsequent meeting.

He knew then, Senator Hanser declared, that he was working against the United Nations and for the end of civilisation

and human y. He would never be forgiven for the step he took on his return from U.N.

Senator Hanser warned that if U.N. allowed power politics to interfere with its decision then it would be setting the world on the path to the next world war—with such horrible consequences that they defied the imagination.

There was the possibility that such a war would obliterate humanity; there was a possibility that there may not be a world at all but if one survives such a war it would not be a world of imperial exploiters but a world belonging to the common man.

Mr. Marks, in the course of his speech, said there were hundreds of Indian people in the Transvaal who had their Kaffirs and so had the Coloureds and the Natives their Kaffirs and even General Smuts had his Kaffirs. They had to put them in their proper place and carry on their struggle for a just cause.

Dr. Dadoo's Speech

Dr. Dadoo stated that the Government and the Press were deliberately conducting a campaign of vilification and distortion against him and Congress in order to defame the Indian people. They were assisted by Mr. A. I. Kaffer who said that his speeches were inciting race hatred. Dr. Dadoo accused Mr. Kaffer of attempting to have the C.I.D. charge him under the Racial Discrimination Act. It was in the interests of peace and South Africa that U.N. took the necessary action to ensure that its decisions were carried out. The overwhelming majority of the Indians supported such a policy as well as the Natives and Coloureds in this country. This was a policy that was supported by the progressive section of the European people.

Although Mr. Kaffer had denied his meeting at Irene with General Smuts, he had not been able to hide the true reason for the goodwill mission to U.N. His friend, Advocate Bawa, had unwittingly revealed the truth of the mission when he stated that it was going over to order to persuade the Pakistan Government to remain in touch with South Africa. Dadoo contended that was merely General Smuts' policy of attempting to divide Indian and Indian. When General Smuts had returned from U.N. he had first attempted to divide the Indian people in South Africa, he had thought that by the boycott of Indian traders the Indian traders would come running to him and on bended knees ask him to assist them. The resolute and sincere

(Continued on page 324)

THIRTY-NINE RESISTERS GO TO GAOL EUROPEANS DISPLAY HOOOLIGANISM

SENATOR BASNER AND INDIANS ASSAULTED
PRESS INDULGES IN HALF-TRUTHS TO HIDE THE TRUTH

THIRTY-NINE resisters, including five women, who courted arrest on Sunday, October 12, by trespassing on the Umbilo Road-Gale Street intersection, which is known as Resisters' plot, were sentenced on Monday by Mr. G. T. Stokes in the Durban Magistrate's Court to 15 or thirty days' imprisonment. This was the UNO watch to mark the opening of the session of United Nations Organisation at Lake Success, N. Y. Mr. J. V. A. ... hon. secretary ... in Congress, Mr. ... Rawat and Mr. Govindaswamy Na. ... of Johannesburg and Mr. D. A. Seedat and Mr. Billy Peters of Durban. All had chosen to go to gaol.

On Sunday night when the watch went to the plot to get arrested, an incident took place which reminded one of the beginning days of the struggle. The police came to the plot a short while after the watch had gone to the plot and, after arresting the resisters, gave them notice to appear before the Court the following morning. A crowd of a little over a hundred Europeans was present at the time and quite a good number of Indian spectators were also present. As the people were ... after the arrests there was a display of hooliganism by the crowd of Europeans. A dozen or more had set on individual Indians and had belaboured them with fists, blows and kicks. A thirteen-year-old ... was thrown down and kicked and was rescued in the ... which carried Dr. Dadoo, Stokes were also thrown at several cars. All this had taken place in and in the vicinity of Gale Street and there was no sign of any police. The incidents fortunately were not of ... report was made at the police

... aged 27, of ... Road, Clairwood, employed as salesman at Messrs. Chocobas Bros., Victoria Street, Durban, in a statement said:—

'After the resisters had been summoned to appear in Court at the Gale Street-Umbilo Road camp at about 8.45 p.m., I began making my way home towards the bus stop. I was attacked first by two European men in shorts and shirts, both using their hands on me with blows to my face, one from the back

and the other from the front. This sudden attack stunned me and while I stood a group of about twenty to thirty Europeans mobbed me, using hands and one a baton which I saved off with my left arm. I collected myself and tried to make off when an Indian car stopped and picked me up.'

While not publishing a single word of the assaults that had taken place the *Natal Mercury* published on Tuesday morning the following which contains half truths.

No incidents relating to assaults on the passive resisters at Gale Place occurred as far as the police are concerned, and none were reported by the Natal Indian Congress. Major I. F. Terblanche, District Commandant of Police in Durban, told the *Natal Mercury*. He said that strict instructions were given to the police to remain in the vicinity of Gale Place until at or the last of the resisters had left. The police on duty carried out these instructions and reported that no assaults or incidents of any violent nature had occurred.

Major Terblanche said that Dr. Naicker, president of the N.I.C., actually spoke to a senior police official at 11.30 on Sunday night. Although it was then more than an hour after the last of the passive resisters had left the vacant ground at Gale Place, Dr. Naicker made no complaints.

Major Terblanche said that accordingly there could be no truth whatsoever in the allegations of assaults made by the N.I.C.

In a statement issued by the Natal Indian Organisation, through Mr. C. M. Anglia, a member of the Working Committee, it is pointed out that Sunday's meeting of the Natal Indian Congress proved beyond doubt that the N.I.C. and the Transvaal, in an ... losing the support of the Indian community.

Mr. Anglia explains that the attendance on Sunday of 1,500 was only a small proportion of the numbers varying between 7,000 and 10,000 who attended such meetings last year.

It is also ... that ... a ... meeting at Albert Park. There is no doubt that a large number of those who attended the N.I.C. meeting did so out of curiosity

to hear Senator Basner's speech."

Mr. Anglia says that Dr. Naicker's admission that delegates have been sent to East Africa to raise financial support for the passive resistance movement proves to the hilt that the local Indians, who subscribed between ... last year have now withdrawn their support.

Assault On Senator Basner

After Sunday's meeting when Senator Basner was returning to Hotel Edward, where he was putting up, he was assaulted by one Mr. Norman Kuz, who is described as "a tall fat gentleman." This is how the *Natal Mercury* reports the incident:

Senator Basner told the *Natal Mercury* that when he walked to his hotel after addressing a meeting at Nicol Square in the afternoon, he was stopped by a "tall, fat gentleman" who asked him if he had addressed a meeting at Gray Street earlier.

"I said I was Senator Basner and he took a swing at me, breaking my glasses. Then he hit me again and that is all I remember," said Senator Basner.

Mr. Norman Kuz, of 453 Stamford Hill Road, Durban, who said that he had been the man who assaulted Senator Basner, told the *Natal Mercury* that that he had been driving along Commercial Road when he saw a crowd of Indians and banners which showed that a passive resisters' meeting was in progress.

He pulled his car over to the side of the road to hear what they were talking about. He saw Senator Basner in front of the microphone and took exception to words used by the Senator about General Smuts. He followed the Senator's car to the hotel and walked up to Senator Basner. After establishing his identity as the man who had addressed the meeting at Nicol Square, he demanded to see what he had said about General Smuts in front of the Europeans at the hotel entrance.

Mr. Kuz stated that Senator Basner then said "voetrek" and pushed him, tearing his coat. "Then I kicked him, and when I hit him again I laid him out," said Mr. Kuz.

Mr. J. N. Singh, acting secretary of the Passive Resistance Council, campained to the *Natal Mercury* of acts of violence and

stoning by Europeans at the passive resisters' site after the police had warned 39 passive resisters to appear in Court the next day.

He alleged a ... peants ... cars were damaged by stones, he said.

Capt. D. A. Bester, chief of the ... police had no knowledge of any assault of Indian passive resisters by Europeans that night. If such assaults had taken place it was only natural that the proper authorities would have been informed.

The only report that he had was of three Indians who were taken to hospital after a fight among Indians at the corner of Beatrice Street and Gray Street.

SUNDAY'S MASS MEETING

(Continued from page 318)

fulfilment of the Indians on the boycott issue had destroyed that hope. Next General Smuts had got Mr. Kajes to set up a puppet Indian organisation in the hope it would attract a section of the Indian people. This scheme had also fallen through. Now General Smuts was hoping to divide the two new dominions, but it was already clear that the scheme would go the way of the others. Mr. Kajes and his followers had made big song and dance about coal for Pakistan; they had wanted to know why Dr. Dadoo and Dr. Naicker were against coal being sent to Pakistan.

The Government of Pakistan had itself provided the necessary answer by refusing to accept the South African Government's offer to send forty thousand tons of coal.

Amid tremendous applause Dr. Dadoo said that both he and Dr. Naicker had been assured by Mr. Jinnah and by the Prime Minister of Pakistan that whatever differences there were between Pakistan and India, on the issue of South Africa Indians they were united and would give their support to the struggle of the South African Indians here. He stated that the Indian people were prepared to co-operate with the Government but not on terms of segregation and ... This act ... the Indian people, it would reduce them to slaves. Any Indian who co-operated with the Government on this act was not an Indian but an agent of the Government.

The issue before South Africa was either democracy or fascism. Democracy can only be won by the Indian people were given democratic rights.

India's Resolution On S.W.A. Issue

The Indian resolution on South West Africa, setting a time limit for the submission by the Union of a trusteeship agreement for the territory, was approved in the United Nations Trusteeship Committee by 27 votes to 20, with four abstentions.

The revised Indian and Danish resolutions were introduced in the Committee when the debate on South West Africa was resumed. Both resolutions say "Whereas in its resolution dated December 14, 1946, the General Assembly recommended for reasons given therein that the mandated territory of South West Africa be placed under international trusteeship and invited the Government of the Union of South Africa to propose for the consideration of the General Assembly a trusteeship agreement for the aforesaid territory

"Whereas the Government of the Union of South Africa has not carried out the aforesaid resolution of the United Nations;

"Whereas it is a fact that all other States administering territories held under mandate have placed these territories under a trusteeship system or offered them independence;

"Whereas the Government of the Union of South Africa, in a letter dated July 29, 1947, informs the United Nations that they have decided not to proceed with the incorporation of South West Africa, but maintain the status quo and to continue to administer the territory in the spirit of the existing mandate and that the Union Government have undertaken to submit reports on their administration for the information of the United Nations,

"The General Assembly of the United Nations takes note of the decision of the Union of South Africa not to proceed with the incorporation of South West Africa and firmly maintains its recommendations that South West Africa be placed under the trusteeship system."

The Indian delegate, Sir Mahabir Singh, told the Committee it was probable the Union Government would reject either resolution.

"In that case, it seems to have on record," India's resolution

which is more precise and somewhat stronger than the other resolution of the U.N.A.P.A.

ANNUAL APPEAL-1947

On behalf of the Natal Indian Blind Society, Mr. A. O. Lawson, the President, is making an appeal for financial assistance in carrying on the work of relief in cases of distress caused by blindness.

and the prevention of blindness and the care and training of the blind.

"When funds permit," Mr. Lawson states, we hope to erect a Home and Workshop for Indian blind on the plot kindly loaned by Mr. M. A. Motale. The Home will be the first of its kind to be established in the Union. The cost of the buildings and the equipment will amount to £1,000, and it is hoped, the

Department of Social Welfare will contribute two thirds of this amount, when convinced of the practical support of the Indian community. As secretaries and welfare work and provision for relief is given gratuitously and we feel that the work we are endeavouring to do amongst the blind, poor and neglected blind children of Natal is worthy of every consideration from the sympathetic and charitably minded public."



A VIEW OF LAST SUNDAY'S MEETING

Senator Basner is seen addressing the crowd

ગયા રવિવારની મીટીંગનું દ્રશ્ય

સેનટર બેસનર બાપજી હરી રથા છે.



GROUP OF PASSIVE RESISTERS

who were sentenced to 30 days imprisonment on Monday

સત્યાગ્રહીઓની ટુકડી

જેને ગયા સે મવાર ત્રીસ દિવાસની કેદની મત થઈ છે.

F.O.S.A.'S PROGRESS IN THE FIGHT AGAINST TUBERCULOSIS

IN his report to the sixth annual general meeting of Friends of the Sick Association, held last Saturday, Mr. Paul Bykes, chairman of FOSA, said: "It is certain that our work binds us together in an intimate and permanent way, for, as I look around, I see the faces of many who were with us when this work was started five, and now ten years ago. These were so generous in their support that we were able to start on a wide programme of work. There is more hope and less despair."

Since our last report, the general picture in the campaign against TB has been greatly filled in. We have however a great part still to play. There remains an enormous amount of work still to be tackled. The "Friends of the Sick" cannot complain if they say we have done a great deal. We have done much but as more efficient methods for dealing with the disease are employed, as greater numbers of trained personnel take their place in line, as the State makes itself more and more responsible for the needs of the community, so must we of the Association continually be putting more energy, more skill, greater efficiency into our work. Above all, the word service must take on ever new meanings of ever deeper significance. Every more vigorous translation into action, if we are to be worth our place in the general campaign, if we are to live up to the quality of the contribution we have undoubtedly made in the past.

Mr. Bykes stated that under the dynamic leadership of Dr. Henry Blackman, the Ministry for Health and the Union Health Department, the Union's Chief TB Officer, new aids and aids are almost daily coming into action against tuberculosis. But, he warned, the disease was nevertheless still on the increase, and warned that this would call for greater effort both on the part of the Association and the public if any impression is to be made on the preventive side. He added that the hospital accommodation picture at last looks hopeful. As a result of the excellent response to the appeal for nurse-aides more and more beds are being made available for the care of Indian TB sufferers. The work of the Union Health Centre Scheme, and the work of the Local Health Commissions, are all a part of the real headway in combating

disease and ill health. Doctors are being specially trained to man the development in TB and radiological services. Meanwhile, in the Cape, and a hospital in Kimberley will shortly be in operation as regional TB Hospitals.

Referring again to FOSA, Mr. Bykes added, "If a start were made to thank adequately all these generous people who have helped in ways great and small then this report would never be ready for printing. The work of the Friends of the Sick in all its branches and in every detail is the result of spontaneous giving by rich and poor, young and old, European and non-European, school child, teacher, business man, clerk, office boy, farmer's wife, Government servant in fact all sorts and conditions of men. Their thanks are written in faces with new hope, in bodies with renewed vigour in relief from anxiety and suffering. To that very beloved band of workers, The Friends of the Sick, who say thanks every minute they perform service, I ask where else such fellowship

could be found. FOSA has a great message for South Africa."

Inspiring addresses were given on "The Individual and the Community" and "The Social Leader" by the Rev. A. H. Zulu of St. Faith's Mission, and Mr. T. McG. Leyden, principal of the Technical High School.

A resolution, moved by Mrs. E. Kallio, was passed calling upon the Natal Provincial Administration to provide adequate facilities for the training of Indian girls for the general nursing certificate, and to this end to subsidise the St. Aidan's Mission, so that it may proceed with its plans for the provision of a proper Nurses' Home and lecture room with adequate training staff.

The following officials were elected for the ensuing year: Chairman, Mr. Paul O. Bykes, secretary Mr. Pat Pootallangam, treasurer Mr. L. E. H. Royce, committee: the chairman, secretary, treasurer, Messrs. A. G. Narayana, K. R. Nair and Mrs. V. Bykes, plus two representatives from each of the thirty-two Local Committees. Mr. V. S. V. Pillay and Dr. D. S. Mait are co-opted members of the committee.

MR. A. G. BOTTOMLEY AND HIS SOUTH AFRICAN TOUR

DR. A. B. XUMA, President General of the African National Congress, has sent the following statement to UNO.

Mr. A. G. Bottomley, Under-Secretary for Commonwealth Relations, has expressed satisfaction in Native Affairs in both South-West Africa and the Union of South Africa. He was specifically invited to make, as he himself said, a "constructive tour" of the Union of South Africa and South-West Africa. His statements and conclusions have given not only an impression and suspicion, but also concern on loving Europeans in South Africa. He seems to have been invited to share the opinion of his host and get no other views. It does not seem to have mattered with him whether or not he has seen and heard anything of the problem. He appears to have been content in making statements pleasing to his host notwithstanding facts to the contrary.

We presume Mr. Bottomley to be a fair-minded man and to

man anxious to see both sides of a question in order to come to a fair and just conclusion. We wonder why did he refuse to meet leaders of the Indian Congress in the Transvaal, although prepared to meet the other section of the Indians? We wonder how many African representative leaders he did see in West Africa, and if so, under what

conditions. He has expressed satisfaction about conditions there and also about the African attitude towards Europeans. Did he try to ascertain the views of African leaders—the Hereros, the Namas, and the Damaras of the mountains, as well as Boscians? Does he know that only people like him, Lord Hailor, the Prime Minister, Dr. Mait, and others have the privilege to enter South West Africa? Others are barred for the present.

In South Africa was he told that the Native Representative Council has been on strike since August 16, 1946, in their protest against what they called "the breach of faith by the Government"? Was he told that the African rejection of British proposals intended to make them administer their own oppression, domination and discrimination?

Did he find out anything about the so-called Native Industrial Conciliation Act, which robs African workers of all collective bargaining rights? Did he hear anything of the poor, slavery conditions of labour and treatment of African farm workers in Beaufort West and other districts? Does he know that as a result of the present builders' strike and as a result of refusal to recognise Africans as workers under the Industrial Conciliation Act, 1934, that 20,000 Africans have been starving for the whole period of the strike because they are not entitled to privileges of strike pay enjoyed by Europeans?

To be fair to all concerned and to give a balanced view, we challenge Mr. Bottomley to give the people of Britain and the United Nations the above mentioned facts.

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Indian Opinion

FRIDAY 24TH OCTOBER 1947

Help For India

THE calamity that has befallen India as a result of fratricidal war, cholera and floods, particularly in the Punjab, has naturally stirred the hearts of Indians all over the world. It has moved humanitarian Europeans too such as the Rt. Rev. Bishop Ferguson Davis, who has been trying to seek ways and means to render aid to the distressed. It was largely through his initiative that a Committee was formed last Monday night at a meeting held under the auspices of the Natal Indian Congress, to collect funds to procure medical supplies, warm apparel and blankets, which India is badly in need of. Pakistan has made an appeal to the world for medical supplies and even doctors. A central Pakistan relief Committee is already in existence and has sent quite a good deal of aid to Pakistan in cash and in kind. India has not made a world-wide appeal but is making herculean efforts to become self-reliant by getting every individual to be more industrious and to exercise economy. Work in this direction is being successfully carried on on a huge scale. Nevertheless it is the duty, not only of Indians, but all humanitarians of whatever race they may be, to do their bit in bringing relief to the distressed though however much they may send to

India will be but a drop in the ocean. Not long ago Britain was in great distress and South Africa as a whole acted spontaneously without waiting for a call and rendered magnificent aid to suffering humanity. Indians did not lag behind in doing their share. The present case is a similar one in which people of all races should act spontaneously. In the Transvaal the Pakistan Relief Committee and the Transvaal Hindu Seva Samaj have taken up the work of collecting contributions. In Natal too it would have been advisable to have independent social organisations to handle this matter rather than Congress, which is a political body composed of various ideologies. There may be unanimity in the Congress on the political question but it would not be quite correct to say that there is unanimity on all matters. There are other factors also which should be taken into account. One would have wished that there was complete amity between the two Dominions—Pakistan and India. Facts have, however, proved otherwise, however regrettable that may be. In dealing with the public from whom contributions are sought this is an essential fact which needs

to be borne in mind. It was in view of that that Bishop Ferguson Davis had very wisely suggested that the contributions should be earmarked for Pakistan and India so that people could contribute freely and liberally to whichever Dominion they chose to. But unfortunately there was a sharp division on the subject among the few that were present at the meeting and they could hardly be said to be representing the would-be contributors. If therefore, the Committee formed under the auspices of Congress desires, any measure of success, it will have to change its method of approach. The cause is worthy and should be whole-heartedly supported.

Transvaal Hindu Seva Samaj

APPEAL FOR INDIA

THE appalling plight of the Indian refugees in India has given an unprecedented shock to the entire Indian community in South Africa. After consultations with prominent people, the Transvaal Hindu Seva Samaj has decided to make an effort to contribute their quota towards the relief of the refugees in Punjab and other parts of India. The general committee of the Society has instructed the executive committee to enlist the support of all interested bodies and launch a country-wide campaign for a big collection. The Society is issuing an appeal for monetary and other help to people throughout the country for earliest response to India's call for relief. The

Society will be glad to accept help both in kind and money. The immediate need is for clothing and medical supplies, and it is expected that no objection will be raised by the authorities in issuing necessary permits for the consignments to India.

APPEAL AGAINST ASIATIC ACT SUCCEEDS

An Indian who occupied premises in a European area in Maritzburg after the day the Asiatic Land Tenure Act became effective (because it was made retrospective) but before the Act was promulgated, appealed successfully against a conviction in the Supreme Court, Maritzburg. The sentence was set aside and the matter remitted to the Magistrate.

Mr. B. Jasat, an Indian trader, was charged before a Maritzburg Magistrate with a contravention of the Act because he occupied 442 Proteamaria Street, Maritzburg, which fell within a European area.

He pleaded not guilty, but was found guilty and fined £5 or 10 days' imprisonment with hard labour. Mr. Jasat appealed.

He said he bought the property in 1942, and himself occupied it in April, 1944. During the interval it was occupied by Europeans.

Mr. A. A. Kennedy, for Mr. Jasat, said hardship had prevailed because Mr. Jasat had not obtained occupation because his tenants, protected by the War Measures Regulations, had refused to move although he had given them notice. He therefore did not get occupation until April, 1946.

The Asiatic Land Tenure Act had not then been promulgated but when it was, it was made retrospective and affected Mr. Jasat's occupation of his property.

The Magistrate, in his reasons, said he felt in the circumstances, the sentence he had imposed was too harsh.

JUNAGADH might be used as a "jumping-off ground" for disrupting the Indian Dominion by drives from Sindh in the north and Hyderabad in the south," said the Jam Sahab of Nawanshar last week at New Delhi. "This scheme came into my possession eight months ago, but I did not believe it, and, like everyone else, considered it fantastic. Nobody dreamt that Junagadh could possibly join Pakistan, but it has done so." He felt convinced that "the attempt in having a pocket in the vital flank of India is a definite attempt on the part of Qaid-e-Azam Jinnah and his advisers to seek to disrupt the unity, integrity and security of India which, if not checked in time, will assume a proportion which would make war inevitable between the two countries. War is at present unthinkable, but it seems the Qaid-e-Azam wants to force it on the Indian Dominion." The Government of India had suggested to the Pakistan Government that the matter of the State's accession should be decided according to the wishes of the people of the State, of which 98 per cent are Hindus. But this and a subsequent comment that there was no reply. The Government of India say that they have received representations from several seceding States and areas in Kathiawar that they apprehend danger to their security, and that large numbers of Hindus are fleeing from the Junagadh State. (They are not allowed to take any belongings with them.) The Government of India accept a referendum of the people. They are, and will always be, willing to find a solution of this complex and intractable problem by friendly discussion with the Dominion of Pakistan and the State of Junagadh. They have an obligation to protect the interests of the States and around Junagadh which have seceded to the Indian Dominion. This responsibility they will fully and faithfully discharge." Though the Premier of Pakistan denied the existence of any scheme of disruption of the Indian Dominion, there are many who share the Jam Sahab's belief that Pakistan was a war, and that this is just the time for attacking India from three sides. Armies and troops are brought to Junagadh from Pakistan by sea, and the State is utterly unsafe for Hindus who are fleeing on all sides.

'Inevitable'

"While it is true that the British Government's policy gives Indian States the right to accede to either India or Pakistan," says the *Times of India*, "the choice is prescribed by certain factors,

OUR INDIA LETTER

(FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT)

Baroda, October 2, 1947.

JUNAGADH DANGER TO INDIA

One of these is the geographical position of the seceding States."

In his address to the representatives of the Indian States at New Delhi on July 25, Lord Mountbatten put the situation very clearly. He declared: "But when I say that the Indian States are at liberty to link up with either of the Dominions, may I point out that there are certain geographical considerations which cannot be avoided."

In the memorandum presented by the Cabinet Mission to the Princes on May 12 last year, it was stated that "it will also strengthen the position of the States during this formative period if the various Governments which have not already done so take active steps to place themselves in close and constant touch with public opinion in their States by means of representative institutions."

"In deciding to accede to Pakistan," says the *Times of India*, "Junagadh has followed neither of these courses. The attitude of its Government is, frankly, irresponsible. The essential People's Government, formed at Bombay under the leadership of Shri Bhamandas Ganjhi (Mahatma Gandhi's nephew), has taken possession of the Junagadh House at Rajkot, and has appealed to the Princes of Kathiawar to recognise the People's Government."

India And Pakistan

Referring to the future composition of the States, "Quidius," an impartial observer, writes in the *Times of India*: "Thanks to the virtual transfer of population that has resulted from murder, arson and loot, Western Punjab will shortly become a theocratic State if it is not already one. Its population will consist almost exclusively of Muslims. The Indian Dominion on the other hand, continues to be a secular State in concept and in fact. The fundamental rights adopted by the Indian Constituent Assembly makes this clear. In spite of the large migration of Muslims to Pakistan in recent weeks, millions of Muslims remain and most remain in India. Except those resident in East Punjab and in the area immediately to the east, Muslims in India have had no cause to leave; nor do they wish to leave. At all events, Pakistan obviously cannot absorb several millions of Muslim emigres from India. Mr. Jinnah's All India well known

the reasons for his panicky plea to "check this stampede."

"It is not enough for the Muslims in India," says the writer, "to say that they are loyal to the Indian Union. What is needed to remove confusion is a negative assertion by them that they do not owe allegiance to Pakistan. That alone will remove the control of loyalists inherent in the present circumstances. . . . It won't do for a minority to collect and use arms and ammunition (including some heavy ordnance) as was done by Delhi Muslims. If it is a slogan to create Pakistan and not a fact, then it is up to Pakistan to become a truly secular State and not permit conditions which force the non-Muslims to live in safety. Neither in act nor in word have the Pakistan authorities been as ruthless as those in India in checking the lawlessness of their own people. Leaders of Pakistan have all along exaggerated the events in India and underestimated those in their own territory. All this must change, and something tonight's must be forthcoming if the non-Muslim minorities are to persuade themselves to return. . . . It is Pakistan's turn to translate this slogan into action."

Congress Declaration

The Congress Working Committee made its own attitude clear beyond doubt in a statement issued on the 24th, in the course of which it says: "The Working Committee cannot find words strong enough to condemn those inhuman acts, by whatever community perpetrated." Bolstering their attitude regarding the fundamental nationalist character of the Congress, the Committee says: "India is a land of many religions and many races and must remain so. If she is to fulfil her destiny, she can do it only as a democratic State where all citizens enjoy full rights and are equally entitled to the protection of the State, irrespective of the religion to which they belong. . . . The Congress wants to assure the minorities in India that so far as the Congress Government is concerned, it will continue to protect to the best of its ability their citizen rights against aggression, but it expects from them the same allegiance and loyalty to the State as from the majority community. No State can tolerate the existence within its borders of disloyal

elements. Full facilities shall be provided to those who wish to migrate from the Indian Union."

Muslims in India

Minorities who are loyal have nothing to fear. Two of the Union Cabinet ministers are Muslims. The acting Chief Justice of the Bombay High Court—the first Indian to be appointed as a High Court Chief Justice—is a Muslim, Mr. Chagla. One of the representatives of India at the U.N.O., Mr. Justice Fazl Ali, is a Muslim. India's ambassador in America, Mr. Asaf Ali, is a Muslim. Two Ministers in the Bihar Cabinet are Muslims. The Governor of Assam—a province in the Indian Union, Sir A. Hydari, is a Muslim. In Bombay at present, the Mayor, the Sheriff, and the Police Commissioner, are all Parsis; and, recently, the Acting Governor, too, was a Parsi—Sir Homi Mody. Sir Homi Mody and Sir Cowasji Jehangir made appreciative references to the wisdom of those members of the minority communities as the Acting Governor and the Acting Chief Justice. Some Muslim bodies have now begun to declare their loyalty to the Indian Union. Every Muslim in India, says the President of the Bombay Suburban District Muslim League, has got to choose between India and Pakistan. As a citizen of India, it is not open to him to look to Pakistan for support. Those who do not subscribe to this view must migrate to Pakistan, to their own interests and in the interests of those who choose to throw their lot in with India. . . . Once a Muslim decides to remain as a citizen of India, he must owe allegiance to it. If he harbours any ill-will towards his own State, he deserves to be treated as a fifth columnist. Any act of sabotage on his part is bound to entail dire consequences on him. The Indian Government were bound to do their utmost and should not ignore the ill treatment of Hindus and Sikhs in Pakistan, said Ganjhi. But they were not to drive away the Muslims and copy the methods of Pakistan. If the Muslims are persecuted in India, and if the Government would kill them. It was, he said, the biggest offence in any State and no State could harbour traitors. It was, all the same, unbecoming to turn out men on soap suds.

Mr. Latifur Rahman, Leader of the Muslim League Party in the Orissa Assembly, says that the Muslims of the Indian Union now realise that they have to take a stand by supporting the Government of India and urge the Muslims to forget the two-nation theory and owe allegiance to the Indian Union. "The sponsors of Pakistan," says Mr.

Rahman, "forgot the pledge given to the minorities, and in the exuberance of joy committed acts which led the non-Muslim minorities to apprehend danger at the hands of the Muslim majority."

Gandhiji In Delhi

"We want peace with our Hindu brothers, we want you to unite as both as brethren," said a spokesman of Amulima to Gandhiji, while he was on an a visit to various localities in Delhi. He asked them to shed fear and live with brotherly feeling with the Hindus and Sikhs. The Muslims loudly cheered him, and shouted slogans like 'Mahatma Gandhi Zindabad' 'Pride of the Nation,' and 'Father of Independent India.'

Gandhiji has expressed his 'disinclination' emphatically from any proposal to spend any money on preparing a statue of me, especially when people do not have enough food and clothing.'

On the 21st he said that so long as there was breath in his body, he would continue to advise against any idea of hauling Maulana from India. On the 22nd he made an impromptu appeal to the Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims in Delhi to meet together in a friendly embrace and set a noble example to the rest of India, nay to the whole world. The people, he said on the 24th, should leave matters to their own Governments and should not take the law into their own hands. "If one Dominion behaves correctly all along the line, it will force the other to do likewise. It will have the whole world behind it."

I hold that not a single mention of war in my speeches can be interpreted to mean that there was any involvement to, or approval of, war between Pakistan and the India. I am aware of the fact that on the 24th, "India knows, the world should, that every ounce of my energy has been and is being devoted to the definite avoidance of fratricide culminating in war. When a man vowed to non violence as the law governing human beings came to refer to war, he can only do so to stress every fibre in and it. Such is my fondness for the position from which I never hope to swerve even to my

Nobru Speaks

"Every person, Hindu or Muslim, who is loyal to India has a right to stay in this country, and I will be the duty and endeavour of the State to protect him and his interests," said Pandit Nehru. Muslims who really considered this to be their own country and did not look to any outside agency for help were welcome to

live in India, he said. But, at the same time, those who were disloyal to the country had no place here, and Government would give them full facilities to migrate to a land of their choosing. He appealed to the people to stop the fratricidal war and work for peace in the country. He pleaded for toleration which, he said, would alone lead to peace and prosperity.

Tributes To Gandhiji

The 78th birthday of Gandhi, was celebrated with great excitement over India and tributes were paid to him by many eminent persons. I was in his mission of peace in Colombia and not in his activities in Champaran, Gandhi or South Africa that Mahatma Gandhi's glory became the greatest, said Shri G. Rajagopalachari.

If India had become awake and adventurous, it was to no small extent due to the work of Mahatma Gandhi, said Mr. B. Chakravarty.

Friday Mahatma Gandhi stands for the establishment of the rule of justice in the Indian Union as well as in "the east," said Mr. H. H. Sobhrawardy. He said that Mahatma Gandhi was the hope of the oppressed and the helpless, and that, if his doctrine was not followed, both the Dominions were sure to go up in flames and independence would have been lost before it was gained.

In London, Prof Harold Lask, said: "Mahatma Gandhi belongs to that rare group of men whose mind and heart have affected the consciousness of the world."

Mr. Reagan I sincerely said:
"He is a gift of India to our
common humanity. All who
cherish the true values of human
life are for ever profoundly
grateful."

Pandit Nehru recalled the great lesson of non violence taught by "the greatest man of the world and father of the Indian nation."

Acharya Kripalani said: "In the darkness that surrounds us, Gandhiji is the only ray of light that points the way. In the confusion that prevails, he is the only voice that does not falter."

In Bombay, members of all communities joined in the same traditions.

In London Sir Stafford Cripps said the outlook of the world would be far happier than it was if only everybody "could have the spirit, the courage and the determination which Mahatma Gandhi has shown in these times." He held out as "a model to the world" Mahatma Gandhi's "remarkable success in Ontario in putting down the lawgivers that had arisen there."

The London Times wrote: "Mr. Gandhi's conduct is often in contrast with Western standards but he is a pleasure to be around, for his personality and his creed appeal to emotions that are fundamental to their outlook on life. In this lies his strength."

Hit Own Utterances

On the 30th Gandhi said it was the duty of the Indian Government to give protection to those who looked up to it or resign. It was for the people to strengthen the hands of the Government. He suggested to the Pakistan authorities to "inspire the minorities with confidence in their safety" and "to keep the ~~the~~ proper trust for the advance."

On the 2nd, which was his birthday, Gandhi poured out the agony of his heart. Referring to the congratulations he had received, he said: "Where did the congratulations come in? Would it not be more appropriate to send condolences?" He had nothing but agony in his heart. Time was when the masses followed whatever he said. Today he was a lone voice. He can't get his whole heart and his mind married the almost

Replying to Mr. Churchill, Goodrich said on the 5th that India consisted of seven lakhs of villages—Those seven lakhs of villages had not run amok. But supposing that they did, would that be a justification for reducing India to slavery? Was it only the good who had a right to freedom? He concluded by saying that if the Hindus and Muslims continued to be enemies of one another, it was bound to lead to war which would mean the ruin of both the Dominions.

Union's Declarations

In a series of speeches made at Delhi Pandit Nehru has clarified the attitude of the Indian Union on the question of the day. As long as he was at the helm of affairs, he said, India would not become a Hindu State. "The very idea of a theocratic State is not only medieval but also stupid. The Government and the Congress will not at any cost allow India to become a theocratic State. A Hindu raj will mean turning back the clock by 500 years. That would strike at the very heart of the ideals of democracy, equality and liberty for which we fought so hard and which at last we have incorporated in our constitution." The Government could do nothing against another country, he said, if all their strength was required for maintaining peace at home. By indulging in private retaliation the people were merely preventing the Government from doing

internal and external, that [redacted] exploited the country at present. If the people continued to take the law into their own hands, the result would be absolute anarchy. India could not depend upon any other country for help in her million ills. In fact other countries would be ready to exploit the situation to their own advantage. He announced that provisions in the policy were [redacted] to shake the foundations of even a well established Government. Peace was essential before India's wealth could be

GANDHIJI ON BRITISHERS IN INDIA

New Delhi, Tuesday,
44 "THE duty of all of us is
to regard with special
attention all Britishers who
choose to remain in India as
its faithful servants," said
Gandhiji at his prayer meet-
ing on Monday night. "They
must be free from every kind
of insult or disregard."

Gandhiji was concerned on a letter he had received from an unnamed subject, which stated: "Secret word has gone out that all the British left in India are to be murdered."

Gandhi said: "It may be only a scare and there may be nothing beyond it. There may be no secret motive. There is prudence, however, in not disregarding warnings. I hope the writer's fears are wholly groundless. I agree with him that all promise of protection by the authorities in isolated places is in vain. Protection must come first from within—that is, from faith in God, and secondly, from the goodwill of the neighbouring population. If either is present the best and safest way is to leave India's inhospitable shore. Things have not come to such a pass."—*Review*

multipled and equitably distributed among the people.

Communal Situations

Muslims of the Indian Union most be grateful to Mahatma Gandhi for what he had done for them, said Chandhyi Khaili, a prominent Muslim leader in the Indian Councils Joint Assembly. A joint declaration presented to Gandhi, which was signed by 59 prominent leaders of Delhi-Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs—says: "We are one nation and resolutely oppose the theory of two nations. We are loyal to the Indian Union, and will try

to preserve peace and prevent any further rioting and to preserve India's freedom. We also condemn the atrocities so far perpetrated. We will lay down our lives in opposition to isolation.

"By far the greater part of the country is at peace and settling down to its new life; in Bombay, one of the major danger spots, a transformation has almost miraculously occurred," says the *Times of India*. Referring to Pandit Nehru's speech he adds: "These clear and unambiguous statements deserve a reiteration from Pakistan instead of complaints to the British Commonwealth and to the United Nations which are grossly concerned only in making the country as a whole."

Nationalist Party Resolutions - On Indian Question

At the Free State Congress of the Nationalist Party which met on Tuesday at Bloomington the President Senator M. J. Vermeulen, reported to have said, the times were so grave that it was no longer a question of one Party defeating another but a question of the survival of White civilisation. The Congress voted on the Government to break with it if it continued with a policy of intervention. Several resolutions on the Indian question were adopted.

The Government should allow any Indian, Native or Coloured person to sit in Parliament, or provincial or municipal councils.

Indians should be barred from acquiring further land property, and auction should be closed against them as long as India persists with her present policy.

It was also to be expected at Government Congress, which associated itself with the Indian boycott movement in other

Two Muslims League leaders of Bihar have appealed to Bihar Muslims in particular and Muslims of India in general to forego cow slaughter on the Bakrid festival. We also appeal to the Hindus not to stop it by force. Where force fails only love succeeds. Similar appeals have been made by five national Muslim leaders of Bombay, the All India Muslim Qaidi Union Association and others, and it is likely that they will meet with a good response.

Mr. K. M. Ali, M.L.A. (U.P.) asks the Muslims in the Indian Union to "categorically come forward to denounce and repudiate

the League leadership which continues to reveal the innocent Muslim mind and is playing havoc with their life and property." "The millenium for which the Muslim rank and file were made the tools of unscrupulous League leaders has turned out to be a mirage, and the Muslim masses who were fed by them with the gospel of hatred and animosity towards the majority community find themselves in a state of utter helplessness and are confronted with the grim realities of the situation." He urged Muslims to help the refugees, thus demonstrating to the Hindus their desire to stand by them and make their case the case of Muslims also.

Mr. Abdul Qayyum Ansari, President of the All India Muslim Conference and a Minister of Bihar said that the Muslims had committed a sin by vivisectioning India; this sin could be washed away only if the Muslims themselves made endeavours and sacrifices to reunite the vivisectioned land.

Mr. A. K. Azam, M.L.A. (Guzrat), says it was expected that with the division of India and the creation of Pakistan, League leaders would feel the burden of responsibility and quit gracefully. But unfortunately they have not done so. He said "to make a public denunciation of such utterances."

The Cochin Constitutional Advisory Committee has recommended joint electorate with reservation of seats. It is rather anomalous that the Mysore State has joint electorate provided for in the proposed State constitution.

Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant, the U.P. Premier, said that whether Muslims of the Indian Union would shed their blood fighting Pakistan troops if Pakistan invaded India was the real test of their loyalty. Three Muslims who had even a shadow of doubt in their minds had better migrate to Pakistan. He assured the Muslim minority all peace and security, but added that only those who professed hundred per cent loyalty to the Indian Union could have a place in the State.

Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, on the other hand, is believed to have communicated to the Government that the Pakistan Government was not prepared to take in any refugees into Pakistan other than those who came from the Punjab. For the present at any rate, the Dominion of Pakistan would only take in Muslim refugees from East Punjab and the East Punjab States such as Patiala, Jind, Faridkot and Nabha. During his recent

talks with the representatives of the Government of India, the Pakistan Premier, it is understood, left no doubt that his Government would resist the coming in of any Muslims beyond East Punjab to Pakistan. A natural secretary of the stand taken by the Pakistan Government, according to an A.P.I. message from New Delhi, is interpreted in the political quarters in New Delhi to mean that Pakistan, for the establishment of which an overwhelming majority of Muslims in the Indian Dominion worked, is closed for them.

An Oase In The Desert

A message from Jullundur says that in the hilly regions of Hoshiarpur district and Hamirpore the Hindu and Sikh Rajputs gave all help and protection to their Muslim neighbours. They not only offered them shelter but fed them and protected their property. When the Muslim supply decided to go to the refugee camps, they undertook to protect their property in their absence. Many Muslims in confidence, it is reported, have left the keys of their houses with the Hindu neighbours.

Jamagadh

In reply to two statements of the Government of India, the Pakistan Government have issued a statement in which they say that on the lapse of paramountcy every Indian State became independent and sovereign and free to join either Pakistan or India. Jamagadh, therefore, had every right to accede to Pakistan. Neither Mangrol nor Babariawad has any independent constitutional status and therefore are not free to accede to any Dominion on their own initiative. There can be no argument in regard to the legal right of Jamagadh to accede to Pakistan. The Pakistan Government are willing to refer for opinion such subsidiary matters as the legality or otherwise of Mangrol and Babariawad's accession to the Indian Union. A condition precedent to any attempt at amicable settlement, however, is the immediate withdrawal of all troops by the Government of India from Sardargarh and Bantwa and other small talukas in the area. The Pakistan Government are willing to discuss conditions and circumstances in which plebiscite should be taken by any State or States.

The Government of India's position, however, is understood to be, says the Special Representative of the *Times of India*, that they adhere to their original stand—that only the people of Jamagadh could determine the future of the State. And, therefore, they would not recognise the personal decision of the ruler of Jamagadh to accede to Pakistan.

The Government of India are prepared to abide by a properly ascertained verdict of the people of the State on this issue, whatever that verdict might be. Likewise, the Government of India are willing to apply the same lenient principle in the case of Babariawad and Mangrol, the two feudatory States of Jamagadh which have acceded to the Indian Union.

As regards the accession of Babariawad and Mangrol to the Indian Union, the Government of India maintain that these two States are legally and constitutionally competent to accede to the Indian Union. It is understood that this view is supported by one of the highest British embassies in constant contact with the Government of India.

The contention is that, following the lapse of British Paramountcy, all treaties including those subordinate ones entered into between a larger State and a smaller one which were based on recognition by the British suzerain also lapse. In this connection the precedent is instance of Chitral, a feudatory State of Kashmir, which severed its 93 year old treaty-based connection with Kashmir and acceded to Pakistan.

MORE RESISTERS GO TO GAOL

FIVE Indians who were arrested on Monday night for trespassing on Corporation land appeared before Court the following day and were all sentenced as usual to £3 or 30 days imprisonment. All went in gaol. The batch included one woman. Three resistors came from Johannesburg and two from Meritzburg. One of the Maritzburg resistors was Mr. K. M. Pillay, chief honorary secretary of the Maritzburg branch of the Indian National Congress.

Another batch of five resistors were arrested on Wednesday night. On Sunday night a batch of twenty five resistors will court imprisonment.

The total number sentenced up to date is 184 of whom 154 are men and 30 are women.

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Things In General

DIMES. And City Council Dispute

An application by the Dimes Council asking that the appointment of Professor H. H. Harrows of Natal University as sole arbitrator in dispute between the Durban Indian Municipal Employees' Society and the Council be declared null and void was made in the Maritzburg Supreme Court. Dr. Colin Steyn, Minister of Labour, who approved the appointment, the Durban Municipal Employees' Society were ordered to reimburse. The matter arises out of a dispute between the Society and the Council in the matter of administering a library, built in 1946, at Magdalen Barracks, Durban, where 1,100 of the Municipality's 2,400 Indian employees are living. Because of the dispute the Society applied to the Minister for the appointment of a Conciliation Board to settle the matter, and eventually in June, Professor Harrows was appointed arbitrator. In an affidavit, Mr. John McIntyre, Town Clerk of Durban, submitted that the Minister had no authority to

appoint a Conciliation Board, and its appointment was, in law, a duty. A Judge has pronounced that therefore were null and void. Judgment was reserved.

Hindu Veda Dharma Sabha

Under the auspices of the Lower Tagula District Hindu Veda Dharma Sabha over 200 persons assembled at the Natal Club, Manager, when the National Day was hoisted by Mr. Maganlal Patel. Mr. A. P. Naidoo, the chairman of the Sabha, exhorted the audience to become more conscious of their religion, which he felt was the only means of building the Hindu community. Mr. B. Kropatsch said it was the duty of every Hindu to follow his religion thereby strengthening the community as a whole. Other speakers who appealed for the solidarity of the Hindus were Messrs. P. M. Krishna and V. D. Pillay. Mr. P. M. Krishna read the "Hindu Pledge" in English, which was repeated by the audience.

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DO NOT SPOIL BAGS

THEY ARE NEEDED TO CARRY FOOD FROM FARMS TO MILLS
AND STORES AND TO YOU

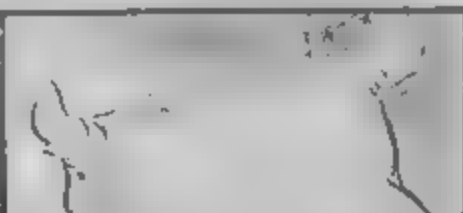
NO BAGS NO FOOD

THIS IS WRONG



To a man uses a knife to cut the bag when
he opens it—bag is spoiled.

THIS IS RIGHT



To a man uses the bag by opening it
carefully—bag is good.



This man is dragging the bag along the
ground. The other man is throwing the bag
down.



This man is throwing the bag down and
spoiling it.



This man is washing the bag with water. The
bags are spoiled. Others are spoiled by
water and insects. He has lost good food and
the bags are wasted.



This man shakes after his food bags
thoroughly. He does not waste food
bags.



This man has lost and spoiled all his
bags—now he cannot get more food.



This man brings back his empty bags and
gets a token for them. Now he can buy
more bags for food.

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હિંદને મદદ

ભા હિંદ, બાઇબેલના યુના-
નરકી કે.લેસ અને
રેલ સંકટના પરિણામે હિંદ પર
આમ કરી પંજાબમાં આવી
પહેલી આફતથી હુનીયાના સમગ્ર
હિંદીઓના હૃદયો ક્ષમાર્થક રીત
હલી ઉઠવા છે. રાષ્ટ્ર દેવ-
નીકપ કુચ્છુસન ઠેવી જેવા
આનર્થમેસ યુરોપીયનોના હૃદય પહો
હલી મયાં છે અને દુઃખીઓને
કઈ રીતે મદદ કરી શકાય તેના
માનો શોધી રહ્યા છે. હવાદાર,
બદમ કપડાં અને કામળા, કે જેની
હિંદને પહોં જરૂર છે, તે મેળવવાને
કાળે કરવા ન ટાલે ઈન્ડિયન
હેરિટાજ આમથ હેડળ બધા સોમ-
વારે મળેલી યંત્રીઓમાં બેઠક કમીટી
સ્થપાઈ તે મેટે બાએ તેમનીજ
પહેલથી સ્થપાઈ હતી. પાકીસ્તાને
તો હવા કાર અને કાકતરો આટે
પહો હુનીયામરને અપીલ કરી છે.
મેને અમે એક સેન્ટ્રલ પાકીસ્તાન
રીસીડ કમીટી હસ્તી થયાવી વહી
છે અને નાજી તેમજ વસ્તુની
મેટ પ્રમથન. પાકીસ્તાને મદદ
માફકી છે. હિંદે હુનીયામરને
અપીલ નથી કરી પરંતુ હરેકે
હરેક વ્યક્તિને કહ્યો જન વી અને
તેની પાસે કચેકચરે કયાવી હેરને
સ્વઅથી બનાવવાનું મદદ પ્રવાને,
થઈ રહ્યા છે. આ હિંદ એ મે.ટા
પાવાપર સફળતાથી કામ આવી
રહ્યું છે. તેમ જતાં, દુઃખીઓને
શકવ આપવાની માત્ર હિંદીઓની
જ નાંક પરંતુ હરેકે કચેક કાતીના
સમજા માનવીઓની જરૂર છે.

એ કે હિંદને બધે તેટલી મદદ
માફકવામાં આવે તે સમુદ્રમાં
ટીપાં જેટલીજ અણુઓ. કુલ
સમયપર જવા દે પ્રાંતનું મદદના
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વગર આ પ મેટા નામન મને
ને સુદર કાળે. મેકલી આપ્યો.
હતો. એ સમયે હિંદીઓએ પોતા
નો હિંદ એ આપવામાં પાળી પાળી
નહોતી કરી. પરંતુ જાનવે.
પણ તેન. જે જ છે જેમા સમગી
ભતીના હોઠાએ આપોઆપજ
કામ કરતા થઈ જવાની જરૂર
છે ટ્રાંસવાલમ. પરંતુ ના રીલીક
કમીટી અને ટ્રાંસવાલ હોઠા મેવા
સમાજે કાળાનું કામ કાઢી લીધું
છે. નાટકમાં થયું આ કામ
નાટક ઈન્ડિયન હેરિટાજે બહો
રવાન ના.મ.લક મદદના.આમ
કાકાવી લીધેલું કોલ તો વધારે સાફ
અણવ. કોલેસ એ એક રાજકીય
સંસ્થા છે અને અનેક મતવારે
ની બનેલી છે. રાજકીય સંવાલ
પર કહાય તેમાં એકમત વળતો.
હયે પરંતુ સમગી બાબતોમાં
એકમત વળે છે એમ જ કહી
શકાય. એ સિવાય બીજી મળતો.
પણ ક્યાનમાં હોવાની જરૂર છે.
પાકીસ્તાન અને હિંદ એ બન્ને
સંસ્થાને વચ્ચે એમણાસ વળતો.
હોય એમ સો કોઈ કચેક પરંતુ
અમે તેટલું બેદજનક હોય છતા
કહીકતો એથી વિકલ સિદ્ધ કરી
રહી છે. જનતા કે જેની પાસેથી

કાળાની આસા રાજવામાં આવે
છે તેની પાસેથી કામ હોવામાં આ
વસ્તુનો ક્યાલ કરવો એમણે.
એજ પ્રકારે બીજા કુચ્છુસન
ઠેવીએ કહી પહો સુચ્છુસન
કે જેને પાકીસ્તાને આટે કાળે
આપ્યો હોય તે પાકીસ્તાને આટે
આપે અને હિંદને આપ્યો હોય
તે હિંદને આપે. તેમ કરવાથી
હોઠા કુટલી અને કહારતાથી
આવી શકશે. પરંતુ કમલચીએ
મીટીંગમાં કાજર અમલો થોડા
થોડામાં આ બાબતમાં મેટે
મતલેક વર્યો. હતો અને તેજો
ભતી કાન રોલ પ્રતિનિધીત્વ
જવાબદારી કાલે અમ નજ કદી
શકાય. આથી કોલેસના આમથ
હેડળ સ્થાપાલથી કમીટી પેતે
કોલેસા કાલેસા સફળતા પ્રમથની
હોય તો પોતાની રીત તેજો બહોલી
એમણે. અહુદય ઠેકા આપવા
જેવી આ બાબત છે એ વિચે હયો.
સહેક હોય નહિ

એશીયાટીક લેન્ડ ટેન્ચર એક વીરલ કહેજા થયેલી અપીલ

એશીયાટીક લેન્ડ ટેન્ચર એક અમલ
માં આવ્યો તેને બાળે દીવલે એક
દીવી મેરીટમનેમા પુરે. દીવલે કાળ
માં મક નમે કાજારો જરાવતો કોમા
વી મેટરફેડ કોરેમા તેને સમ થલ
કાલી એ ના.મ.લક મદદના.આમ
કાકાવી લીધેલું કોલ તો વધારે સાફ
અણવ. કોલેસ એ એક રાજકીય
સંસ્થા છે અને અનેક મતવારે
ની બનેલી છે. રાજકીય સંવાલ
પર કહાય તેમાં એકમત વળતો.
હયે પરંતુ સમગી બાબતોમાં
એકમત વળે છે એમ જ કહી
શકાય. એ સિવાય બીજી મળતો.
પણ ક્યાનમાં હોવાની જરૂર છે.
પાકીસ્તાન અને હિંદ એ બન્ને
સંસ્થાને વચ્ચે એમણાસ વળતો.
હોય એમ સો કોઈ કચેક પરંતુ
અમે તેટલું બેદજનક હોય છતા
કહીકતો એથી વિકલ સિદ્ધ કરી
રહી છે. જનતા કે જેની પાસેથી

મી. જસ.વ તરારી મી. એ એ
સેક્રીએ કહ્યું કે મી. જસ.વના કાકા
પુલ અંગેના પાર.ઓ.પી. રક્ષાપલ કોવર
થી તેમનાથી એ મહાનનો બે.અવરો
કરવાનું બની કહ્યું મદદનું કેમકે ને.લીક
આપવા કર્યા કાકુને તે આવી કપુ
નહોતું. આથી એમણે ૧૯૪૬ સુધી
તેમની બ.અવરો વહ રાવો નહોતો.
એ બખતે એશીયાટીક કાકા કહ્યું
અમલમ મુદત નદે ૧૫ વગુ કપારે
મુકાબે કાકી તે રક્ષાપલેલી કોવાથી
મી. જસ.વને તે કાકુ પાવો કહો.
જસ.વ કપુ કે આ ન તમે મ
મેટરફેડે ફરતી સમ કખત હતી

હિંદમાં બ્રીટીશરોપર માધીલ

સામવારની સાંજે પ્રાથેનાની
મહામા મેલમને કરતા મધીલએ
કહ્યું કવું કે “એ બ્રીટીશરો હિંદના
મહામા મેલમને તરીકે આ રેલમાં
રહેવા માફતા હોય તેઓના તરફ
માલ જવાનું હોવાની આપણા હોની
હરજ છે. તેઓવું રેલ પહો પ્રકારે
અપમાન થવું નહીં એમણે.” એક
મીટીંગ પરપર મળેલ નામ
કચળાપર રીક કરતા મધીલ આ
પ્રમાણે બોલ્યા હતા. એ કામળા
અવું જાણવતમાં આવ્યું હવું કે
ક.તમા નહોતા સમજા ૧૬ નામે ન
પુત કરી. બા.તના મું. સુમના
અપમાન ના.મ.લક મદદના.આમ
કાકાવી લીધેલું કોલ તો વધારે સાફ
અણવ. કોલેસ એ એક રાજકીય
સંસ્થા છે અને અનેક મતવારે
ની બનેલી છે. રાજકીય સંવાલ
પર કહાય તેમાં એકમત વળતો.
હયે પરંતુ સમગી બાબતોમાં
એકમત વળે છે એમ જ કહી
શકાય. એ સિવાય બીજી મળતો.
પણ ક્યાનમાં હોવાની જરૂર છે.
પાકીસ્તાન અને હિંદ એ બન્ને
સંસ્થાને વચ્ચે એમણાસ વળતો.
હોય એમ સો કોઈ કચેક પરંતુ
અમે તેટલું બેદજનક હોય છતા
કહીકતો એથી વિકલ સિદ્ધ કરી
રહી છે. જનતા કે જેની પાસેથી

પ્રમાદને વિના કાલીએ સ્વીકારવી
નહોતી. તે પછીજ કાલીપાવામાં ભોજ-
નાથેલી હોદી ફેંકીને, પ્રભુ અર્ધ-
ઠાકા, બાબરીપાવા અને મામદે, જ
તે હોદી સુધમાં બેઠાણી કાપદેસર
જે, અને તે જગેને વેળ ફરવાને પુરે.

ਘ ਘ ਰ ਘ ਝੇ

કુસામ (રોડેસીયા) ખાં ગાંભી
૪૬ તિ

જીવિયા જાડઅને દીવસે શુભલાગી
 હો કુ એસાસીએતનન આઠાવે હંકળ
 માધી જળાંગ મી. દેસાઈ, પાવેખાન
 દેવનજલ હેતેજા 'કાલજા' ના બધા
 કાળી. નાદીકા, સંજલ, જાલીકાઆને
 સરખી પિયેરે કાલેજા રોખાવ, બા જાડ
 રાજનજા મ મનજાવુ હા જીવારે
 પિત્રી એકાનાં જાળાવુ હા જી. જાને
 જાકજા, કાંઈ જાકાસુ, પીરલાઈ જાડી
 જાને સેવા જાવનાના, શુદ્ધ એક જા
 જાડી. શુદ્ધ આઠાવે જા જાવ જાડ
 જા જાડી કુડીયા સમજા જાકુ હા જા

१६६६ २५६६ ५६६ ६६६ ७६६ ८६६ ९६६
 १०६६ ११६६ १२६६ १३६६ १४६६ १५६६ १६६६
 १७६६ १८६६ १९६६ २०६६ २१६६ २२६६ २३६६
 २४६६ २५६६ २६६६ २७६६ २८६६ २९६६ ३०६६
 ३१६६ ३२६६ ३३६६ ३४६६ ३५६६ ३६६६ ३७६६
 ३८६६ ३९६६ ४०६६ ४१६६ ४२६६ ४३६६ ४४६६
 ४५६६ ४६६६ ४७६६ ४८६६ ४९६६ ५०६६ ५१६६
 ५२६६ ५३६६ ५४६६ ५५६६ ५६६६ ५७६६ ५८६६
 ५९६६ ६०६६ ६१६६ ६२६६ ६३६६ ६४६६ ६५६६
 ६६६६ ६७६६ ६८६६ ६९६६ ७०६६ ७१६६ ७२६६
 ७३६६ ७४६६ ७५६६ ७६६६ ७७६६ ७८६६ ७९६६
 ८०६६ ८१६६ ८२६६ ८३६६ ८४६६ ८५६६ ८६६६
 ८७६६ ८८६६ ८९६६ ९०६६ ९१६६ ९२६६ ९३६६
 ९४६६ ९५६६ ९६६६ ९७६६ ९८६६ ९९६६ १००६६

॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥
 श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥
 श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥
 श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥

આભાર પૂર્વેથી ૧૮૪૮ સુધી,
મહાભારતે મારા મન પૂર્ણ છે એમ,
૧૮૪૯ પૂર્વેથી મારે મન એક જીવે!
૭૧

[illegible]

ସଞ୍ଜୁ ନାମକ ଡାକ୍ତରୀର ଡି. ଆର୍. ଡି. ସରକାରୀ
ସ୍ଥାପନାରେ ସଞ୍ଜୁ ନାମକ ଡାକ୍ତରୀର ଡି. ଆର୍. ଡି.
ସରକାରୀ ନାମକ ଡାକ୍ତରୀର ଡି. ଆର୍. ଡି. ସରକାରୀ
ସରକାରୀର ଡାକ୍ତରୀର ଡି. ଆର୍. ଡି. ସରକାରୀ
ନାମକ ଡାକ୍ତରୀର ଡି. ଆର୍. ଡି. ସରକାରୀ

[illegible]

૨ દીવા: બારડસરો રોડ ૩
 તા ૧૧-૧૦-૪૭ના રોજે મધ્ય
 પુણ્ય ભજન મંડળે રીડીયા બારડસર
 કિસ્મત મંડળના મદદરે પુરે શ્રી:શાસ્ત્રી
 ઉપાધ્યેયે કૃતા. તે પ્રસંગે વિવેચનો તેમજ
 ભજનને શ્રાવણ કરી. પુણ્ય શાસ્ત્રી પા
 ૧૨૫ વગેરે. આ. પ્રા. ૪૨૧૫
 બાવી કહી અને ૪૨ દીવા રીડી મદદરે
 રીતે ભજનાયા કૃતા અને ૪૨ દીવા રીડી
 કિસ્મત પુરે. વાપુસ વગેરે મદદરે
 અને ૪૨ પ્રમાણે આ વર્ષે પુણ્ય
 ગીતી પુણ્ય વાપુસ ૪૨ મે. ૪૨૫૦
 કરાવ થયો કૃતા. અને કિસ્મતે મ
 ના સુધોમાજ મુખ્ય ભંડાર. એ અગ્ર
 સારે સમયમાથી પાડક ૪૨-૨૨
 ના. ૪૨ ૬૧

[illegible][illegible][illegible]

શ્રી કુર્બાન ગુજરાતી મંદલ
(પૈદાંબલીઆબેમ)

[illegible]

રૂઢિચઢ ની કાલ કાઢે કુલ કલને
સાંકલકલન કીલ

རྒྱུ་, ལོ་རྒྱུ་, དཔེ་ སྤྲོད་ རྩིས་
 རྩིས་ རྩིས་ རྩིས་ རྩིས་ རྩིས་
 རྩིས་ རྩིས་ རྩིས་ རྩིས་ རྩིས་
 རྩིས་ རྩིས་ རྩིས་ རྩིས་ རྩིས་
DISTIN'S SEEDS,
 Box 6060, Johannesburg

ପୁରାଣ ନାଥ

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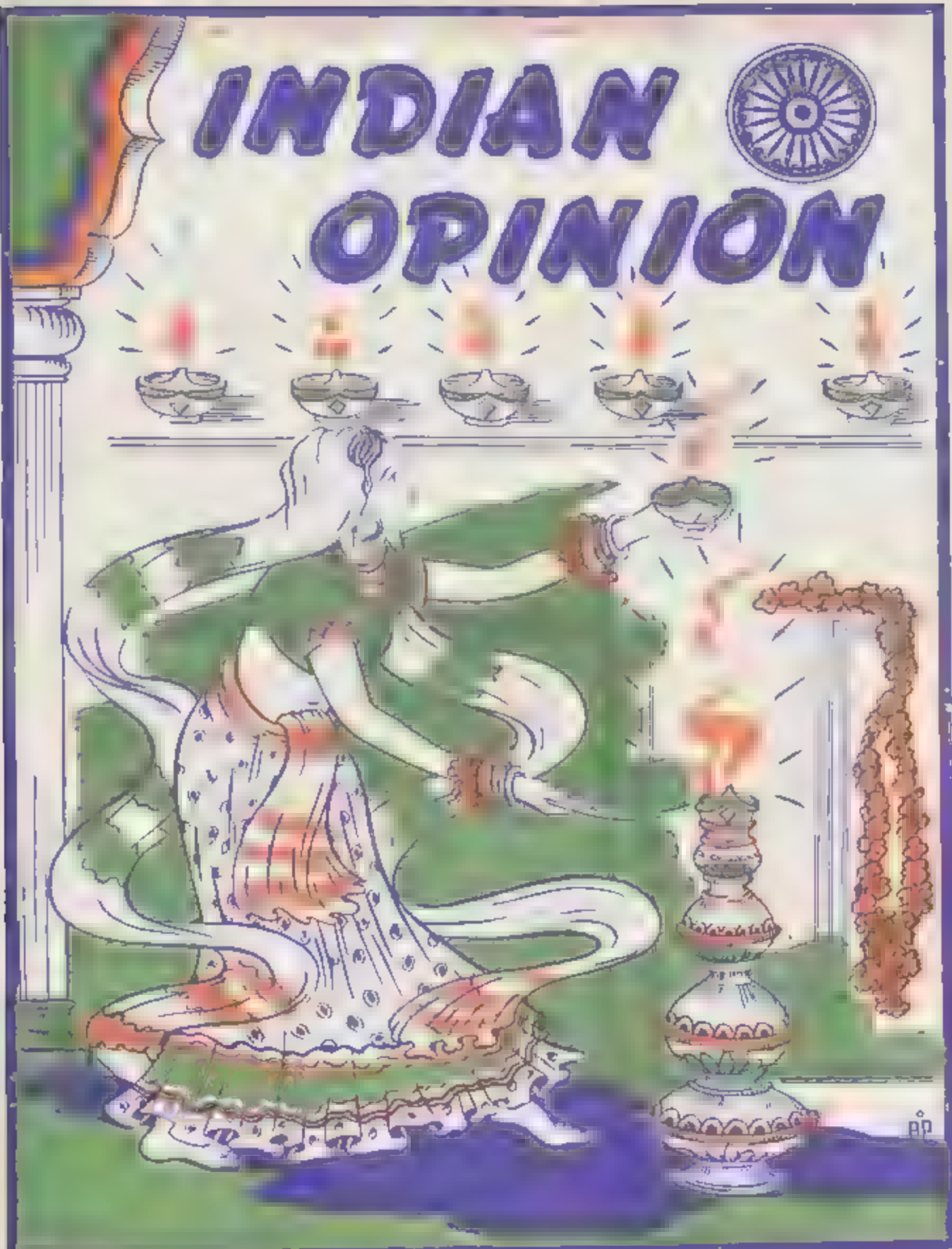
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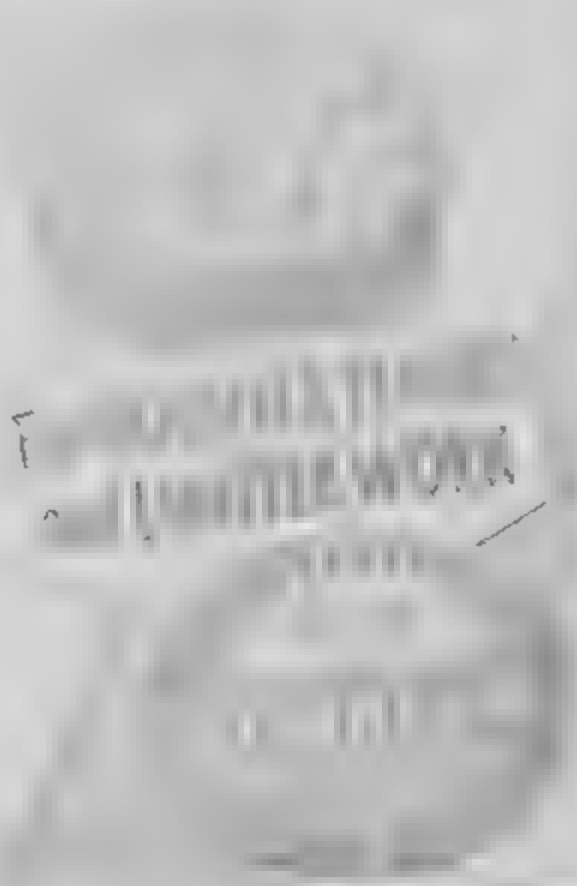
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[illegible][illegible]

1970年， \bar{X} = 8.5, S^2 = 1.5
 1971年， \bar{X} = 8.6, S^2 = 1.6
 1972年， \bar{X} = 8.7, S^2 = 1.7
 1973年， \bar{X} = 8.8, S^2 = 1.8
 1974年， \bar{X} = 8.9, S^2 = 1.9
 1975年， \bar{X} = 9.0, S^2 = 2.0

$\frac{d}{dt} \left(\frac{1}{2} m v^2 + U \right) = -\nabla \cdot (\mathbf{v} p)$

განსაკუთრებით მნიშვნელოვანია, რომ

例 1	已知 x	y
已知 x	已知 y	z
已知 x	已知 y	z
已知 x	已知 y	z
已知 x	已知 y	z

THAI HEAVEN.

[illegible]

1. $\text{H}_2\text{O} + \text{H}_2\text{O} \rightleftharpoons \text{H}_3\text{O}^+ + \text{OH}^-$
 2. $\text{H}_2\text{O} + \text{H}_2\text{O} \rightleftharpoons \text{H}_3\text{O}^+ + \text{OH}^-$
 3. $\text{H}_2\text{O} + \text{H}_2\text{O} \rightleftharpoons \text{H}_3\text{O}^+ + \text{OH}^-$
 4. $\text{H}_2\text{O} + \text{H}_2\text{O} \rightleftharpoons \text{H}_3\text{O}^+ + \text{OH}^-$
 5. $\text{H}_2\text{O} + \text{H}_2\text{O} \rightleftharpoons \text{H}_3\text{O}^+ + \text{OH}^-$
 6. $\text{H}_2\text{O} + \text{H}_2\text{O} \rightleftharpoons \text{H}_3\text{O}^+ + \text{OH}^-$
 7. $\text{H}_2\text{O} + \text{H}_2\text{O} \rightleftharpoons \text{H}_3\text{O}^+ + \text{OH}^-$
 8. $\text{H}_2\text{O} + \text{H}_2\text{O} \rightleftharpoons \text{H}_3\text{O}^+ + \text{OH}^-$
 9. $\text{H}_2\text{O} + \text{H}_2\text{O} \rightleftharpoons \text{H}_3\text{O}^+ + \text{OH}^-$
 10. $\text{H}_2\text{O} + \text{H}_2\text{O} \rightleftharpoons \text{H}_3\text{O}^+ + \text{OH}^-$

$$\begin{array}{l} \text{第 12 题: } \mathbb{R}^3 \text{ 中 } \alpha_1 = \begin{pmatrix} 1 \\ 1 \\ 1 \end{pmatrix}, \alpha_2 = \begin{pmatrix} 1 \\ 0 \\ 1 \end{pmatrix}, \alpha_3 = \begin{pmatrix} 1 \\ 1 \\ 0 \end{pmatrix} \text{ 是否线性相关? 若相关, 求其} \\ \text{秩和极大无关组; 若无关, 求其秩.} \\ \text{解: } \alpha_1, \alpha_2, \alpha_3 \text{ 是否线性相关, 即 } \alpha_1, \alpha_2, \alpha_3 \text{ 是否构成 } \mathbb{R}^3 \text{ 的一组基.} \\ \text{由 } \alpha_1, \alpha_2, \alpha_3 \text{ 构成的矩阵 } A = (\alpha_1, \alpha_2, \alpha_3) = \begin{pmatrix} 1 & 1 & 1 \\ 1 & 0 & 1 \\ 1 & 1 & 0 \end{pmatrix} \text{ 的秩为 } r(A) = 2, \\ \text{故 } \alpha_1, \alpha_2, \alpha_3 \text{ 线性相关, 且秩为 } 2. \end{array}$$

DATE	TIME	BY	PRO.	PRN	NAME	REMARKS
1954-10-10	10:00	W. H. H.	W. H. H.	W. H. H.	W. H. H.	W. H. H.
1954-10-11	10:00	W. H. H.	W. H. H.	W. H. H.	W. H. H.	W. H. H.
1954-10-12	10:00	W. H. H.	W. H. H.	W. H. H.	W. H. H.	W. H. H.
1954-10-13	10:00	W. H. H.	W. H. H.	W. H. H.	W. H. H.	W. H. H.
1954-10-14	10:00	W. H. H.	W. H. H.	W. H. H.	W. H. H.	W. H. H.
1954-10-15	10:00	W. H. H.	W. H. H.	W. H. H.	W. H. H.	W. H. H.
1954-10-16	10:00	W. H. H.	W. H. H.	W. H. H.	W. H. H.	W. H. H.
1954-10-17	10:00	W. H. H.	W. H. H.	W. H. H.	W. H. H.	W. H. H.
1954-10-18	10:00	W. H. H.	W. H. H.	W. H. H.	W. H. H.	W. H. H.
1954-10-19	10:00	W. H. H.	W. H. H.	W. H. H.	W. H. H.	W. H. H.
1954-10-20	10:00	W. H. H.	W. H. H.	W. H. H.	W. H. H.	W. H. H.
1954-10-21	10:00	W. H. H.	W. H. H.	W. H. H.	W. H. H.	W. H. H.
1954-10-22	10:00	W. H. H.	W. H. H.	W. H. H.	W. H. H.	W. H. H.
1954-10-23	10:00	W. H. H.	W. H. H.	W. H. H.	W. H. H.	W. H. H.
1954-10-24	10:00	W. H. H.	W. H. H.	W. H. H.	W. H. H.	W. H. H.
1954-10-25	10:00	W. H. H.	W. H. H.	W. H. H.	W. H. H.	W. H. H.
1954-10-26	10:00	W. H. H.	W. H. H.	W. H. H.	W. H. H.	W. H. H.
1954-10-27	10:00	W. H. H.	W. H. H.	W. H. H.	W. H. H.	W. H. H.
1954-10-28	10:00	W. H. H.	W. H. H.	W. H. H.	W. H. H.	W. H. H.
1954-10-29	10:00	W. H. H.	W. H. H.	W. H. H.	W. H. H.	W. H. H.
1954-10-30	10:00	W. H. H.	W. H. H.	W. H. H.	W. H. H.	W. H. H.
1954-10-31	10:00	W. H. H.	W. H. H.	W. H. H.	W. H. H.	W. H. H.

[illegible][illegible][illegible][illegible]

	we	af	dq	g	iq	is	it
17	app	el	il		ldq		
	tall	ll	qr	d	p	bj	
		zde	sd	wn	iv	pt	
18	pk	s	k	y	zdz	lu	q
	e	f	h	bc	cdk	tl	i

[illegible]

A y h i e r r f f s p w
r v e . v i f j e
d k u o p c b i d
' t r i g l m g r m
' k e s e t p e m r
n r z n s a
y x f q f f e
J h i k u s x s u f i f i
" g u s J d h e d

$$(1) \quad d_1^2 + d_2^2 = -\frac{1}{2}d_1^2 - \frac{1}{2}d_2^2$$



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દોહરું પ્રધાન મંત્રી

DETAILS OF LINGUISTIC MAP OF INDIA
APPEARING ON THE OPPOSITE PAGE

[illegible][illegible]

power, but the standard deviation is varying, data sets

Mineral resources are concentrated in the west of the island and are of the following types:

(c) *Length of the road* (distance of the road from the
 entrance of the tunnel) is denoted by x and y is the
 length of the tunnel.

[illegible]

(c) $\{A_{ij}\}$ and $\{B_{ij}\}$ are $n \times n$ matrices and $\{C_{ij}\}$ is an $n \times n$ matrix.

The integration of the computer into the classroom is a process, not an end in itself. The computer should be used to enhance the learning process, not to replace the teacher.

I am glad to hear that you are well and hope you will continue to be so. I am well and hope you will continue to be so. I am glad to hear that you are well and hope you will continue to be so.

[illegible]

the remainder of the proof is as in the proof of Theorem 1. \square

initial road from the Passes to the Port of the Company and the road was closed and the Port of the Company was then built. The road was paved from the Port of the Company to the Passes and for the year it remained a number of the road was closed for the year and in 1963 it developed into a road to the Port of the Company. The road from the Port of the Company to the Passes was closed from the Port of the Company to the Passes and the road was closed from the Port of the Company to the Passes and the road was closed from the Port of the Company to the Passes.

The Bengal, Bihar and Orissa provinces were formed in 1912 and extended to 73,000 sq. miles. Orissa and Assam were grouped together while the Governor in charge was known as the Lower Provinces. The first change occurred in 1924 when Assam was transferred from the jurisdiction of Lieutenant Governor of Bengal to that of a separate Chief Commissioner. The next change came in 1935. The separate provinces were now paid into three divisions of Western Bengal, Bihar-Chota Nagpur and Orissa and of Eastern Bengal and Assam. In 1947 these changes were confined to a Lieutenant Governor. In 1952 Assam was again handed over to a Chief Commissioner. Bihar, Chota Nagpur and Orissa were cut up and transferred to Governor and Bengal was made over to a Governor. Delhi was made an enclave (population 400,000).

It will thus be seen that for provinces such as these, where there is no local psychological or ethnological research, the following considerations

When The Mists Have Rolled Away

[illegible]

3. The α and β rays are emitted in opposite
 directions from the source of the beta
 particles. The α rays are emitted in the
 direction of the β rays. The β rays are
 emitted in the direction of the α rays.
 The α rays are emitted in the direction
 of the β rays. The β rays are emitted
 in the direction of the α rays.

[illegible]

When we come with our old friends
 We don't gather round the throne
 But kneel with those that love us,
 Whom we know & we are known.
 And the Gift of our reception
 Shall send us forth in haste
 When our lives have expired
 And our souls have fled away.

CHINA

SITUATION

KASHMIR

SITUATION

SITUATION

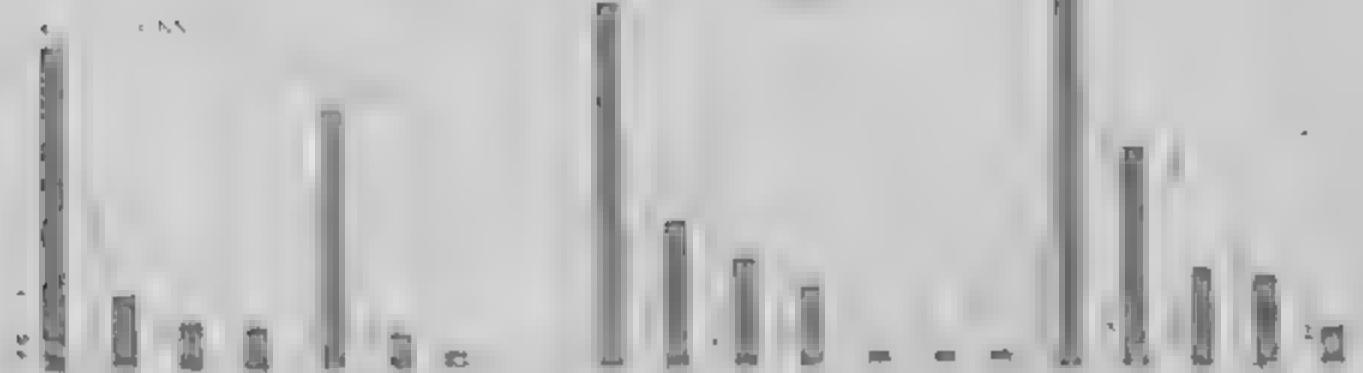
SITUATION

SITUATION

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A

The Indian Opinion

INDIAN OPINION

THIRD QUARTER (1947)

Baroda, October 27, 1947

MASS MIGRATION

Indian Government expresses opposition to the mass migration of people.

"Pakistani Premier declares," says the *Times of India*, in summarizing up the situation, "that it is

in accordance with the desire of the people of the Punjab to migrate to Pakistan."

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel has protested that "what is prohibited of fleeing refugees—provides a real commentary on the so-

various towns in the Central Provinces, an Anti-Muslim conspiracy for the theft of arms and ammunition from Jubbulpore Ordnance Depot (the largest in India, on a colossal scale has

been taking place for some time, the majority of whom will be the State Congress and the Government will be chosen by the Congress. One of them will be a Hindu. The Constituent Assembly is summoned by the Interim Government will have power to make recommendations to the

divided them from the thought

the two-nation theory, the division of India, the partition of the Punjab, and the long

the unparalleled transfer of population have and come to

has caused Mahatma Gandhi to

of this would be that those who are who stay would ultimately have to migrate to

Nazim has a very high opinion of the Government of India

where there have been no riots,

population there and to accommodate the Hindu majority. These factors have added to the

to giving expression to the

Mysore on his trip.

Jinnah's Death

"he greeted it as a bad omen for the body politic."

on a bank, can restore it the kind that Mahatma Gandhi, Master Tara Singh have re-

Indian border." It was out

the people of the Punjab, the Government of India

of the Indian State, the Government of India and the Government of the Punjab

"It is an unbroken fact"

of India, it is a fact that the Government of India, the Government of the Punjab, the Government of the

of India, it is a fact that the Government of India, the Government of the Punjab, the Government of the

two nations theory and the rights and the launching of an

paid by them of the Government of India, the Government of the Punjab, the Government of the

to obtain it at just time to be converted into a which

the future. Running contrary

property, the Government of India, the Government of the Punjab, the Government of the

Quetta outrage was the first

embodied, the Government of India

and the Government of India

the Government of India, the Government of the Punjab, the Government of the

and enjoy the fruits of the Government of India, the Government of the Punjab, the Government of the

to them to stay on duty in a convention in the face of the Government of India, the Government of the Punjab, the Government of the

that whether the Government of India, the Government of the Punjab, the Government of the

the Government of India, the Government of the Punjab, the Government of the

Jinnah's economic position is becoming more and more difficult, as the Government of India, the Government of the Punjab, the Government of the

of the Government of India, the Government of the Punjab, the Government of the

the Government of India, the Government of the Punjab, the Government of the

the Government of India, the Government of the Punjab, the Government of the

agreements with India, Jinnah

"The Government of India, the Government of the Punjab, the Government of the

What Commoners Think

Huge quantities of arms and ammunition have been seized from the Government of India, the Government of the Punjab, the Government of the

Mysore Advances

Mysore has got full responsible

went of adequate communication

and food grains. The railways and the postal, telegraph and telephone systems in the

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48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100. 101. 102. 103. 104. 105. 106. 107. 108. 109. 110. 111. 112. 113. 114. 115. 116. 117. 118. 119. 120. 121. 122. 123. 124. 125. 126. 127. 128. 129. 130. 131. 132. 133. 134. 135. 136. 137. 138. 139. 140. 141. 142. 143. 144. 145. 146. 147. 148. 149. 150. 151. 152. 153. 154. 155. 156. 157. 158. 159. 160. 161. 162. 163. 164. 165. 166. 167. 168. 169. 170. 171. 172. 173. 174. 175. 176. 177. 178. 179. 180. 181. 182. 183. 184. 185. 186. 187. 188. 189. 190. 191. 192. 193. 194. 195. 196. 197. 198. 199. 200. 201. 202. 203. 204. 205. 206. 207. 208. 209. 210. 211. 212. 213. 214. 215. 216. 217. 218. 219. 220. 221. 222. 223. 224. 225. 226. 227. 228. 229. 230. 231. 232. 233. 234. 235. 236. 237. 238. 239. 240. 241. 242. 243. 244. 245. 246. 247. 248. 249. 250. 251. 252. 253. 254. 255. 256. 257. 258. 259. 260. 261. 262. 263. 264. 265. 266. 267. 268. 269. 270. 271. 272. 273. 274. 275. 276. 277. 278. 279. 280. 281. 282. 283. 284. 285. 286. 287. 288. 289. 290. 291. 292. 293. 294. 295. 296. 297. 298. 299. 300. 301. 302. 303. 304. 305. 306. 307. 308. 309. 310. 311. 312. 313. 314. 315. 316. 317. 318. 319. 320. 321. 322. 323. 324. 325. 326. 327. 328. 329. 330. 331. 332. 333. 334. 335. 336. 337. 338. 339. 340. 341. 342. 343. 344. 345. 346. 347. 348. 349. 350. 351. 352. 353. 354. 355. 356. 357. 358. 359. 360. 361. 362. 363. 364. 365. 366. 367. 368. 369. 370. 371. 372. 373. 374. 375. 376. 377. 378. 379. 380. 381. 382. 383. 384. 385. 386. 387. 388. 389. 390. 391. 392. 393. 394. 395. 396. 397. 398. 399. 400. 401. 402. 403. 404. 405. 406. 407. 408. 409. 410. 411. 412. 413. 414. 415. 416. 417. 418. 419. 420. 421. 422. 423. 424. 425. 426. 427. 428. 429. 430. 431. 432. 433. 434. 435. 436. 437. 438. 439. 440. 441. 442. 443. 444. 445. 446. 447. 448. 449. 450. 451. 452. 453. 454. 455. 456. 457. 458. 459. 460. 461. 462. 463. 464. 465. 466. 467. 468. 469. 470. 471. 472. 473. 474. 475. 476. 477. 478. 479. 480. 481. 482. 483. 484. 485. 486. 487. 488. 489. 490. 491. 492. 493. 494. 495. 496. 497. 498. 499. 500. 501. 502. 503. 504. 505. 506. 507. 508. 509. 510. 511. 512. 513. 514. 515. 516. 517. 518. 519. 520. 521. 522. 523. 524. 525. 526. 527. 528. 529. 530. 531. 532. 533. 534. 535. 536. 537. 538. 539. 540. 541. 542. 543. 544. 545. 546. 547. 548. 549. 550. 551. 552. 553. 554. 555. 556. 557. 558. 559. 560. 561. 562. 563. 564. 565. 566. 567. 568. 569. 570. 571. 572. 573. 574. 575. 576. 577. 578. 579. 580. 581. 582. 583. 584. 585. 586. 587. 588. 589. 590. 591. 592. 593. 594. 595. 596. 597. 598. 599. 600. 601. 602. 603. 604. 605. 606. 607. 608. 609. 610. 611. 612. 613. 614. 615. 616. 617. 618. 619. 620. 621. 622. 623. 624. 625. 626. 627. 628. 629. 630. 631. 632. 633. 634. 635. 636. 637. 638. 639. 640. 641. 642. 643. 644. 645. 646. 647. 648. 649. 650. 651. 652. 653. 654. 655. 656. 657. 658. 659. 660. 661. 662. 663. 664. 665. 666. 667. 668. 669. 670. 671. 672. 673. 674. 675. 676. 677. 678. 679. 680. 681. 682. 683. 684. 685. 686. 687. 688. 689. 690. 691. 692. 693. 694. 695. 696. 697. 698. 699. 700. 701. 702. 703. 704. 705. 706. 707. 708. 709. 710. 711. 712. 713. 714. 715. 716. 717. 718. 719. 720. 721. 722. 723. 724. 725. 726. 727. 728. 729. 730. 731. 732. 733. 734. 735. 736. 737. 738. 739. 740. 741. 742. 743. 744. 745. 746. 747. 748. 749. 750. 751. 752. 753. 754. 755. 756. 757. 758. 759. 760. 761. 762. 763. 764. 765. 766. 767. 768. 769. 770. 771. 772. 773. 774. 775. 776. 777. 778. 779. 780. 781. 782. 783. 784. 785. 786. 787. 788. 789. 790. 791. 792. 793. 794. 795. 796. 797. 798. 799. 800. 801. 802. 803. 804. 805. 806. 807. 808. 809. 810. 811. 812. 813. 814. 815. 816. 817. 818. 819. 820. 821. 822. 823. 824. 825. 826. 827. 828. 829. 830. 831. 832. 833. 834. 835. 836. 837. 838. 839. 840. 841. 842. 843. 844. 845. 846. 847. 848. 849. 850. 851. 852. 853. 854. 855. 856. 857. 858. 859. 860. 861. 862. 863. 864. 865. 866. 867. 868. 869. 870. 871. 872. 873. 874. 875. 876

| Year | 1990 | 1991 | 1992 | 1993 | 1994 | 1995 | 1996 | 1997 | 1998 | 1999 | 2000 | 2001 | 2002 | 2003 | 2004 | 2005 | 2006 | 2007 | 2008 | 2009 | 2010 | 2011 | 2012 | 2013 | 2014 | 2015 | 2016 | 2017 | 2018 | 2019 | 2020 | 2021 | 2022 | 2023 | 2024 | 2025 | 2026 | 2027 | 2028 | 2029 | 2030 | 2031 | 2032 | 2033 | 2034 | 2035 | 2036 | 2037 | 2038 | 2039 | 2040 | 2041 | 2042 | 2043 | 2044 | 2045 | 2046 | 2047 | 2048 | 2049 | 2050 | 2051 | 2052 | 2053 | 2054 | 2055 | 2056 | 2057 | 2058 | 2059 | 2060 | 2061 | 2062 | 2063 | 2064 | 2065 | 2066 | 2067 | 2068 | 2069 | 2070 | 2071 | 2072 | 2073 | 2074 | 2075 | 2076 | 2077 | 2078 | 2079 | 2080 | 2081 | 2082 | 2083 | 2084 | 2085 | 2086 | 2087 | 2088 | 2089 | 2090 | 2091 | 2092 | 2093 | 2094 | 2095 | 2096 | 2097 | 2098 | 2099 | 2100 |
|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| 1990 | 1991 | 1992 | 1993 | 1994 | 1995 | 1996 | 1997 | 1998 | 1999 | 2000 | 2001 | 2002 | 2003 | 2004 | 2005 | 2006 | 2007 | 2008 | 2009 | 2010 | 2011 | 2012 | 2013 | 2014 | 2015 | 2016 | 2017 | 2018 | 2019 | 2020 | 2021 | 2022 | 2023 | 2024 | 2025 | 2026 | 2027 | 2028 | 2029 | 2030 | 2031 | 2032 | 2033 | 2034 | 2035 | 2036 | 2037 | 2038 | 2039 | 2040 | 2041 | 2042 | 2043 | 2044 | 2045 | 2046 | 2047 | 2048 | 2049 | 2050 | 2051 | 2052 | 2053 | 2054 | 2055 | 2056 | 2057 | 2058 | 2059 | 2060 | 2061 | 2062 | 2063 | 2064 | 2065 | 2066 | 2067 | 2068 | 2069 | 2070 | 2071 | 2072 | 2073 | 2074 | 2075 | 2076 | 2077 | 2078 | 2079 | 2080 | 2081 | 2082 | 2083 | 2084 | 2085 | 2086 | 2087 | 2088 | 2089 | 2090 | 2091 | 2092 | 2093 | 2094 | 2095 | 2096 | 2097 | 2098 | 2099 | 2100 | |

1. $\mathcal{H}_1 = \mathcal{H}_2 = \mathcal{H}$ and $\mathcal{H}_1 \cap \mathcal{H}_2 = \mathcal{H}$.
 2. $\mathcal{H}_1 = \mathcal{H}_2 = \mathcal{H}$ and $\mathcal{H}_1 \cap \mathcal{H}_2 = \mathcal{H}$.
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 10. $\mathcal{H}_1 = \mathcal{H}_2 = \mathcal{H}$ and $\mathcal{H}_1 \cap \mathcal{H}_2 = \mathcal{H}$.

(b) UNITED STATES

to those who may wish (and be able) to do nothing to get the call of

A "Time" witness said that he
is glad if there be [?] proved and
yet do nothing to hurt the evi-
dence [?] present. I am not [?]
any thing is easy to [?]
[?] as all the [?]
[?] are [?] [?] [?]

Q What strategy do you propose for the dissemination of radical, perfect coastal management from the affairs of mankind?

(2) What effect does it have on the failure of the LVO to deal jointly with the South African trading companies will have on the role of that organization?

A. Is the UN (as it is) justly with the South Africa-led apartheid, the UN will lose its prestige. I have no doubt that the UN can prosper only if it is just.

Q And what will be the effect
of this on the world?

d. About ten days in the
winter and one known. At least I
do not.

THE

9. What message have you for
in a dramatic way?

A "Time spirit of little at the best" should be excluded by each one in his own person. Our shorts wings must be buried in

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 wish all their friends and customers
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 A HAPPY NEW YEAR
 192 Grey Street : : : : : DUBAI

MR. B. D. CHAVDA
General Merchant & Fruiterer
wishes all his customers and friends
DEEPAVALI & NEW YEAR
GREETINGS
104, Malabar CAFE TOWN

GANDHIJI AT ONE OF HIS MEETINGS

[The image is a very faded, low-contrast photograph of Mahatma Gandhi. He is seated and appears to be in the middle of a meeting or a public gathering. The image is too blurry to discern specific details, but the general shape of his figure and the presence of other people in the background are visible.]



SPECIAL

keeping them at a secret on
D. S. S. M. S. S.

passed their presentment for
any other but I am not clear

with the government in event
of a war with the United
States of America will be a
rebuttal to the event of
the success of the revolution.

INDIAN OPINION

The Indian Government has
not yet received any notice of
the proposed visit of the
British Government to the
United States of America.

The proposal of the British
Government to visit the United
States of America has been
received by the Indian Government.

DIVALI NUMBER

Reckitt's

BLUE

(Keeps clothes
spotlessly
white)

It makes
all the
difference

BRASSO

METAL POLISH

The
ACCOMPLISH
CYCLE.

If you are really up-to-date, you save time and
money in your traveling. You ride a Rudge. It
is a British-made bicycle but a well-type of machine
thoroughness. Strong, yet light. Safe running
and absolutely reliable. 70 years have brought it to
perfection. You cannot buy a better machine.

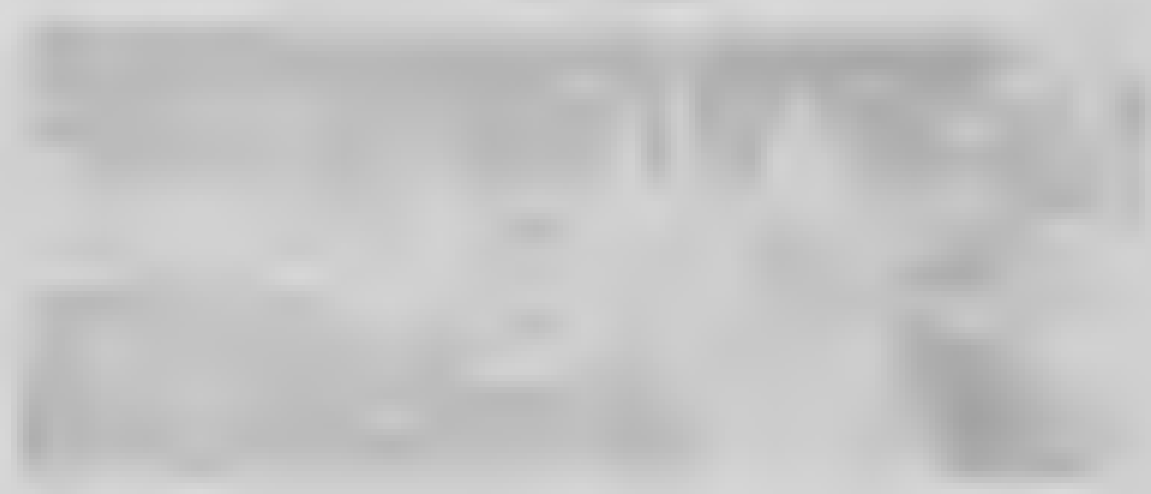
RUDGE

BRITAIN'S BEST
BICYCLE



MINERAL TILAK

ਮਿਨਰਲ ਟਿਲਾਕ



(1) GOLDEN TEMPLE, AMRITSAR



INDIA PREPARED FOR DAY CELEBRATIONS IN DURBAN

સામાજિક અને આર્થિક સુધારા



Scenes Of India Independence Day Celebrations In Bombay

મહાત્માની હાજરી અંતરે દિવસી ઉજવણીની કસોટી





SCENES OF INDIA INDEPENDENCE DAY CELEBRATIONS
IN KIMBERLEY

કીમ્બર્લીમાં એમલી લોડ આજાદ
દિનની તૈયારીના દ્રશ્યો



Independence Day Celebration In Pretoria Under The Auspices Of The Indian National League And The Pretoria Hindu Seva Sangh,

સભા સમજ અને પ્રતિષ્ઠા પ્રતીક સ્થાપના સચ્ચિદ્ર વળાંકથી જે માટે આ કાર્યકરો દ્વારા આયોજિત છે.



સ્થાપના

પ્રતિષ્ઠા સચ્ચિદ્ર વળાંકથી

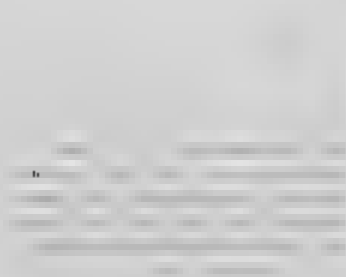


સ્થાપના સચ્ચિદ્ર વળાંકથી

સ્થાપના સચ્ચિદ્ર વળાંકથી

સ્થાપના સચ્ચિદ્ર વળાંકથી

પ્રતિષ્ઠા સચ્ચિદ્ર વળાંકથી જે માટે આ કાર્યકરો દ્વારા આયોજિત છે.



પ્રતિષ્ઠા સચ્ચિદ્ર વળાંકથી જે માટે આ કાર્યકરો દ્વારા આયોજિત છે.

સ્થાપના સચ્ચિદ્ર વળાંકથી



સ્થાપના સચ્ચિદ્ર વળાંકથી જે માટે આ કાર્યકરો દ્વારા આયોજિત છે.

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EVERY TIME EXPERT
SHOULD RECOMMEND



THE NEW
GOOD YEAR
BIBENHAF
TYRES

These tires are made from the best rubber and
are the most durable and reliable. They are
available at U. S. Tire and Rubber Co. and
—pre-war or post-war.



175 175 175 175

다시금 : 43'51"44 421.54

[illegible][illegible]
$$b_1 = \frac{1}{2} \left(\frac{1}{2} \right) = \frac{1}{4} \quad \text{and} \quad b_2 = \frac{1}{2} \left(\frac{1}{2} \right) = \frac{1}{4}$$
[illegible][illegible]

상(上) 30여(25)

$$v = \frac{1}{2} \frac{d^2 \phi}{d\phi^2}$$

| | | | |
|----|----|----|----|
| 24 | 25 | 26 | 27 |
| 28 | 29 | 30 | 31 |

2000 年 1 月 1 日 至 2000 年 12 月 31 日
 2001 年 1 月 1 日 至 2001 年 12 月 31 日

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[illegible]

$\frac{1}{\sqrt{2}} \begin{pmatrix} 1 & i \\ -1 & i \end{pmatrix}$ 是 A 的平方根。因为 $(\frac{1}{\sqrt{2}} \begin{pmatrix} 1 & i \\ -1 & i \end{pmatrix})^2 = A$ 。

[illegible][illegible]
$$m \in \mathbb{N}_+ \quad \langle \cdot \rangle = \langle \cdot \rangle_{\mathbb{R}^d} \quad \langle \cdot \rangle = \langle \cdot \rangle_{\mathbb{R}^d} \quad \langle \cdot \rangle = \langle \cdot \rangle_{\mathbb{R}^d}$$
[illegible][illegible]
$$\begin{aligned} & \text{이러므로 } \beta \text{ 가 } \begin{bmatrix} 1 \\ 0 \\ 0 \end{bmatrix} \text{ 을 가질 때 } \quad \beta = \begin{bmatrix} 1 \\ 0 \\ 0 \end{bmatrix} \\ & \text{그리고 } \beta \text{ 가 } \begin{bmatrix} 0 \\ 1 \\ 0 \end{bmatrix} \text{ 을 가질 때 } \quad \beta = \begin{bmatrix} 0 \\ 1 \\ 0 \end{bmatrix} \\ & \text{따라서 } \alpha \text{ 는 } \begin{bmatrix} 1 \\ 0 \\ 0 \end{bmatrix} \text{ 와 } \begin{bmatrix} 0 \\ 1 \\ 0 \end{bmatrix} \text{ 만 가지는 벡터이다.} \end{aligned}$$

1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100.

45 8 6 4 2 0 20 40 60 80 100

$$\begin{aligned} & \text{이 때 } \text{이제 } \text{이제 } \text{이제 } \text{이제 } \text{이제 } \text{이제} \\ & \text{이제 } \int \text{이제 } \text{이제 } \text{이제 } \text{이제 } \text{이제} \\ & \text{이제 } \text{이제 } \text{이제 } \text{이제 } \text{이제 } \text{이제} \end{aligned}$$
$$-1 \leq \frac{1}{\sqrt{2}} \leq \frac{1}{\sqrt{2}} \leq 1 \quad \text{and} \quad -1 \leq \frac{1}{\sqrt{2}} \leq \frac{1}{\sqrt{2}} \leq 1 \quad \text{and} \quad -1 \leq \frac{1}{\sqrt{2}} \leq \frac{1}{\sqrt{2}} \leq 1$$
$$\begin{array}{ccccccc} \alpha_1 & \beta_1 & \gamma_1 & \delta_1 & \epsilon_1 & \zeta_1 & \eta_1 \\ \alpha_2 & \beta_2 & \gamma_2 & \delta_2 & \epsilon_2 & \zeta_2 & \eta_2 \\ \vdots & \vdots & \vdots & \vdots & \vdots & \vdots & \vdots \\ \alpha_n & \beta_n & \gamma_n & \delta_n & \epsilon_n & \zeta_n & \eta_n \end{array}$$

1

A view of the interior of the Great Hall of the Association of Indians on India Independence Day. The President Mr. Narayan Chandra Chatterjee is seated on the right.



The President Mr. Narayan Chandra Chatterjee is seated on the right. The Association of Indians on India Independence Day.

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ધરની કસર ને

વંદાવાની ગર

★ સ્વતંત્ર પ્રજાસત્તાક દેશના ★

સુતીલ, બહુ હાલીઆળુ તું તુ
કરીશ ? હવે એ
મ.લોએ પાપાની કીરતને પુણ્ય
સતીકાની આગે પડેલાં હશે તેના
પીપા મોત, જાણે તેને એક કપીઆ
મળે ના

સુતીલ, બહુ હાલીઆળુ તું તુ
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પીપા મોત, જાણે તેને એક કપીઆ
મળે ના

તે જાણે હતું કે

“જાણ કરીશ” મોત બળે પ.ક.મ
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તે જાણે હતું કે...
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...
તે જાણે હતું કે...

મોટાં મે એના અ.વ.સ. છે. આ
આગવળી ફેલિંગ પ.વ.રે, એની જાણ
કુશલ અને હા મનપાળે. જાણે આ
મોટી મરણ છે. આ મુજબ આને જાણ
માથે એણે કુ કમળા મળે

ની આ રીત તેને બીજાકા અગાઉ નહી
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હી તેના આ મનપાળે દે. દે. દે. આ
આગે તેણે કીરતને હાલે ન હાલ
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માથે એણે કુ કમળા મળે

હાલીઆળુ એની મોટી કે ના મોત
કરવાના હશે મળે હશે કે તે જાણ
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માથે એણે કુ કમળા મળે

એકલા કે જાણે કમળાના આ
કામળા મળે. આ કમળા મળે
...
આગવળા મનપાળે. જાણે આ
મોટી મરણ છે. આ મુજબ આને જાણ
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ଏକାକୀ ଶବ୍ଦଟି, ଏହାର ଗୁଣ ଏବଂ ଗୁଣର ଗୁଣ

$$x_1 = \frac{1}{\sqrt{2}} \begin{pmatrix} 1 \\ -1 \end{pmatrix}, x_2 = \frac{1}{\sqrt{2}} \begin{pmatrix} 1 \\ 1 \end{pmatrix}, x_3 = \frac{1}{\sqrt{2}} \begin{pmatrix} -1 \\ 1 \end{pmatrix}$$

1993年12月 第25卷第12期

[illegible][illegible]

제1장 1월 1일 ~ 1월 31일 1월 2일 1월 3일

doi:10.1017/S002229240000209

74-1211 4-24

학명 : *Prunella vulgaris* L. 학명 : *Prunella vulgaris* L.

(3) 若 $\lim_{n \rightarrow \infty} x_n = a$, 则 $\lim_{n \rightarrow \infty} \frac{1}{n} \sum_{k=1}^n x_k = a$.

$$h = 6^{-1/2} \quad \omega_{1/2} = \frac{5}{24} \quad \frac{1}{2} \quad \frac{1}{2} \quad \frac{1}{2} \quad \frac{1}{2} \quad \frac{1}{2} \quad \frac{1}{2} \quad \frac{1}{2}$$

10. 54.3+6. 41.4 = 115.7
 11. 2. (1) 144 + 48 = 192

[illegible]
$$\begin{aligned} & \mathbb{E}_t[\mathcal{L}_t] = \mathbb{E}_t[\mathcal{L}_t^{\text{train}}] + \mathbb{E}_t[\mathcal{L}_t^{\text{val}}] \\ & \mathbb{E}_t[\mathcal{L}_t^{\text{train}}] = \mathbb{E}_t[\mathcal{L}_t^{\text{train}}] + \mathbb{E}_t[\mathcal{L}_t^{\text{val}}] \end{aligned}$$
$$\mathbb{P}(1) = \frac{1}{2} \mathbb{P}(2) = \frac{1}{4} \mathbb{P}(3) = \frac{1}{8} \mathbb{P}(4) = \frac{1}{16} \mathbb{P}(5) = \frac{1}{32}$$

이 3개 층은 4개의 층으로 확대될 예정이다.
4월 4일 4개 층으로 확대된 4층을 5층으로 늘릴 예정이다.

$\frac{1}{2} \ln 2$, $\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{1}{6} \ln 3$, $\frac{1}{3} \ln 3$

$\frac{1}{2} \left(\frac{1}{2} + \frac{1}{2} \right) = 1$
 $\frac{1}{2} \left(\frac{1}{2} + \frac{1}{2} \right) = 1$

— ۱۸ —

۱۹۰۵ - ۱۹۰۶

1901-1902 Annual Report of the

[illegible]

1990 年 12 月 1 日 12 月 1 日 12 月 1 日 12 月 1 日
 1990 年 12 月 1 日 12 月 1 日 12 月 1 日 12 月 1 日

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$\begin{pmatrix} 1 & -1 & 0 \\ 0 & 1 & 0 \\ 0 & 0 & 1 \end{pmatrix}$

३) १६५ मी, २२ मी (४५१६, २२१५) ६) १५५
७) १५५ मी ८) १५५ मी ९) १५५ मी १०) १५५ मी

[illegible]

જાત: આ બર્ડ ૩૨ થી ૩૫ થી ઓછા
આયત્રિ ૩૨ થી ૬.૨ જાત: આ બર્ડ

$$\begin{aligned} & \text{for } i = 1, 2, \dots, n-1 \\ & \quad \text{if } x_i \neq 0 \text{ then } y_i = x_i / |x_i| \end{aligned}$$

1.2 이 공화(共和)에서 이 2 4는 4

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1976) and the 1980-81 season (1981) were the lowest.

[illegible]

[illegible][illegible]

1. 1990년 12월 15일
 2. 1991년 1월 15일
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 2. 1990년대 이후 한국 사회의 변화
 3. 1990년대 이후 한국 사회의 변화
 4. 1990년대 이후 한국 사회의 변화
 5. 1990년대 이후 한국 사회의 변화

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જાહેરાત હિંદુ વિશ્વવિદ્યાલય સંસ્થા સિદ્ધિ સમાજ કે ?

કેમના ધર્મના અથ તેમને કોઈ પ્રતીક મળે છે.

અને

તેમજ દેવાની વાતોની કોઈ કોઈ છે.

આ પ્રસંગે તમારી ફરજ થું છે ?

હિંદુના આસ્પદીન પ્રત્યક્ષીયને તથા દેવી કોને અપરૂપ મળે ? આ પરિસ્થિતિમાં પચાસીના નવમાસે અથવા

શ્રી ટ્રાંસિસલ્સ હિંદુ સેવા સમાજ

હિંદુ વિશ્વવિદ્યાલય કે જે લગભગ ૬૦ કરોડ રૂપિયાનું નફા કમાવે છે. આપણા આ દેશમાં રહેલું દરેક જીવન ધારાને સુધાર

સંસ્કારે. આ સંસ્કારનામાં નવું નવું રૂપ લેવામાં આવે છે. તમારા નાના મોટા બધાને હિંદુના કોઈ એક આસ્પદીન મળે તેવી તમારા કોઈ નવું રૂપ.

શ્રી ટ્રાં. હિંદુ સેવા સમાજ.

અને મોટી સંખ્યા

અને

ફોન

દરબારી હાઈલેટ મીસ

સાદવાડ સીમાસમાજ.

ન્યુનતાના આધારે સમાજના સુધારાની કોઈ કોઈ

તરફથી દીવાળીના અભિનંદન માથે ખુલ્લું ખખર

તમામ હિંદુઓને હાર્દથી કોઈ કોઈ નવું રૂપ મળે તેવી હાલ મેં

અને

અને કે જેના અંતરે નવું નવું રૂપ મળે તેવી હાલ મેં

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INDIAN OPINION

Founded by
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FRIDAY, 21ST NOVEMBER, 1947.

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Indian Opinion

FRIDAY, 21ST NOVEMBER, 1947.

Favourable Atmosphere

ALTHOUGH the South African Indian

Assembly passed through the U.N. Pledge

stage, it is late and has to be seen whether it is

the balance of the year has not been as

as it was last year. The tone has been more

and conciliatory. The happy to note, however,

that the discussion of the year has not been as

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that the discussion of the year has not been as

as it was last year. The tone has been more

throughout the proceedings and a way out will be found

by the best brains of the world to amicably settle this

long drawn dispute, which has caused heart burn

and a considerable amount of physical

and economic suffering to the Indian community

Particular stress requires to be laid on adopting

and conciliatory methods. Lack of this atti-

tude among the masses is forgiveable but it is un-

forgivable when it comes from those who hold the

respectable position of leading public opinion.

They have no right to throw themselves to be led

away by their own party prejudices when they are

dealing with problems affecting the peace of the world.

In this respect we would like to refer here to one of

the members of the Indian community.

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affairs are going to be settled and if this is how the

world is to deal with world affairs it

augurs ill both for the United Nations and for the

world. We must not be interested for our own

favoured community. We must be interested for the

world. We must be interested for the world.

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them. They will open their

eyes to think that are

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look even news about the

happenings closely connect-

ed with the problems they

are being discussed at the

United Nations. In a coun-

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May we hope that our favourable atmosphere will lead to a more constructive and amicable settlement of the vexed question?

CONGRESS MAKES REPRESENTATIONS TO AMERICAN CONSUL

THE following is the text of a memorandum submitted by the Indian Congress to the American Consul, Mr. H. E. Stevens, on the question of the attitude of the United States Government in the consideration of the South Africa-India dispute before the United Nations upon the question of the treatment of Indians in South Africa. The memorandum was submitted by Dr. G. M. Nalaker, a Member, and Messrs. Ashwin Choudhree and J. N. Bhabha. Mr. Stevens promised the delegation that the memorandum would be transmitted to the United States Government.

1. We would urge upon your Government that it should have a clear and definite policy of Democracy to assist in solving this most important problem which requires an urgent and effective solution.

2. Nearly two thousand Indian men and women have preferred to go to jail in this country than to abide by a racial law imposed upon them. Their will is a new and powerful force in the world.

3. We look with anxious hope to your great country to uphold the noble principles of the Charter and to maintain the freedom, prosperity and harmony among the peoples of the world in lasting dependence.

We have with alarm from reports in the local Press seen your Government propose to support the view that the South Africa-India dispute should be referred to the International Court of Justice.

1. This dispute formed the subject of a prolonged debate in the General Assembly last year. The question of reference to the International Court of Justice was then raised. In his wisdom the General Assembly by a two-thirds majority passed a resolution which enjoined upon both the Governments of India and South Africa to enter into negotiations whereby the two member States of the United Nations might peacefully come to an amicable settlement.

2. It is common cause that South Africa defaulted in this regard and that the negotiations by the United Nations did not eventuate.

3. There is no party to or land support to a point of view which is best described as the real issue of the dispute. It is a matter of human rights and justice.

3. The Indian has proved himself to be unassimilable in the social, economic and religious life of the country.

Unassimilable

4. The Europeans in South Africa are for the most part, as stated by Mr. Harry Lawrence and his colleagues (U.S.), on behalf of the interests of the Europeans and Natives and, we venture to add, the Indians themselves, if they will only recognise the fact.

Note: If we may be permitted to say so the South African Party has no legs to stand on. Its whole argument is based on European dominance, which it fears will come to an end, and to yet

undoubtedly enough to claim to be speaking on behalf of the interests and future of both of whom have in no respect in terms conditions the policy of the South African Government. It is to say that the Indian has proved himself to be unassimilable. It is based on such discrimination. That the Indian has been an asset to this country has been proved by history and the fact has been proved of South Africa not once but in various occasions—(K. J. J.)

MR. ASHWIN CHOUDREE'S STATEMENT

THE following Press statement was issued by Mr. Ashwin Choudhree prior to court martial—On the eve of our debate at UN, there can be no place for me except behind the prison bars of South Africa. For in this country all South Africa is a virtual prison. The difference is one of degree only. Whilst some Indians may share in some measure the aspects of progress of this country, a natural process which no body of laws, can successfully stem, it is all devoid of status, self-respect and human dignity. Laws which constitute the very antithesis of the concept of democracy, deny us freedom of movement from one Province to another, the Statutes of the Union are replete with discriminatory legislation entrenched there solely to stultify and cripple the economic and political development of our people. Here is a simple case in point, I am an Attorney of the Supreme Court of South Africa; as such my name appears on the Attorneys' Roll in the Transvaal and yet I cannot practise my profession in that Province, I must remain in Natal, where I have been born. This is my only habitat. How ironical it all is! Many friends at UN, men of goodwill who strive to uphold fundamental freedom remain amazed when Mr. Harry Lawrence claims me to be a South African citizen. Even here and there, citizenship peculiar to this country only.

Year in and year out, with hat in hand, we have gone to Cape Town and Pretoria times out of number and sought redress. Our fate has been that of all disfranchised people of this land; the lot of the millions of non-white people. Our pleas have been in vain, all have fallen on deaf ears. Instead we have been given the Ghetto Act whose disastrous effects now fall heavily upon the community.

Indones are now clamped in its vice-like grip and the economic stragulation that it has brought in its wake daily tells its own tale. The moral indignation of the democratic loving people of the world will again be voiced at the United Nations. For the past six weeks I have conversed at Lake Geneva with men of goodwill, watched their honest endeavours to hold aloft the principles of the Charter and witnessed them proclaiming for the whole human race the fundamental rights of man. In that great Forum, South Africa unfortunately expounds a lost cause.

I have returned, heartened and full of confidence that UN will not fail us. For the downtrodden peoples of the world, this is their finest hour. Our moral commitment can find no greater expression than by our resolute determination passively to resist an unjust law. There is no time for lingering, there is no room for hesitancy. Our rightful place is with those men and women who behind the prison walls of South Africa vindicate our struggle. No power on earth will dampen their spirit.

Delusion

2. The Indian apparently labour under a great delusion when he avers that there can only be peace in South Africa by means of all restrictions being removed and the granting of full and equal rights, politically and economically.

The fact is emphatically the reverse, as to grant their claims would spell the ultimate swamping of the European population in a sea of colour and would be suicidal on the part of the European Government to accede to such claims. The result would be anything but peace in South Africa.

S.A. INDIAN QUESTION BEFORE U.N.O.

The dispute between India and South Africa on the question of ill-treatment of Indians in the Union was discussed at the Committee on Wednesday November 13.

NOTA, by continuing trade relations against South Africa after having submitted a dispute to the United Nations, had usurped the functions of the Security Council and Mr. H. Lawrence, leader of the South African delegation.

The Government of India expected South Africa to enter the conference chamber as a confessed condemned party, and to negotiate with the pilot of the Indian Government's intentions at its head.

"The Indian Government put up with these variations without standing the fact that it had a clear right to demand a more serious consideration of its position."

Mr. Lawrence said that the Indian Government was not to be taken in by these variations and that it was a matter of deep regret to him that the Indian Government had not taken a more serious view of the situation.

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1. South Africa has not defied the United Nations.
2. The United Nations has no jurisdiction in the domestic affairs of the Union and, in fact, exceeded its functions.

3. Diffusion and disorganisation are widespread in South Africa.

4. Many people in South Africa are dissatisfied with the fact that South Africa is a member of the United Nations.

5. South Africa has been unable to reach any agreement with India on the correct interpretation of last year's General Assembly resolution.

6. South Africa firmly believes that the Indian Government is not to be taken in by these variations.

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Will Not Abandon Stand

"To the embarrassment of my Government, racial feelings have as a direct result of these discussions and negotiations, been excited on all sides. Though no doubt entered into with the Indian Government, these discussions do not succeed."

"They have the effect of furthering our conflicts, of accentuating political differences, of hampering development towards the harmonious collaboration so carefully fostered by those who are labouring for a just solution of our multi-racial problems, and of greatly increasing the difficulties of the Union Government."

The Union Government does not desire to abandon its standpoint on the jurisdiction of the Assembly. It takes up this attitude with a full knowledge of the Assembly's resolution, but on grounds which it ventures to think no reasonable man can regard as specious or frivolous. It is still convinced that its views are founded.

Looking at this matter in the light in which my Government sees it, the Assembly has exceeded its jurisdiction and, consequently, there is, strictly speaking, no resolution with which to comply. A resolution which is not of legal force is invalid and legally non-existent.

Its attitude has been, and still is, that whether or not this resolution is valid there is nothing to preclude its voluntary co-operation, without prejudice to its rights under the Charter, in order to achieve the purposes which are aimed at by this resolution.

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Smuts-Nehru Correspondence

Dealing with the issues of the two Governments to get together in conference, Mr. Lawrence said: "Throughout the Smuts-Nehru correspondence it was apparent that my Government should insist in advance that it had proposed a treaty of international agreement and had violated the principles of the Charter."

From the draft of the Indian resolution, which I have seen, it is clear that the Indian Government still wishes to retain the implications from last year's resolution. It insists that South Africa should accept these implications, and that it should adopt such agreed findings as a basis and, indeed, as the only possible basis, for inter-governmental relations.

"My Government is prepared to make no such admission, and is broken in agreement with the Indian Government, and is not prepared to participate in the Charter."

N. Bhabha's Treaties

Mr. Lawrence said that the Indian Government was not to be taken in by these variations and that it was a matter of deep regret to him that the Indian Government had not taken a more serious view of the situation.

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"It was only when these charges of bad faith were laid out before the United Nations that the Indian Government apparently allowed itself to be influenced by the expediency of a different construction, with the result that South Africa, suddenly and to its amazement, was confronted with the contention that it had entered into binding treaties with the Union."

Racial Aspects

Turning to the racial aspects of the problem, Mr. Lawrence said that in Palestine it had been found necessary to protect land held by Arabs under the Land Transfer Regulations of 1920. "If such protection was achieved, the legislation necessarily had to, and did, proceed on a racial basis," he said.

Mr. Lawrence cited examples from the United Nations Palestine Committee's report which, he said, involved racial distinctions.

"No one can deny that these recommendations, and several others made by this committee, involve racial distinctions. Are they on that account to be rejected as violations of the Charter?"

"I submit that they merely show that when impartial men are brought face to face with unyielding racial and political problems they are naturally forced, if they are to arrive at just and lasting solutions, to draw racial distinctions in one form or another."

"Let us not blind ourselves to this undeniable fact, proof of which comes to us from almost every corner of the world. It is this fact which accounts for the racial distinctions drawn in my country. The mere existence of such distinction is no evidence at all that fundamental human rights are being violated."

Interpretation Of Human Rights

Mr. Lawrence said that the Indian Government was not to be taken in by these variations and that it was a matter of deep regret to him that the Indian Government had not taken a more serious view of the situation.

"The fact is that the interpretation of the human rights is a matter of deep regret to him that the Indian Government had not taken a more serious view of the situation."

Mr. Lawrence said that the Indian Government was not to be taken in by these variations and that it was a matter of deep regret to him that the Indian Government had not taken a more serious view of the situation.

The Charter does not mean more than this; distinctions on the basis of race, sex, language or religion. The Charter does not mean more than this; distinctions on the basis of race, sex, language or religion.

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A Possible Way

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Mr Lawrence defended General Smuts against allegations that he had compromised the judgment and impartiality of the United Nations.

"Nothing could be further from the truth," he said. "The attitude of General Smuts has been one of adherence to, and support of the United Nations."

Mrs. Pandit Replies

After Mr. H. G. Lawrence had spoken, Mrs. Pandit, leader of the Indian delegation, formally introduced India's resolution proposing a round-table conference between the parties, including Pakistan.

"Those of us who believe in the necessity for the creation of a new world order cannot but view with anxiety the growing discord between the races," she said. "That way lies conflict and ultimate destruction."

"The decision of the Assembly last year, was a turning point in the march towards equality, which is one of the basic principles of the Charter. Therefore, we attach the highest significance to the correct solution of the problem."

The South African Government has shown utter defiance of the letter and the spirit of the resolution. But the resolution still stands, and it is the responsibility of this committee to see that positive steps are taken to make it effective."

Last year's Assembly resolution was welcomed by the oppressed peoples of the world, who waited anxiously for its implementation. The Indian delegation, however, regretted that these hopes had failed to materialise.

General Smuts, on his return to South Africa, made speeches denouncing the United Nations as being dominated by coloured peoples, and described the Assembly as a company of political partisans who were drunk with slogans.

First Speaker

The first speaker in the debate was the Polish delegate, Mr. Tadeusz Zebrowski, who condemned South Africa's attitude, saying the General Assembly should compel South Africa to respect and implement its resolution.

Sir Carl Berendsen (New Zealand) said as one in his right senses would suggest that the situation in South Africa constituted a threat to peace. The matter should be referred to the International Court of Justice. This view was supported by the Danish delegate.

Fadhil Jamali (Iraq) said race and colour should not be used as a means of discrimination.

There was no need to refer the matter to the International Court. He said, the issue was not legal but human. This was not an issue of a quarter million Indians. It was an issue affecting all persons of colour. It was an international issue. It was an issue for United Nations and must be settled here and now.

Other countries supporting Danish and New Zealand point of view were Belgium and Nicaragua. Iran supported India.

Lawrence Tenders Apology

Before the adjournment, Mr. Ahmed Ruy Ghaleb (Egypt) objected to a reference made by Mr. Lawrence to Moslems.

Mr. Lawrence replied: "I had no intention of using a word of an offensive nature. I had no intention, until the Egyptian representative spoke, that what I said could have been construed in that way. But if he feels I have said something offensive, I apologise unreservedly to him."

Mr. Lawrence had interpolated into his prepared statement a remark, as an illustration of religious discrimination, that a Moslem in South Africa could have to wait if he wanted to whereas a European would go to the front if he had more than one.

Mr. Lawrence told the Egyptian delegate, before the Committee adjourned, that he was using the illustration merely as an example of the argument which had been continually heard inside and outside the Union, of the fact that distinctions based on religion did, in fact, exist.

The Committee adjourned on Friday.

Friday's Debate

Union's Policy Sharply Criticised

When the Committee resumed debate on the South African issue on Friday, November 15, Dr. Alex Babler (Yugoslavia) was the first speaker. He compared the state of mind of the South African legislators with that of the German Nazis. Seated between Mr. Gromyko of Soviet Union and Mr. Andrei Galagan of Ukraine, Mr. Lawrence seemed most uncomfortable and nervous as charge after charge was being leveled against South Africa's racial discrimination by the Yugoslav delegate. Mr. Lawrence appealed to the chairman to withhold Dr. Babler from making reference to South African legislation but the chairman was not helpful and Dr. Babler retorted: "I see the South African delegate is becoming nervous. I do not blame him. I would not like to be in his shoes. In fact, I would not like to be a delegate

for a country like this which enforces such legislation."

Addressing himself directly to the South African delegate, Mr. Lawrence, Dr. Babler said "You are in an unfavourable position. You speak about domestic jurisdiction, but you voted to maintain foreign troops in Greece and Korea. Are we not entitled to cast some doubts on your good faith and your sincerity and candour?"

"Yugoslavia will vote for the Indian resolution."

Pakistan's Attitude

Mr. M. A. H. Isphani stated Pakistan's attitude to the question.

"The discrimination, the disabilities and restrictions in South Africa of which Indians complain, do not arise from measures genuinely intended for the betterment and welfare of the native population, but are the result of a long process of discrimination with regard to measures which encroach on their own legitimate rights as nationals of the Union and which reduce them to a position of inferiority and subservience to the European settlers."

The problem was not of recent origin and did not represent a transient phase in the life of South Africa.

"If the history of this question shows anything, it is that the problem is not simply a domestic problem but a racial one."

He pointed out that the Indian settlers have been given the right to vote and the right to elect their own representatives and to influence the policy of the South African Government.

"But this is the one right which, above all others, is denied to the vast majority of Indians in South Africa."

Longer and longer it has been a matter of occasion, that, in the course of their economic and social backwardness. The explanation does not fit the facts, because, while in and even highly wasteful in a sense, it is the same discriminatory and humiliating disabilities as the poorer and less advanced members of their community in South Africa.

"In any case, the remedy for the backwardness of the Indian community is not their segregation from the more advanced communities, but their integration, to the best of their ability, into the mainstream of the South African community."

"That is the human, progres-

sive way of assisting forward and the weak."

Mr. Lawrence, that discriminatory measures in South Africa did not proceed from any oppressive intent and had no oppressive effect, he said. "It may be that the rulers of South Africa have persuaded themselves that their cruelest deeds do not proceed from any oppressive intent, but do they seriously expect the world to believe that all these measures have no effect?"

"The victims of these measures have certainly been in no doubt about it."

"The European citizens of South Africa must be convinced of the justice of the Indian cause and the reasonableness of their demands and of the moral force of a resolution of the United Nations. It requires initiative, it requires courage and it requires action."

Mr. Lawrence pointed out that the United Nations had contributed so much to the formation of the Covenant of the League of Nations as well as the Charter was not to be found wanting in any of these respects and that it will pave the way for the reconciliation of friendly relations between India, Pakistan and the Union."

Mohamed Aeykel Pahe (Egypt) said: "The Union has no more right to permit racial discrimination than any other State to permit slavery or the protection of its minorities."

We fail to understand how any Government can claim that it is unable to amend those of its laws which are obviously contrary to the Charter on the grounds that its Parliament does not wish to do so.

The Union Parliament, having accepted the principles of the Charter, should be bound by such principles.

L. R. de la Colina (Mexico) moved an amendment to delete from the Indian resolution what he called the blanket condemnation of South Africa. This clause expresses the General Assembly's regret at South Africa's refusal to accept the implementation of last year's Assembly resolution as a basis of discussion with India, and at South Africa's failure to take any other steps to implement the resolution.

Mexico, he said, would vote for the Indian resolution without that condemnatory clause, but trade embargoes and other unilateral sanctions were undesirable, especially when the Assembly was considering mal-

INDIA DELEGATION TO UNO

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PAKISTAN DELEGATION TO UNO

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OUR INDIA LETTER

(FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT)

Parade, October 31, 1947

INVASION OF KASHMIR

... Kashmir is in dire peril."

Kashmir is in dire peril," said Sheikh Abdullah on the 27th, "and the first duty of every Kashmiri is to defend his motherland against the intruder. The invasion of Kashmir is to correct

honour of their swords and the fair name of their community and country by spilling innocent blood. The Sikh community had been misrepresented and vilified abroad by certain interested propagandists. He uttered a warning to the Sikhs and Muslims. "We cannot act in a manner such as to degrade the sword which we wield. When the right time and the right cause come, you can see your sword to your breast content-

DR. B. C. ROY'S MESSAGE TO SOUTH AFRICA

DR. B. C. Roy, an eminent physician of India and personal medical adviser to Mahatma Gandhi, who was one of the members of the Indian Delegation to U.N.O. and has now returned to India to assume the Governorship of the United Provinces has sent through Mr. Sarabjee Khandekar the following message to South Africa: Dr. Roy's place on the Delegation has been taken by Sardar Dr. Panikkar.

"Is it compatible with ideas of democracy for any state to admit immigrants and then treat them as pariahs, denying to them democratic freedom? Is it democracy, if imposed by fear, on a portion of the community? Is it not a fact that democracy should function as an organic unit? Weakness or disease in one part, however small, will weaken or destroy the whole fabric as much as a weakness or a festering sore in one locus, in the human body, leaves it prey to disability and death. The much vaunted modern democracy, so developed and such as we see in the West today, has to meet a great public challenge. I hope the United Nations will secure democracy by insisting upon the South African Government to admit just claims of the South African Indians. I would also appeal to all Indians in South Africa to join in the present non-violent struggle for winning their political rights to which they are entitled."

and compel the people of Kashmir to do in a particular way. ... reports this compulsion to stand shoulder to shoulder with them in defending our heritage and our homeland, and sorrows that may be in store. I ... triumph in the end." The latest reports indicate that the soldiers are being quickly pulled back.

"Sheathe Your Sword"

a brave people, and it did not, where the brave to humiliate the

Now you have to sheathe your sword so that you can raise the ... which is now at such a ... attacks on innocent innocent persons are being perpetrated. It is up to all of us to ... can give the right lead ...

The ... correspondent of the Hindustan ... wardly understood in have told the East Punjab Ministers that ...

lines in the West Punjab wanted to drive out only the Sikhs, and

but it has not been

the Premier. ... of Mr. Subramanyam ... which was likely to ...

and the ... thousands of Hindus had been brutally murdered, their houses burnt, property looted, and women most abominably treated. The Prajapal maintained that the atrocities perpetrated in West Punjab had made re-settlement of minorities impracticable.

"At the end of the present campaign of systematic killing and eviction," says the Hindustan Times, "there will be no minorities left in West Punjab at all."

The States

The Standing Committee of the All India States People's Conference, in a resolution passed at New Delhi, called upon the people of the States to march ahead in a peaceful and disciplined way to the cherished goal of order and freedom. They

operate in the march "not only because this is for the betterment of the people of the States, but because the very existence of the princely States in India is threatened unless they fall in line with their people and accept the principle of constitutional heads of their States functioning under the people's democratic government. This is an inevitable development today. The

Chief Minister, speaking at Patna, made an important contribution to the States' problem. "After the alien rule had been removed," he said "all those who were left benighted in our family. There could, therefore, be no quarrel with the Princes. They are ours, and we can make them

point of view. It is not enough to ask for responsible government. You must know how to digest it. No Government could ... port. Travancore and Mysore

shows that we must change our methods to suit the new circumstances which the departure of alien rule has created. The days ... names and managing them are gone. Our methods now have to be changed by a more ...

The new premier ministry has taken charge of office in the Mysore State.

Jamnagar And Hyderabad

The Provisional Government of Jamnagar has captured 23 villages in the Jamnagar taluk.

CONGRESS LEADERS COURTING ARREST

GOVERNMENT CHANGE THEIR TACTICS

NO ARRESTS MADE

MR Ashwin Choudree B.A. practising Indian Attorney who has just returned from New York where he was a delegate of the Joint Passive Resistance Council with Messrs. Sorabjee, Kustomjee and A. I. Meer to advise the India and Pakistan delegates attending the United Nations session, courted arrest to defy the Government Act by leading a batch of resisters to occupy the Umbilo Road-Gale Street site on Monday night, November 20.

The batch was not arrested till midnight. A tent was consequently pitched on the plot. However was lit and the Indians' defiance of the Ghetto Act was demonstrated. Since then several batches of resisters have violated the trespass law and tried to court arrest but

the Government seem to have changed their tactics.

While these lines are being penned there are four tents pitched on what is now known and recognised by the authorities as the Resisters' Plot at Gale Street. No arrests have so far been made but there is a day and night police patrol.

There was an incident only on the night Mr. Ashwin Choudree and his batch courted arrest, thirty to forty Europeans having approached Mr. Choudree's tent with the intention of assaulting the Resisters.

The Police intervened and explained that they should not interfere with the Resisters since that would not assist the Union Government at U.N.O.

But when the Europeans became persistent the Police warn-

ed them that if they failed to disperse a baton charge would be made and the Europeans reluctantly left the plot. Since then no incidents have occurred.

Among those who are occupying the Resisters' Plot besides Mr. Ashwin Choudree and his batch with a view to courting arrest as a protest against the Ghetto Act are Dr. B. T. Chetty, chairman of the Overport Branch of the N.I.C., who was at the head of Congress during Dr. G. M. Naicker's imprisonment last year, Mr. R. A. Pillay, chairman of the Seaview-Bellair Branch of the N.I.C., Mr. Ganap Pathar, joint secretary of the Grayville Branch of the N.I.C., Mr. Jackie Ilay holder of the Natal Featherweight weight lifting title. Mr. Pillay competed in the "Body Beautiful Competition" at Curries Fountain on November 16.

Some Prominent Resisters Waiting To Be Arrested At The Gale Street Plot

ગેટ સ્ટ્રીટની જમીનપર પકડાવાની રાહ લેઈ રહેલા કેટલાક પ્રમુખ નેતાઓનો ચિત્રાવર.



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શ્રી રા. અ. પિલ્લૈ
ગેટ સ્ટ્રીટની જમીનપર



શ્રી ગાનપથાર
ગેટ સ્ટ્રીટની જમીનપર



શ્રી જાકી આય
ગેટ સ્ટ્રીટની જમીનપર

NEWS IN BRIEF

Deepavali Celebration At Overport

On Wednesday November 13, Deepavali celebrations took place under the auspices of the Overport & District Tamil & English Protective Association and Overport Tamil & Telugu Unity Committee at the S.R.S. School Hall. The function was presided over by Mr. K. Soobramoney, chairman of the Association. The Hall was packed to capacity. Mr. Soobramoney extended a cordial welcome to the gathering and extended Deepavali greetings to one and all. Councillor R. N. Thomas, Deputy Mayor, of Durban who was present congratulated the Association on its very useful and practical work and in view of the interest of the community especially for the poor and orphans in the way of education and social welfare work and wished the Hindu community a Happy Deepavali and a prosperous New Year. Amongst the other speakers were Messrs. V. J. Thacker, P. Abboy Naidoo, Poovalingam Pillay, Miss Phakum Govender, Messrs. R. Sahadu Sah, T. G. Morgan and Parameswaram Govender. Songs and dialogues to suit the occasion were rendered by the pupils of the Association's Tamil School. Music was provided by Mr. Aschen and Party of Durban. Light refreshments were served after the termination of the happy function.

Verulam Temple Progressive Clubs

Under the aegis of the Verulam Temple Progressive Clubs, Sri Gopallal Temple, and Verulam Ramayan Sabha, a "Luxmi Havan" was performed on November 12 at the temple. A large number of people and children witnessed the ceremony. Pandit S. M. Maharaj who officiated delivered a very interesting and informative lecture on the "Significance of Havan". After the termination of the havan were given the Pathasala pupils offered prayers and sang appropriate national songs. All those present were served with light refreshments. During the evening the Temple was illuminated with clay lights. The Temple was decorated with palm leaves, flowers and national flags by the officials and members of the above club.

Welcome Reception At Ladysmith

A welcome reception was given in honour of Mr. A. Subbaraj just returned from overseas. Mr. M. Subban, the newly appointed headmaster of the Government Indian Secondary School, Ladysmith and Mr. K. R. Singh, the newly appointed Welfare Officer, by the Ladies of the Young India Cultural Service Society. The chairman Mr. R. Narayana presided. He welcomed Mr. Subbaraj and Mr. Subban and coasts. Mr. M. R. Subbaraj has been in the front line of the other workers in the Natal. He has a long list of names, including Mr. Subbaraj, Mr. K. R. Singh, Mr. M. B. Khan, Mr. K. R. Singh and Mr. M. Yawala, all of whom expressed the wish that the honoured guests would be a great success in their work. All the three guests expressed their thanks to the ladies.

S.A.I. QUESTION BEFORE U.N.O

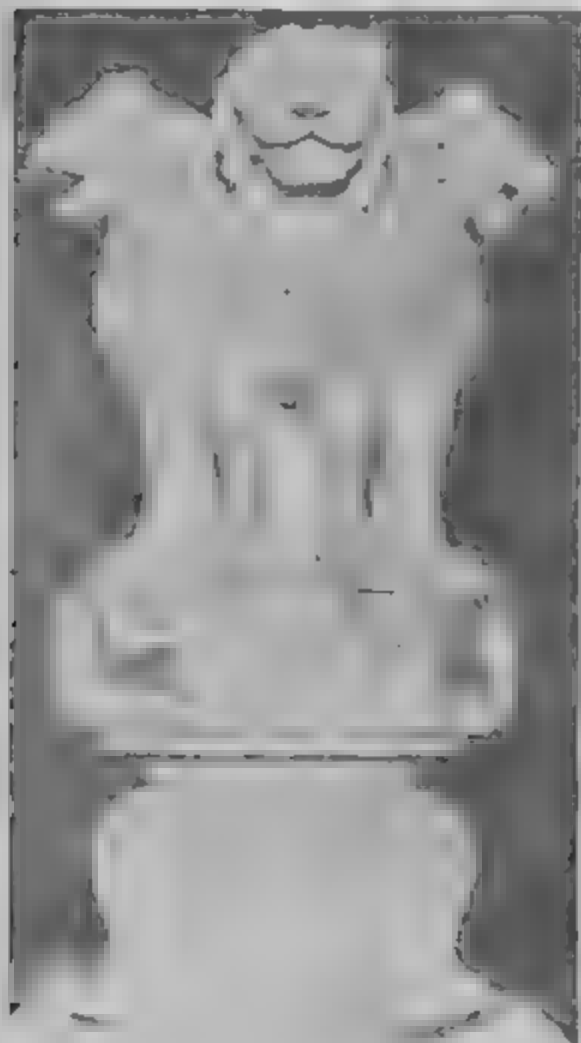
(Continued from page 334)

If the Act casts a slur on Indians, then by all the known laws of logic it casts the aspersions on Europeans.

"Some Indians in Natal find the Act a slur on their property because they exclusively choose to regard it as such."


He ended by saying: "Residents' control, in principle the same as the control as provided for in the Act, was not at the time of the 1946 Agreement as it would have the Indians as a whole and not individual in mind. Why do we should the added control of the acquisition of land property be much more inflexible?"

On the 14th Mrs. P. M. Lawrence asked: "Do you expect the South African Government to negotiate on a basis of the Ambagosa resolution of last year? Do you want South Africa to confirm by a vote that the Government of the Union and the Government of the Republic of South Africa are in agreement on the basis of the Ambagosa resolution of last year? Do you want South Africa to confirm by a vote that the Government of the Union and the Government of the Republic of South Africa are in agreement on the basis of the Ambagosa resolution of last year? Do you want South Africa to confirm by a vote that the Government of the Union and the Government of the Republic of South Africa are in agreement on the basis of the Ambagosa resolution of last year?"



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This man uses a utility bag-wrench to cut the bag when
he opens it—bag is not spoiled.

This man cuts the bag with a
utility bag-wrench.



This man uses a utility bag-wrench to cut the bag when
he opens it—bag is not spoiled.

This man looks after his full bags and
empty bags. He does not waste food or
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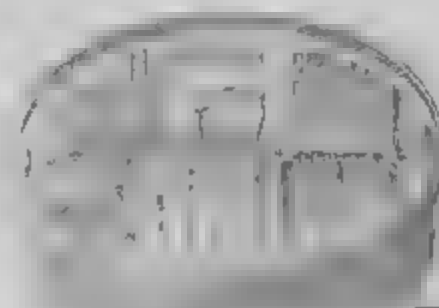
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ને કાચની ૧૦ x ૧૨ ની થી ૫-૬. ૮ x ૧૦ ની થી. ૫. ૭ ફુટ ૮ ઇંચ

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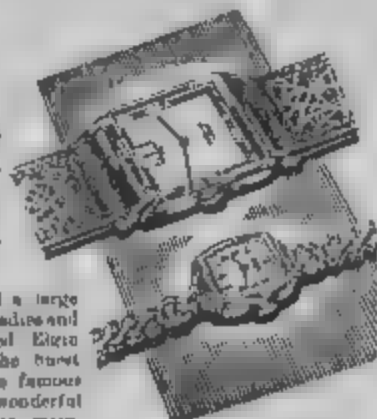
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INDIAN OPINION

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Page 1

Indian Opinion

FRIDAY, 20TH NOVEMBER, 1947

The Next Step

WHAT IS the result of the voting in the United Nations General Assembly on the Indian resolution on the South African Indian question may have caused India a certain amount of disappointment, South Africa has little reason to rejoice over it. She has managed to save herself by a very narrow majority. She would not have been in the happy position she finds herself in had it not been for the signature of the two-thirds majority for any resolution to be passed by the Assembly. The fact is that a large part of the world is not in favour of South Africa's discriminatory policy and it would be well for South Africa to take note of it. That the Indian resolution had a substantial majority behind having been backed by thirty-one nations, was a very hopeful sign. The lack of two-thirds majority was after all only a matter of procedural technicality.

What is really regrettable is the failure of the United Nations to fully realise the seriousness of the question. As Mrs. Pandit has very rightly said, "the question of Indians in South Africa is merely a symbol of a much bigger issue which will sooner or later challenge the attention of the world in a manner which will then brook no denial."

What Is The Next Step?

However, what is the next step? Mr. H. G. Lawrence, leader of the South African delegation, has said, "the refusal of the Assembly to re-affirm last year's resolution had removed the serious obstacle in the way of restoring friendly relations between the Union and the Government of India. Mrs. Pandit, on behalf of India, has said India was prepared for

any compromise which would be honourable to both sides. Indeed India has taken that stand from the very beginning but South Africa has been found unyielding. She seems to forget that she has made the first attack on India and the latter has only acted in defence. The whole dispute has arisen from passing of the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act. It was as a result of that that the High Commissioner for India in the Union was recalled and came into conflict with South Africa had been terminated by India. South Africa had first refused to talk at all with India, claiming that this was her domestic affair and she would brook no outside interference. Subsequently, however, when Indians were found unbending to persecution and the time to face the world forum was drawing near, she descended to talk but demanded, as a prerequisite the re-establishment of both the High Commissioner and the trade relations. Put on her own part South Africa has not up till now shown any inclination of even temporarily suspending the administration of the obnoxious Asiatic Act. She was consistent that India must accept the Act both in principle and in practice prior to any negotiations between the two countries could take place and yet she objects to India protesting against her actions in any shape or form. While India or Indians in South Africa do not wish to stand on prestige there must be a spirit of give and take on both sides. It is not right nor just for South Africa to expect everything from India whilst she herself is not prepared to budge an inch from the stand she has taken. Indians want

peace in this country and are anxious to see the whole country enjoy peace and prosperity. But they do not want peace at any cost nor would they expect others to do so. They are as anxious as anybody else to see the Indian question in South Africa settled honourably and are prepared to contribute towards it consistently with their national self-respect.

The Line Taken By Indians

What Indians in South Africa have done so far in opposing the Asiatic Act is nothing more than what any people with any national honour would be expected to do. They have every reason to take pride in the fact that they have not resorted to the methods of killing or causing injury to those who have injured them. They have used the civilised method of self-sacrifice and self-sacrifice to awaken the conscience of the wrong-doer. One may indulge in scoffing to one's heart's content. In this respect it pains us to have to state that the *Natal Mercury* has played this role very well in its leading article in the issue of November 17, wherein it has chosen to make a scapegoat of Mr. Ashwin Choudree in order to give vent to its wrath against the Indian community. Mr. Choudree accompanied by a group of passive resisters has illegally occupied the Corporation land in Lisle Street in order to court arrest. The *Natal Mercury* has not only imputed motives to Mr. Choudree and tried to vilify him but it has chosen to ridicule the Passive Resistance movement and to hurl an insult to the Eastern people as a whole. We do not know if the editor was writing the article in higher vein or meant what he wrote seriously. Any way that is the stuff that leads to war and some people need just up to nothing for it. The article has come rather unfortunately at a time when it was necessary to do some serious thinking as to

how this vexed problem could be solved for the sake of humanity. The spirit that has prompted the *Mercury's* article goes to prove not the failure but the success of Passive Resistance. If the Government allows the commitment of illegal acts without taking necessary action to prevent such acts it is the Government who have failed and not those who have committed the offence. Does our contemporary then scoff at the Government or the passive resisters?

The Main Point

But we have diverted from the main point. The *Mercury's* article can be treated as an illustration of how through the resistance movement a change is being brought about in the attitude of the British Empire in the East. It is a great triumph for the Indian people in the East to replace all possible avenues to bring about a sound basis of reference between the two countries on honourable terms with a view to coming about a mutually beneficial settlement of the Indian question.

The question is asked if this is not enough for ending the struggle. Our struggle has not gone to such lengths as to achieve this. On the other hand it has been a lengthy training in discipline and in cultivating the spirit of self-sacrifice and self-suffering for an admittedly good cause. We do not, therefore, see the immediate necessity of this to achieve the struggle's end. In any case, however, there is no such reason if the struggle is found to be a hindrance in creating a favourable atmosphere for a settlement. When that time comes the call will come from the proper quarters and Indians will not be found wanting in responding to it.

Whatever may be said to the contrary there is not the slightest doubt that it is the struggle and the sufferings our people have undergone, however it be, that may appear to be, that has saved our community from sinking into the mire of degradation which was the lot assigned to us by the Asiatic Act.

S. A. INDIAN QUESTION AT UNO

The final stage in the India-South Africa dispute over the treatment of Indians in the Union was reached on Thursday, Nov. 27, when the question was brought before the United Nations General Assembly.

Mr. H. G. Lawrence, of South Africa, went to the forefront first to initiate the final day's debate. He challenged Mrs. Pandit, of India, directly to tell the Assembly that India did not—for purposes of the proposed round-table conference—expect the Union to recede to a point that it had broken agreements and violated the United Nations Charter.

Then, referring to India's severance of trade relations with the Union, Mr. Lawrence said:

"The Union is expected to have concluded that trade relations with South Africa are a matter of trade relations. But let us not split hairs."

By whatever name you call them, however you denote or circumscribe them, the fact remains that they constitute unilateral pressure by way of a trade embargo imposed for the specific purpose of forcing the Union Government to submit to the demands of the Indian Government.

"They are unfriendly measures. The Indian Government has even gone so far as to interfere with the free movement of persons and goods from the Union to South Africa."

After examining the 1933 Act, which he described as the "first and principal step in the process of imposing the economic and political isolation of racial problems in order to lay the basis for racial discrimination and to create a situation of racial discrimination and to create a situation of racial discrimination."

"I am sure that I appreciate the position of the South African Government, but we have to be fair to ourselves. These matters will be decided by the United Nations. We are a people who are guided by the principles of reason, and when regard to the facts and the law, which are wise and practical."

"It is only in that way that we can hope to avoid decisions which might give us emotional satisfaction, but which would retard rather than accelerate the results we want to achieve because they do not take sufficient account of the latent subversive tendencies of the world we are trying to improve for all who live in it."

Still A Union Domestic Affair

Mr. Lawrence then again told the General Assembly that the South African Government still strongly believed that the matter was essentially within its own domestic jurisdiction, and there-

fore beyond the competence of the Assembly.

Criticising India's attitude during the present debates, Mr. Lawrence declared: "My Government would naturally wish to terminate as soon as possible, irrespective of any resolution taken by the assembly, a friendly relations with India, or with any other country."

"My Government has been and still is anxious to negotiate a settlement, but it has been faced not only with the serious obstacle of unilateral sanctions, but also with an unrelenting attitude on the part of the Government of India in insisting on the submission by my Government, as a prerequisite to discussion, that the South African Government has failed to carry out its agreements and has violated the Charter."

Cannot Make Any Such Admissions

"We cannot make any such admissions, and we cannot reasonably be expected to make them. If the Indian resolution is accepted the Indian Government will only consider it as an endorsement by the Assembly that the South African Government must make these admissions."

"It is a resolution which could be taken to confirm the unrelenting attitude of the Indian Government. I am very much afraid that the possibility of negotiations will disappear altogether."

Belgium, Brazil, Cuba, Denmark and Norway then introduced their joint resolution asking the Assembly to call on both Governments, "after inviting Pakistan to take part in the negotiations, to continue their efforts through a round-table conference or other direct means, or, if necessary, by mediation or conciliation, with a view to reaching agreement in settlement of their dispute and, should they fail to reach such agreement, to submit to the International Court of Justice the question of the extent of obligations under the agreements and under the provisions of the Charter."

Brazilian View

Senator Joao Nunes (Brazil) one of the principal authors of the joint resolution, said that it embodied the spirit of conciliation which existed in the political committee.

Direct negotiations without prejudice to either country was the best and harmonious way of dealing with the question and reaching a solution.

The motion had resulted from the recognition of India's right to submit the matter to the Assembly, and of the difficult problems of the Union Government in governing a population of many races.

Supporting the joint resolution, particularly the portion providing for a request for an opinion from the International Court, Senator Hector Castro (a Salvador) agreed with Mr. Lawrence that the Assembly had no jurisdiction over Union laws.

If a resolution attempting to exert pressure on the Union Government were approved, he said, it would be resisted by the Union Parliament, "making the problem even more difficult than it is now."

There was discrimination in many parts of the world. He had received letters asking for action to take against Lithuania, for example. "One cannot sing out one Government for condemnation on this score."

He hoped that the United Nations would soon day establish a council on the same footing as the Security and Trusteeship Councils for the protection of fundamental human rights.

Poland Supports India

Speaking in the debate, Dr. Oscar Lange (Poland) said that racial events in Europe and the efforts of the Spanish people would result in the ousting of the Franco regime in spite of the failure of the General Assembly to reaffirm last year's resolution on Spain.

He urged the Assembly to reaffirm last year's condemnation of discrimination in South Africa, and not to follow the same course as it did in the Spanish question.

He opposed the joint resolution, and urged the Assembly to vote for the Indian motion or also opposed the submission of the question to the International Court, which would delay the solution and allow relations between the two countries to deteriorate.

U.S. Against Indian Motion

Mr. Charles Faby (U.S.A.) opposed the Indian motion and supported the joint resolution which, he said, was a more hopeful approach because it might lead to direct discussions in a favourable atmosphere.

Mrs. Pandit (India) said that the Indian resolution on the treatment of Indians in South Africa affected not only the Indians in South Africa but also the peoples of Asia and Africa.

"For us it is not the mere assertion of certain rights and

privileges. We look upon it primarily as a challenge to our dignity and self-respect."

She appealed to the British Commonwealth and the United States "to reflect very seriously on the consequences all over Asia and Africa of the voting down of a resolution of this character." The Charter would lose its meaning for millions of people and the foundations of the United Nations would be weakened.

India could only accept a settlement of the problem "which is consistent with the dignity of the cause we represent and of which the question of the Indians in South Africa is only a symptom."

New Indian Motion

After the voting the Indian delegation moved a new resolution to bring South Africa to a round-table conference.

Mr. Gromyko (Russia), who presided in place of the president, Dr. Aranha of Brazil, said the motion would be circulated and discussed at a later meeting.

Immediate objections were raised by the South African, British and United States delegates, who said that the question was closed and that no new motions could be tabled.

Mr. Gromyko said that although the two earlier motions were rejected, the question had not been eliminated from the Assembly's agenda.

The Assembly agreed to consider the legality of the new motion at a later meeting.

The Text

The text of the new resolution reads: "The General Assembly, recalling the resolution of December 8 last, requests the Governments of South Africa and India to discuss at a round-table conference all the matters pending between them with a view to an amicable settlement in the light of the said resolution and to invite the Government of Pakistan to submit its views on the matter."

The result of such discussions be reported by the South African and Indian Governments to the United Nations Secretary-General, who shall, from time to time, make inquiries from them and submit a report on the action taken on this resolution by the two Governments, to the Assembly at the next session."

Mrs. Pandit, leader of the Indian delegation, declared, in a press statement:

"The resolution of the Political Committee secured a large majority in the Assembly, but failed by three votes to obtain the necessary two-thirds majority. This has resulted in the unfortunate position that there will be no concrete

expression of opinion by the Assembly on this important question.

"To avoid this situation, we gave notice of a fresh resolution which might have been able to secure the requisite majority in view of the serious procedural difficulties, however, the Indian delegation has now decided not to move the resolution, and has informed the Secretary-General accordingly.

"It is a matter of regret that the result of the debate should have proved so negative. My delegation had hoped that, again, the nations of the world

would. We shall continue to fight for the removal of disabilities and discrimination wherever they exist in the firm belief that ultimate success will be achieved.

Mrs. Pandit said she still considered last year's General Assembly resolution on the question as being in force.

According to Sapa-Reuters, in the final voting certain members of the Latin American group—which is almost all powerful when it acts as a

Argentina, Brazil, El Salvador, Nicaragua and Paraguay voted against India, and Uruguay, Peru, Bolivia, Cuba, the Dominican Republic and Ecuador abstained from voting.

Mr. Lawrence, commenting on the General Assembly's decision, said the South African delegation would leave the United States feeling that the refusal to reaffirm last year's resolution had removed the serious obstacle in the way of restoring friendly relations between the Union and the Government of India.

A REAL GRIEVANCE AT LAST

THE *Natal Mercury* writes the following leading article in its issue of November 27.

The extremists among the Indian community in Durban have a real grievance at last—it is not, alas, one which was touched on by Mrs. Pandit or any other member of the Indian delegation to the United Nations Organisation. It was nothing which Mr. Harry Lawrence, in his able handling of the South African case, was called upon to deal. It is something far more subtly brutal than anything brought before U.N.O. These weeks or so ago Mr. Ashwin Choudree, who has made several trips to the U.S.A., Washington and London, on behalf of the Joint Indian KwaZulu Council, announced with loud flourish of trumpets that he was going to sail. To celebrate his sailing, and martyrdom he threw a party before leading a group of so-called passive resisters in occupying a plot of land at the junction of bus road and Gate 5. It is, of course, entirely possible that when Mr. Choudree in London painted the picture of the agonies for passive resisters—most of them, naturally, well paid for their trouble—induced on the hands of the prison authorities he was asked more than once why he had not been murdered already. Whatever the reason, Mr. Choudree was determined to repair the deficiency. So with his followers he marched to the corner of Umbani Road and Gate 5 and squatted there.

The Callous Police

What happened? The story is a most interesting one.

The weather was wet and windy. Conditions were so uncomfortable as to be almost intolerable. The heroic squatters sent message after message to the police begging to be arrested. And so for three weeks it has continued. The brave band headed by Mr. Choudree has sat with an endurance which the Spartans might have envied night after night—at times, admittedly, for no more than an hour or so—asking only to be taken to the comparative warmth of a prison cell. They obtained tents. They lit fires. They showed a fortitude which would have done credit to front line troops. But the hard hearted, callous police did just nothing. Could anything more inhuman be imagined? Mr. Choudree and those associated with him might even have caught cold. And who would have been responsible? No one but the authorities who refused to take the slightest notice of the almost unbelievable heroism that was being displayed. Such is the unkind fate of those who would sacrifice themselves on the altar of their political convictions. It is, too, all the more unfortunate that the demonstration of Mr. Choudree coincided with the South African Indian debate at U.N.O., which has ended. Were he arrested now it would be too late for his purpose. What explanation can be given when next he goes to America. He would be less than human if he did not paint a lurid picture of the stark brutality of the South African police. It is indeed hard that when a poor Indian asks to be

arrested, he should really do something about it.

The Eastern Mind

Both the police and the public of Durban are to be congratulated on the way in which the whole matter has been treated. From the beginning the passive resistance movement, so called, has been false. Many of the resisters have been paid to go to goal and the way in which funds have been raised is, to put it mildly, dubious. In dealing with the East it is sometimes necessary to use Eastern methods. One thing the Eastern mind objects to is to be taken notice of. It is even more sensitive to ridicule. And the proper way to treat the passive resistance movement is to ignore it or ridicule it. Mr. Choudree has lost caste with his own people. He will be known as the man who could not go to goal when he boasted that he was going. The police who, under some provocation, have handled the situation with great tact, will, it is to be hoped, continue to adopt the attitude which has made the passive resistance movement ludicrous. And the public can assist them by continuing to take no notice of the would-be martyrs who, try as they would, have failed to achieve martyrdom. This time it is not the extreme Indians who are showing what passive resistance can do. It is the police and the public of Durban.

[The above is dealt with in our serial file.]

News Of The Struggle

SEVERAL women and men resisters have been released in a week from Durban and Marikissa. Most of the women resisters were from the Transvaal.

There are at present ten tents pitched on the Corporation land in Gate Street. Among those occupying the land are Mrs. M. R. Parekh, Mrs. Choonikal Parekh, Miss Krishna Deep Singh, Mrs. Sampul Deep Singh. Up to the time of going to Press no arrests have taken place.

Leaders of the Natal and the Transvaal Indian Congresses are conferring in Durban on the future programme.

An emergency Provincial Conference has been called by the Natal Indian Congress on Sunday and a mass meeting has been called on Monday.

Pakistan To Review Ban On Trade With S.A.

WHEN its financial year ends on March 31, the Government of Pakistan will review the whole subject of the continuation or otherwise of the trade embargo against South Africa, according to Sapa-Reuters's message from New York.

It is understood that Pakistan feels it "inherited" the trade embargo and that this feeling is the reason for the decision to review it.

Muslims To Send Mission To Pakistan

The Prime Minister of Pakistan has said in the National Assembly that the Government of Pakistan would welcome a visit by the Congress mission.

The mission, which leaves next month, has three members from Natal—Mr. A. T. Rajan, Mr. E. E. Redfern and E. M. Bawa.

would give a clear verdict against racial discrimination, but the fact that the Indian resolution failed to get a two-thirds majority must not be regarded as a failure.

The question of Indians in South Africa is merely a symbol of a much bigger issue which will sooner or later challenge the attention of the world in a manner which will then brook no denial.

"All talk of peace becomes a mockery when the causes of conflict are permitted to continue."

will yield because easily, passively, may have nothing to do with your soul. This does not make for a man or slave of Hitler or Goebbels. But you cannot yield your soul to the conqueror because conscience forbids you to do

not succumb to temptation and be

yourself words, you should you order to owe allegiance to the

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non-violent," says Gandhi,

that the stock of non-violence

is not sufficient to check violence

even as in the animal body it

is not merely a political technique

but a way of life

Faith and Action

He has stated that the world

needs to-day a man of faith and of

action. He quotes Abraham Lin-

coln in this connection and considers

and non-violence

Also a Positive Philosophy

But Gandhi's non-violence is not

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Another S.A. Indian Lady Doctor

It was learnt on Wednesday night that Miss Z. Christoph, eldest daughter of Advocate A. N. A. Christoph, was one among the medical students who have passed their M.B.B.S. in Johannesburg. We join the many friends and relatives in congratulating her on this achievement and wish her every success in her future career.

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Natal Indian Congress

Emergency Meeting

All Provincial Conference Delegates of the Natal Indian Congress are hereby notified that an emergency Provincial Conference will be held at the Gandhi Library on Sunday, 31st November 1947, commencing at 10 a.m.

AGENDA:

Passive Resistance

Report, Financial Statement, and future policy

CREDENTIALS ESSENTIAL

DR. G. M. NICKER
President.

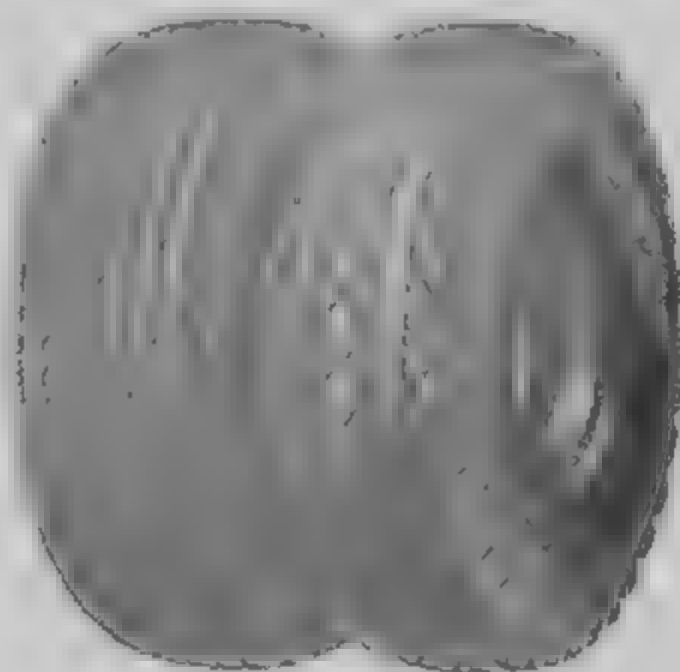
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Acting General Secretary

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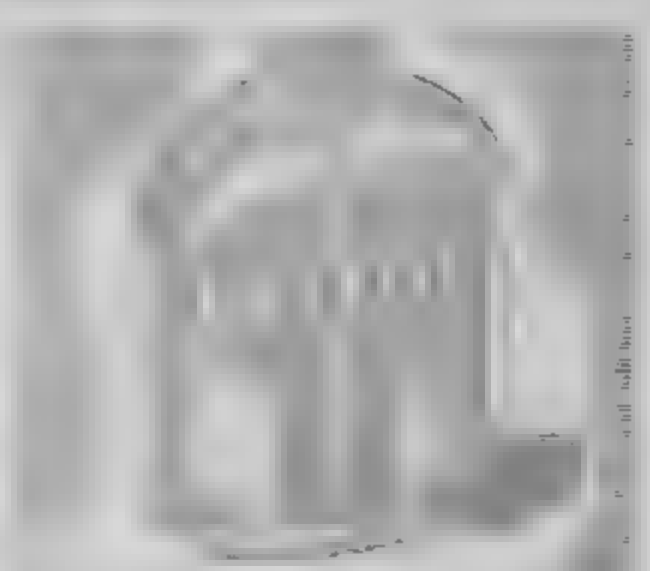
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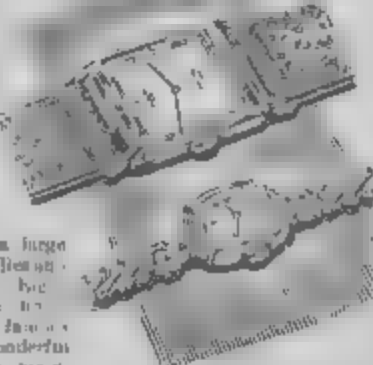
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INDIAN OPINION

MAHATMA GANDHI

No. 46—Vol. XLV.

FRIDAY, JANUARY 1, 1948

REGISTERED IN THE POST OFFICE AS SECOND CLASS PERMIT NO. 1109

Indian Opinion

FRIDAY, JANUARY 1, 1948

Treatment Of Women Resisters In Prison

Mrs. Cachalia was among the resisters who were released from the Durban and Maritzburg prisons on Wednesday morning after serving their term of thirty days. Mrs. Cachalia is the daughter-in-law of the late Mr. A. M. Cachalia who had played a very prominent part in the great and historic Passive Resistance Struggle under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi during 1907-1914. This was the second time Mrs. Cachalia had been to prison. She was one of the twenty-four women Resisters from the Transvaal who were each sentenced to a fine of £3 or thirty days imprisonment for being found guilty of a breach of the Trespass Law. They had all wilfully violated the law as a protest against the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act now better known as the Ghetto Act. From the story she has told us it would appear that these brave women Resisters have had a pretty rough time. Mr. Cachalia's complaint was against the Matron of the Maritzburg gaol to which they had been transferred from Durban. Among the things Mrs. Cachalia told us were:

that the Matron did not only refuse to heed to any complaints they made to her but constantly used the most abusive and vulgar language

in addressing them and their repeated requests to be allowed to complain to the Superintendent were ignored. The Superintendent passed by them but never once asked them if they had any complaints. Under the Prison regulations prisoners were supposed to inform the Matron if they wished to speak to the Superintendent and it would be a breach of the regulations if they shifted from their position without being told to do so. They abided by the regulations implicitly while the Matron did not. The Magistrate, according to Mrs. Cachalia, visited the prison on one occasion, but, since their term was about to expire, they did not think it worthwhile to make any complaints to him.

Mrs. Cachalia said they were made to work beyond their capacity. They were made to wash floors and the drains in the yard and to carry buckets full of water. Twenty-four women Resisters were made to wash and clean up as many assembly cells as there were. When their number had dwindled to six, the others having been released after the expiry of their terms, the six were made to do the same amount of work that twenty-four were doing.

Though they found the work very strenuous, said Mrs. Cachalia, they did not mind that so much as they did the abusive and excessive language used by the Matron.

They were given nothing to clean their teeth with nor were they allowed to have their own tooth brushes.

They were allowed to bathe three a week but that consisted of just a cold shower

even though the weather may be cold.

They were given no change of clothes. They had to wear the same clothes they were given when they went to prison until the day they were released, which for some was a period of twenty-three and for some thirty days. Nor were they allowed to wash the clothes they had on.

They were not allowed to have any books, not even their prayer book.

They were entitled to lights in their cells till 8 p.m. but they were invariably put off as a punishment under some pretext.

All this sounds quite contrary to what Mr. Lawrence had said at U.N.O. about the treatment of Resisters in prison. The fact to be remembered is that most of these women were of high social standing and could easily afford to pay thirty times the amount of fine imposed on them. But they chose to undergo self-imposed suffering for a cause they held sacred. To treat such people worse than they would appear to have been the case, is to say the least a crime against humanity. It would not be an exaggeration to say that it smacks a little of the spirit of the famous concentration camps under the Nazi regime, however much the Union Government may deny it. But the brave women who have hazarded the rigors of the prison life were made of sterner stuff. They would allow themselves to break but not their spirit and that is the stuff of which heroes are made. It is required, if we wish to raise ourselves from the status of helots to the status of free self-respecting

human beings. We heartily congratulate our brave sisters and wish that their noble example will be emulated by many others.

General Smuts The Philosopher

We know too much of General Smuts' stride politics.

But he is a philosopher and detached from his ties and help, feeling what a blessing he would be to mankind if he were only to give of the good things coming from his mind a piece to each heart. For the value of a thing that does not come from the heart is zero. General Smuts was one of the architects of the United Nations Charter. It was a Charter that brought hope to mankind who was weary.

After the dreadful years of War it was apparently his philosophical mind that helped General Smuts to draft that Charter but his heart was not responsive enough to grasp what came out of his mind and hence we beheld the sorry spectacle of the Charter being vetoed by one who has been responsible more than anyone else, for having drafted it.

These thoughts have come to us from a perusal of a report of General Smuts' beautiful speech in London at the Royal Institute of Philosophy the other day.

"Philosophy, General Smuts said, could not lead the world at large, but it might help to guide and lead leaders who would be

responsible for conducting the world to a more settled future.

There is a special call on our day for this testimony of philosophy, he said. It can help to calm our fears and satisfy our disturbed mind. It can help to fortify the soul in the misfortunes which have befallen our human lot with shattering effect.

Our danger, today, is our reader, giving in, giving way to either blind submission or to blinder revolt. Both dangers are very real dangers which might wreck the future of our civilisation.

Have these lofty thoughts not a bearing upon the situation in South Africa? Can it not be applied here at our very door where there is complete lack of unity and reason especially among the ruling class, who in General Smuts's philosophical language, would be described as "leaders," and a sense of frustration prevalent among the ruled? We mean here the vast majority who are governed without having a say in the Government. Does not the policy of General Smuts's Government desire a surrender, a giving up, a giving way to blind submission by these people to what the rulers have decided for them? And cannot this leader revolt be attributed to the ruling class, who resents the justified non-violent resistance by a voiceless people against the injustice they are smarting under?

We can only agree with General Smuts when he says that "we are hungry for things of the spirit as for bread and that there was a desperate need for clarity and guidance. We agree with him also when he calls on philosophers to keep the flame of the spirit burning to ward off the dangers of blind submission or of blind revolt

which threatens to wreck civilisation." Is it not true that the leaders themselves have gone wrong and the dire need is for the philosopher "to guide and lead leaders who would be responsible for conducting the world to a more settled future? How pleasant it would be to see General Smuts in the eye of history in the role of a philosopher instead of a politician that he is, preaching the gospel. He is preaching thousands of miles away, in his own homeland?

MAHATMA GANDHI'S ROLE

THE *Guardian* & *Christian Weekly Journal of Public Affairs* published in Madras in a recent issue writes:

..... Behind the politician has peeped the humanitarian in Gandhi and that is the interpretation that we account for the apparently extensive and mystifying post-independence work through the Gandhi Trust. It is impossible to now (as this) could be to lay down lines of action. His approval of plans was sought but initiative had passed out of his hands. Of this kind will be the relationship between this Government and him in future. It is a result from a preoccupation which gives him to the state great satisfaction. He has evaded the general community which alone we can name the Government to work out their benevolent purposes. He becomes the general servant of the nation. He is Pakistan, making available the moral force that belongs to him supremely to his hour of freedom and without which neither Dominion can advance one step without stumbling. Political methods have failed to heal communal wounds and the highest dealings that may emerge from the vision of the country will do but little more. It is the new humanitarian work that Gandhi has pledged himself to that will effectively prepare the path of permanent friendship.

COLOUR PREJUDICE WILL LEAD TO ANOTHER WAR

GANDHIJI URGES SOUTH AFRICAN WHITES TO REVISE THEIR ATTITUDE

MONDAY, November 17, being his day of silence, Mahatma Gandhi's following written message was read out to the post-prayer gathering in New Delhi: "I have lived in South Africa for 21 years from 1893 to 1914 with a break probably of one year.

During that long and formative period of my life I came naturally in closest contact with all kinds of Indians as also with the white settlers of that sub-continent almost as big as our own. Between then and now, if South Africa has risen, India has marvellously stridden. What seemed to be impossible only the other day has happened. We need not go into the causes.

"The fact is that India has come into the British Commonwealth with the same status as the Union of South Africa. How many members of one Dominion be lords in another Dominion? An Asiatic nation enters the Commonwealth for the first time in its history with the willing consent of all the members of the Commonwealth.

"Mark now the following message that the Administrator, D. S. P. Barnard, of Orange Free State sent to the Natal Indian Congress of Durban five days after the entry of India in the Commonwealth:

"As you are celebrating independence of the new Dominion which you consider a great day in the annals of Indian history I hope all Indians in South Africa will now emigrate voluntarily to the new Dominions to act as missionaries of the gospel they have been taught in South Africa, namely, to live in peace and order and not fight in communal riots in which hundreds are being killed in India."

"It is worthy of note that Dr. Barnard evidently doubts whether the entry was a great day. And then he treats the Natal Indian Congress with the gratuitous advice that Indians of South Africa should emigrate to India and become 'missionaries of the gospel they have been taught in South Africa, namely, to live in peace and order and not fight in communal riots.

Africans Treated Worse

I very much fear that this message is typical of the average white man's mind in the South African Dominion. Hence a series of disabilities on our countrymen for the crime of being Asiatic and having a coloured pigment. I appeal to the Western mind of South Africa to revise this anti-Asiatic and colour prejudice. They have an overwhelming African population in the midst. They are worse treated in social respects than the Asiatics.

"I urge the European settlers to read the signs of the times. Her this prejudice is wrong from every point of view. It is a great and unpardonable mistake in admitting Asiatic countries as members.

"Burma is about to get her independence. Ceylon will presently become a member of the Commonwealth. What does it mean? Membership of the Commonwealth is, I am taught, as good as independence, if not superior to it. Responsible men and women of these independent States need to ponder well what they will do with their independence. Is all this movement towards multiplying independent States, though proper and healthy in itself, result in another war more deadly, if possible, than the last two? Is it to end, as it should, in the promotion of universal brotherhood?

Independence And Democracy

"A man becomes what he thinks," says an Upanishad *mantra*. Experience of wise men testifies to the truth of the aphorism. I would wish thus become what its wise men think. An idle thought is no thought. It would be a serious mistake to say that if the world will become as the unthinking multitude act. They will not think.

"Independence should mean democracy. Democracy demands that every citizen has the opportunity of receiving wisdom as distinguished from a knowledge of facts so-called. South Africa has many wise men and women as it has also many able soldiers who are equally able farmers. It will be a tragedy for the world, they do not rise superior to their debilitating surroundings and give a proper lead to their country on this vexed and vexing problem of White supremacy? Is it not by this time a played-out game?

STATEMENT BY JOINT P.R.C.

NO SUSPENSION OF PASSIVE RESISTANCE

THE following is the text of a statement issued by the Joint Passive Resistance Council of the Natal and the Transvaal Indian Congresses after its meeting held at the Gale Street Resistance Plot last week subsequent to UNO result in regard to the South African Indian question. The statement is signed by Doctors G. M. Nairaker and Y. M. Dadoo, presidents respectively of the Natal and Transvaal Indian Congresses:—

The Joint Passive Resistance Council of the Natal and Trans-

vaal Indian Congresses, in a statement of the position as necessary in the light of recent developments.

Since the advent of the Indian in this country the first positive struggle to stem the tide of unjust anti-Indian racial laws was the passive resistance campaign of the 1909-1914 period under Mahatma Gandhi. The intervening period of 33 years has been characterised by a policy of hat-in-hand negotiations in defence of the fast-widening rights of Indian people, a policy which has enabled the Union Government to introduce measure after measure of racially discriminatory legislation culminating in the nationally ruinous Ghetto Act now strangulating Indian economic life, social progress and political aspirations.

Last year saw the beginning of the second passive resistance struggle. For the past seventeen months the Indian people of South Africa have waged with success a historic and heroic campaign. At the Gale Street plot they demonstrated their unflinching opposition to the Ghetto Act. The Union Government jailed nearly 20,000 men and women. Floggings, whips, solitary confinement and organised boycott of Indian traders failed to crush the spirit and the will of the Indian people. The policy of repression has not availed the Government. In its dilemma the Government has now resorted to non-arrest tactics. At Gale Street Passive Resistance has won a victory.

The intransigent attitude of the South African Government has compelled India to sever diplomatic relations, to apply economic sanctions and to indict South Africa before the United Nations.

She was asked to report to the 1947 session the steps taken to obviate a complaint. South Africa did not implement the decision. That decision remains inviolate and is upheld by another two-thirds majority. That year the Assembly's decision as expressed in the Indian resolution, carried by a 31 votes to 19 majority, lacks the force of a binding decision owing to a procedural technicality it nevertheless constitutes a majority opinion of the United Nations. It calls upon South Africa to convene a Round Table Conference between itself and the Government of India and Pakistan.

The Union Government must, therefore, note

- a) That world opinion has not changed. At the 1946 session the Commission of the United Nations General Assembly has exposed it to universal condemnation. Not one delegate was found who would defend racial discrimination.

would lead to a... of the conflict remains a Round Table Conference between the Governments of India, Pakistan and South Africa.

- b) That the responsibility for such a conference...

...may not only lead to more emphatic action by the next Assembly of the United Nations, but possibly to more effective measures even carried by the 31 nations who voted for the resolution and more particularly by the Asian peoples.

On the international plane and within South Africa, the struggle has made tremendous advances. The non-European people of South Africa have seen demonstrated the significance of non-violent resistance the power and influence of a State based on white supremacy. But the Ghetto Act remains on the Statute Book of South Africa. Final victory has yet to be won.

There can be no rest for the Indian people. Our faith and confidence in the struggle and

determination of the people remains as strong as ever. We shall occupy the Gale Street plot. We shall occupy other

plots. We shall adopt other methods of struggle. We shall continue to resist till our goal is reached.

MR. ASHWIN CHOUDREE
REPLIES TO THE 'MERCURY'

THE following letter was sent by Mr. Ashwin Choudree to the *Natal Mercury* in reply to its editorial published on 21st November 1947.

I hope my sense of humour is sufficiently well developed to accept your leader of November 17, devoted to passive resistance and to me, as one of your better efforts in the art of ridicule. I hope that your magnanimity is such as to grant me a little space for comment.

The first thing that strikes me about your approach to the Indian question is your recent complete censorship of all news pertaining to the passive resistance movement. The function of a newspaper, you have often emphasised, is to present news with impartiality and without bias. You often deplore the Iron Curtain that Russia has erected. But the fact is that you have deliberately clamped down news of a struggle, which, in your opinion, is not your superior. It is a struggle and, as such, is still news.

You speak of my presence at Gale Street coinciding with the debate at UN, but a more powerful coincidence is to be found in the sudden and simultaneous appearance of news to happenings at Gale Street in the European Press of South Africa, despite the presence of the police and of reporters including your own.

The second thing is that whereas you have disclaimed editorial comment on the Indian problem for some time, you finally decide to write in terms of vilification, sarcasm and ridicule. Furthermore, if you will allow me to say so, you are guilty of departing from journalistic etiquette by writing on the subject at all. It is usual, is it not, for editors to comment on news published in their newspapers. In this case, having omitted all news references to the passive resistance, you surprise your readers with editorial comment upon it.

Thirdly, in your exuberance to pour scorn on the struggle, it is regrettable that you have allowed your imagination to take wing and made statements which have no relation to facts. It is not true, for example, that I "threw a party before leading

a group of so-called passive resisters." It is not true that any of the resisters have been paid to go to gaol. It is true, and we are proud to have it so, that the community has been magnanimous enough to pay maintenance allowances to families of needy volunteers during the period of incarceration.

Courting imprisonment does not depend on the whim of the passive resister. It is not a matter of "self-martyrdom"; it is for the Joint Passive Resistance Council to abate the duties and services of the volunteer. Each of us signs a pledge to abide by its decision. It was by the decision of the Council that I made "several flamboyant" feelings to Washington and London." It was their decision that sent me to Gale Street.

There is another point. Two thousand men and women have gone to gaol from Gale Street. Their sacrifices have been dwelt upon by the Government of India in their report to UN and in their booklet "Spotlight on South Africa," the frontispiece of which depicts the first camp established on the Gale Street site.

In our simple hope of arousing the moral conscience of the European public, it is a pity that we have invited your ridicule and sarcasm. We are sustained in our struggle, however, by well-wishers such as Mahatma Gandhi, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, Henry Wallace, Professor Gilbert Murray and other international personalities and organisations.

RESISTERS RELEASED
FROM PRISON

THE following men and women Resisters were released from the Durban and Marlburg prison on Wednesday morning.

Mrs. L. A. Chaballa, Mrs. N. Thandray, Mr. A. Nairaker, Miss Amine Jeeva, Miss T. Padayachi, Miss A. Veeramany, Messrs. Nana Bhis Narasimay, Naidoo, Kandamany.

APPEAL TO S.A. AND INDIA TO SETTLE DISPUTE

WINDING up the session of the United Nations General Assembly on Saturday night, November 29, the President, Dr. Azeem (Banzil), appealed to South Africa and India to settle their dispute.

He said "I feel sure I speak for the Assembly in extending to the Governments of India and South Africa an appeal that they continue their efforts with a view to reaching an amicable settlement of their dispute, trusting that their goodwill will guide them towards a fair solution."

S.A. Policy Disapproved By Majority Of World Opinion

Mr. J. H. Hofmeyr

Mr. J. H. Hofmeyr, Acting Prime Minister, speaking at a St. Andrew's Day dinner in Johannesburg on Tuesday night, December 2, said that although South Africa had fared much better at UNO this year, the majority of world opinion as reflected in the UNO vote, still disapproved of her policy.

Mr. Hofmeyr felt much of the support given to South Africa at UNO was qualified. Those nations who had ranged themselves on South Africa's side had done so in the belief that the Union was sincerely interested in combating the many problems with which she was faced. It was up to South Africa to justify that trust.

Mrs. Pandit's Message To Union Indians

Before leaving for India last Monday from New York, Mrs. Pandit presented a message to all Indians in South Africa in which she stated: "The struggle of the Indians in South Africa is a symbol of the much wider struggle now going on in the world for human rights, and it will continue until all forms of discrimination between men and men are ended."

The message, which she handed to Mr. A. I. Meer, general secretary of the Natal Indian Congress and the Indian Representative Council delegate to the United Nations, said: "The message I send to my countrymen and women in South Africa is one of good cheer."

It is true that we lost our case on the technical grounds that we were unable to secure a two-thirds majority, but we have no cause for disappointment.

There has been a moral victory of no small importance, and it is for the nations who voted against us or who abstained from voting to reflect on the consequences of their action. One thing is certain—that it is not a good augury for the future of the United Nations that the majority of nations should have voted against the Indian position.

U.P. REPLY TO NATIONALIST ELECTION PROPAGANDA

A question by the Nationalists has been raised by the Cape Province Congress of the United Party, who's met in Port Elizabeth last week.

The statement alleges that the Nationalists have been spreading a story of a vote-buying campaign in the Cape Province. The story is being spread that Mr. Hofmeyr, Deputy Prime Minister, has advocated the removal of all colour bars, that he favours political equality between Europeans and non-Europeans, that he has pressed for an extension of the vote to all non-European voters, that he supports the removal of colour lines in schools, and that he wants to abolish the colour bar in the country.

Mr. Hofmeyr says the statement is "at the United Party congress at Bloemfontein on November 20, 1947, dealt with the

falsehoods which the Nationalists are spreading and said emphatically deny those things which the Nationalist impute to me."

He went on to point out that what he said in the House of Assembly was that "the colour bar in respect of political representation, which makes it impossible for non-Europeans to be represented by non-Europeans cannot be retained forever." But he has never advocated the removal of all colour bars nor has he expressed himself as favouring the removal of all colour bars.

What the Nationalists and, in particular, Dr. Mahatma, impute to Mr. Hofmeyr is paradoxically enough to many instances the

policy of the old Nationalist Party when Dr. Mahatma followed when he was the Minister of the Interior.

Mr. Hofmeyr gave expression to his policy at the United Party congress when he stated: "I am not in favour of a policy of assimilation. I have repeatedly stated that the essential difference

between Europeans and non-Europeans must be taken into consideration. The policy of Christian brotherhood I have in mind does not mean suppression nor does it mean equality. It means the recognition of our responsibility not to permit the interests of groups of whom we are the guardians."

INDIAN PASSENGERS ON B.I.S.N. CO. BOATS

THE following is a copy of a letter sent by Messrs. W. Dunn and Co., Agents of the British India Steam Navigation Co. Ltd., to the Secretary of the Natal Indian Congress which appears for itself.

You will no doubt recollect writing us on the 11th September last in regard to the above passenger, which latter incidentally appeared in the issue of the Indian Opinion of the 10th September.

We wrote you in reply on the 16th September in regard to this matter, and as far as we can locate our letter was not published in a subsequent issue of this paper. Naturally the comments made in the Indian Opinion under date of the 10th September are strongly resented, so much so that on the 3rd October we wrote to our Principals in India, giving them all the facts, as follows:

"On the 27th June last application was received from Parry, Leon & Hayhoe for and class 'A' grade accommodation on the July sailing of the *Amro* for the Congress Delegates and on the 28th July a letter was received from Parry, Leon & Hayhoe, advising that will not be possible for these gentlemen to take this sailing and requested us to transfer their names to our next sailing. The accommodation on the *Karagala* August sailing was not taken up, due to the Delegates' papers for East Africa not being in order.

Reservations were then made on the *Taurus* September/October sailing but as you know this vessel has one second class only, i.e., not 'A' and 'B' grade.

During the visit of the *Amro* on the 5th/14th September when the *Amro* department was busy attending to passengers and issuing tickets for this vessel, Messrs. Parry, Leon & Hayhoe presented passports, etc., for Messrs. A. E. Shukh and D. Singh, applying for passage tickets, and our passenger

clerk rightly or wrongly assumed that a further charge had taken place and the Delegates were desirous of proceeding on the *Amro*.

The only accommodation available at such short notice by this vessel was second class 'B' hence the misunderstanding.

You will note that we have taken legal opinion on this subject and we might add that Parry, Leon & Hayhoe have been advised to pay the necessary charges for the passage of the *Amro* to India.

We have received a cable in reply from our Calcutta Principals instructing us to place all the above facts before you. We hereby repudiate the allegations made against the Company and reiterate there is no question of racial discrimination when booking passengers.

The details submitted to our Principals in our letter of the 3rd October in fact reveal preferential treatment was extended to Messrs. A. E. Shukh and D. Singh. Strictly speaking after cancellation of the bookings by the *Amro* in July their names should have been relegated to the bottom of our waiting list.

We trust the same publicity will be given as soon as possible in the Indian Opinion to our letters of the 10th September and 27th November, as the version published in this paper on the 10th September.

There can be no shame in accepting orders from those who have themselves vowed to obey. The character cannot be made except by steady, long continued work.

There can be no shame in accepting orders from those who have themselves vowed to obey.

DISILLUSIONMENT OF SIND MUSLIMS

OUR patience and goodwill have been taxed to the utmost we wanted bread but we have received stone." Thus said a prominent Muslim League M.L.A. of Sind, who is also a member of the Pakistan

course of a talk to Prof. L. I. Khuram, who has published it in the *Pharos*. The Sindhi Muslim told the Professor, "I can tell you this, that if today a referendum were held to ascertain whether the Sindhi Muslims want Pakistan or Independent Sind, 80 per cent. people will cast their votes for Independent Sind. As it is, we are perfect strangers in our own homes. It is the story of the proverbial Arab and the camel come true." This is the

among the Sindhi Muslims. Just before the establishment of Pakistan, the Muslims of Sind had started a regular crusade against the Hindus, taking full advantage of their brute majority in the Legislature. Hindus, who are 27 per cent. of the population, were given 40 per cent. of the jobs. This has been reduced strictly to the population ratio. The Sind Land Mortgage Act was passed whereby any land purchased by a Hindu from a Muslim after the year 1932 was to be returned to the latter. The notorious Sind University Act was passed in which the Government nominees and the tribal representatives from the rural areas will have a permanent majority over the tribal representatives and learned professors and scholars. The Money Lenders' Act was passed whereby Hindu bankers were discredited. Trade was also banned

The reaction has come, but has come from an entirely different and unexpected quarter. It is the Sindhi Muslim who was set in a position to enjoy his "pound of flesh" he has cut out from his Hindu brother, who is just as much an Indian as he himself was. He has now begun to feel the evils of provincial or communal overlordship which he had himself started. Here is Prof. Khuram's revealing statement:

"This was only two months ago. Today, however, it is 'the bitter pill,' and he feels the sting as death. The new immigrant who considers himself superior culturally (because he feels he comes from Delhi, the seat of Moghul culture and can speak in chaste Urdu) considers the Sindhi a barbarous man, and he has already started showing him

The Pakistan Central Government Secretariat is full of non-Sindhi Muslim clerks and officers, all imported. Even the Patte-wallas, Chaprains and Lift boys have been brought from Delhi. In the Provincial Secretariat, which is now the Central Secretariat, a Sindhi Muslim was running a restaurant and he too has been driven out and now Sandbar Khan, who was the caterer in the Central Assembly, has been brought over. The worst of it all was that even appointments for the junior staff were made in Delhi and not in Karachi.

Not one from among the Sindhi Muslims has been given a seat in the Centre Cabinet. "I thought we have enough of talent here, and there was a tacit understanding to that effect. How very strange does it look that a Province which sacrifices so much in these extraordinarily difficult days to house and feed so many tens of thousands of outsiders should be so rewarded by them? So far as the Foreign Services are concerned, we hear rumours of Nana, Begum Shah being sent out but a Sindhi of public

Even in the Constituent Assembly he has only three seats in the house of 69 and is thus in a microscopic minority.

The new immigrant further feels that he comes as a matter of obligation in Sind and expects the people to house him and vacate some shops for his business. He even cites the instances from the old Islamic history when every house in Medina took up one just to accommodate the stranger who had come from Mecca, of course, forgetting the difference between the two situations; in the present case the immigrant is an ease loving officer or an affluent merchant or a contractor and wants to come over with his family in search of prosperity and wealth—in the past the pioneer recognising the truth of the prophet's teaching left his home and hearth, kith and kin and came down to sacrifice his life to establish the 'Kingdom of God'.

The people here seeing this sort of exploitation naturally feel aversive and in spite of all Rent Control restrictions, some sort of *Pugree* has come in. The newcomer has started a 'crusade' against this 'un-Islamic' practice.

The people of Sind have now ever come to know this explorer has hardly sold his house, etc.,

in Delhi and other places at six to eight times the normal value and done tons of profiteering and this immigration is purely a commercial pursuit—hence the reluctance.

The newcomer moreover has shown scant regard for the Municipal and Hygienic laws and he has erected shop-cabins on all roads and straw-huts in all vacant maidans. He is unmindful of the fact that there are no animals and lavatories in his huts and that he is spoiling the roads and doing incalculable harm to the unparalleled neatness of Karachi.

So far as the provincial politics are concerned he has already started taking sides. Some political opponents of the present Mayor of the Karachi Municipal Corporation (who is a Muslim League), have taken advantage of his presence and got false against him (an outside Moula), that it is un-Islamic to prefix the word 'Worshipful' to the word Mayor as the prefix should come before the name of Allah alone in his title. Further an expression of the hope that the Mayor would come forward himself to discard the prefix.

After the establishment of Pakistan, the Sind Government, its ministers and provincial political have become of second rate importance. Notwithstanding this, a central government has been set up in Karachi. A persistent demand is to be dropped of the creation of Karachi which is to be created a separate province under the Central Government. It needs no saying that without Karachi, the province will lose all the charm and glamour and all that makes glory.

So far Karachi was free from such vices as pick pocketing, theft, etc., which are associated with Delhi, Bombay and other cities. Within the last few days however such incidents have become matters of everyday occurrence and the crime wave is ever at a grave.

All necessities of life have gone very much dearer. Fruits, vegetables, milk, mutton, fish, butter, curds, ghee, etc., were cheaper here than anywhere else, but now the prices have shot up. The Muslims being the poorer have been affected more.

The scanty water-supply of Karachi has become much worse now and taps work for about one hour in the morning and one hour in the evening.

Nature also has protested against the change and there is a complete dearth of rainfall on the one side and the failure of crops on the other. Karachi district, which pays mill or rupees of land revenue every year, will bring no crop. The crops have failed completely. It is officially stated that this year Sind will produce only sufficient grain for its consumption and will not be able to export at all. This will mean so much loss of and revenue and also so many crores which the Government makes by selling grain.

These and many other factors have opened the eyes of the Muslims and they have been crying "Sind for Sindhs." The Central Government has become furious by this slogan and Liaqat Ali Khan has replied to it saying, "Let me make it plain to all concerned that we shall take stern measures to curb the spirit of narrow provincialism, should it manifest in any form."

Let new thinking forces grow up in the province. I shall refer to the following passage from the editorial columns of a prominent Left wing Muslim daily paper, "The British Conservative Party had its unity only so long as it remained. The end of the Conservative's power and the rise of the Labour Party. The people wanted new political mechanism to deal with new forces and problems. Similarly we in Sind have to develop a realistic outlook. The League is a spent force now. It has run its course."

In this direction the young thinking Muslims are being dragged both consciously and unconsciously. *Modern Review*

DURBAN'S EIGHT NEW DOCTORS

Eight out of 135 Witwatersrand graduates on whom degrees were conferred on Friday, November 29, at the

Indians the following were: Z. Christopher, Mr. Mahomed

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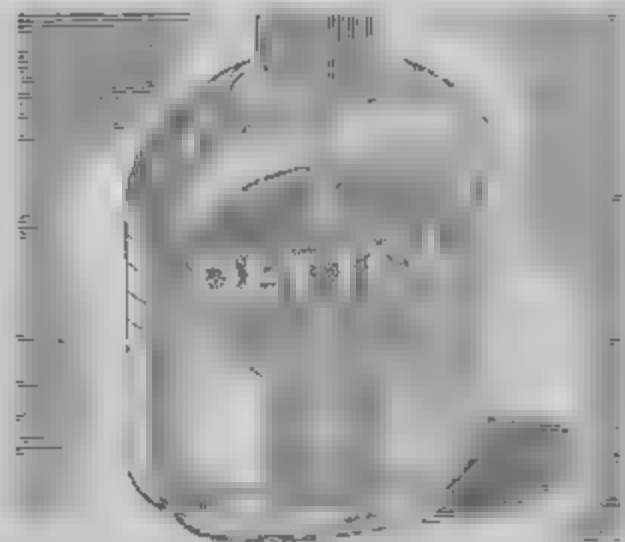
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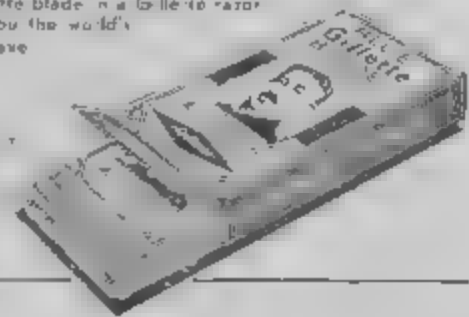
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INDIAN OPINION

Edited by
MAHATMA GANDHI
IN
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Indian Opinion

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Wordy War

THERE are two questions on which a wordy war is going on between the Nationalist Party and the United Party which is at present in power. On it hangs the fate of non-Europeans in South Africa. Mr J. G. Strydom, M.P., speaking on behalf of the Nationalist Party, says, "Our policy is that the white man must always be the master in every sphere of public life. That would be the only way to assure the continued existence of white civilisation in South Africa." "If there is equality of races," Mr. Strydom says, "the European can no longer predominate and, if we cannot predominate, we cannot continue to be a white race." Mr. J. H. Hofmeyr, the Deputy Prime Minister, on the other hand, says, he does not advocate the removal of all colour from the political rights for all sections of the community. He believes in Christian trusteeship which, he says, "does not mean equality, it does it mean equality." It "means the responsibility not to ignore the interests of people of whom we are the guardian."

It is one thing to speak of Christian trusteeship, another to practise it. As it is practised today it gives no hope to the non-European of a bright future. Indeed the policy of the Nationalist Party would be

preferable to the one presently pursued by the Government, for the former would mean sure and instant death whereas the latter means lingering death by means of slow poisoning. An open and known enemy is better than one who poses to be a friend. That unfortunate is the difference between the policy of the Nationalists and that of the present Government and both are, therefore, viewed with suspicion by non-European and contentedly rejected.

What is Christian trusteeship? We understand it to mean that the trustee discharges his responsibility towards his ward until the ward becomes of age and is able to think and act for himself. Moreover the trustee helps him in every possible way to become completely independent. Christian trusteeship does not allow of any reservations in the mind of the trustee that the ward must be allowed to go this and so further lest he may endanger the trustee's authority. The trustee is not put impediments in the way of the ward's progress with any evil design. The ward may not only become equal but may excel. He has the ability to put a check on his growth, to retard his progress out of fear of his becoming his equal or excelling him is an Christian,

If what is called "white civilisation" allows such a thing there can be no respect for such a civilisation. South Africans who talk so much of "white civilisation" seem to forget that they are thereby insulting their own race. It borders on barbarity that civilisation. These are hard words we know but they are true and the sooner the white rulers of South Africa realise the truth the better it will be for South Africa and the world peace.

Referring to the policy enunciated by Mr. Hofmeyr Mr. Strydom is reported to have said "I never knew that such stupidity could come from such a clever mouth. What could be more stupid and dangerous than to say, as Mr. Strydom has said, that the natives should pay for their own development as the Europeans had done and were still doing? You have deprived the natives of all opportunities of advancement, you have kept him enslaved and it is your declared policy to keep him enslaved and yet you have the audacity to say that he should pay for his own development? What is his gratitude it is not to be able to see that the native has all along been paying by his sweat and blood not for his own but for the development of the white man in South Africa and that it is about time that he was given the opportunity for his own development."

"If the European with his 7000 years of back ground cannot guide African people, what is the use of continued education of Africans?" These words were uttered by Professor Jabavu of the Fort Hare Native College. They have a world of meaning. If white civilisation has anything to be for I mean it has meant his exploitation. True that there are some who are trying to do their utmost for the advancement of

the people but they are worthy exceptions and they cannot go far under the restrictive policy of the Government. This will come when an end should be put to this wordy war between non-European people and the radical change should be made in the policy of the Government to facilitate the following words of Mahatma Gandhi should be embedded particularly in the heart of every member of the ruling race.

"A man becomes what he thinks," says an Unashamed Mantra. Experience of wise men testifies to the truth of the aphorism. The world will thus become what its wise men think. An idle thought is no thought. It would be a serious mistake to say that it (the world) will become as the unthinking multitude act. They will not think.

Independence should mean democracy. Democracy demands that every citizen has the opportunity of receiving wisdom as distinguished from knowledge of facts so-called. South Africa has men and women as it has also many able soldiers who are equally able farmers. It will be a tragedy for the world, if they

"WHITE MAN MUST ALWAYS BE MASTER"

MR J. G. STRYDOM, leader of the Nationalist Party in the Transvaal, defined his party's policy of "apartheid" (separation) in a speech at Bethal on Saturday. He said that the Nationalists believed that the White man should always be master in every form of government.

Apartheid would prevent Natives from flocking to the towns and cities with their families, and also the gradual removal of the Natives from the reserves to the areas for white labour.

Once this had been achieved the Natives would be encouraged to live in their own areas and to develop their own industries. Natives required for industry or other employment could then be recruited as temporary workers while their families remained in their own areas.

This, said Mr Strydom, had been the practice of the mines for many years. "Apartheid" did not apply to the Natives on European farms where no action was called for.

In their own areas the Natives should be given every opportunity to develop according to their ability. In Native areas a Native could become a doctor, a lawyer, a clerk, an artisan or anything he chose, but he could not do this in the European areas.

The Natives' development in their own areas could be encouraged by the Europeans provided that it was in accordance with their ability and not at the expense of the European taxpayer, who today was paying millions of pounds in order, artificially, to educate and develop the Natives.

Natives should pay for their own development as Europeans had done and were still doing today.

Mr Strydom said that the policy of Mr Hofmeyr must lead to equality of the races and the eventual elimination of White civilisation.

Mr Hofmeyr was reported as having said: "We must not dominate, we must lead. I do not doubt that the European will always maintain leadership on merit."

Mr Strydom commented: "I never knew that such stupidity could come from such a clever mind. He wants to raise all the non-Europeans to the standard of the European and then he expects them, with their overwhelming numerical superiority, to accept our leadership, the leadership of a handful in a country of millions and millions of non-Europeans."

"We cannot remain White if we allow the Natives, in their hundreds of thousands, to flock to the cities and live there with their families."

BRITISH PRESS TRIBUTE TO SHEIKH ABDULLA

(FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT)

New Delhi, November 11, 1947

THE British Press pay great tribute to Sheikh Abdullah's popularity and leadership in Kashmir and his efforts in organising resistance to the invader.

The *Daily Telegraph* publishes a despatch from its correspondent, Colin Reid, who gives a glimpse of popular resistance getting into stride under the leadership of Sheikh Abdullah. The correspondent says that the Kashmir leader "has not only taken control of the administration, but has established a remarkable degree of public order and administration." He concludes, "Whatever the outcome of this war, a revolution as early taken place in Kashmir."

Cabling from Srinagar about the "swearing-in" of Sheikh Abdullah as head of the administration, the *Times* special cor-

respondent says

"The city was 'gay with banners and bunting' and filled with processions of marching men as Sheikh Abdullah went to the old palace on the bank of Jhelum River to take the oath of office. He was invested with 'full powers to meet the emergency.' He was profusely garlanded and his supporters shouted slogans such as: 'What is the order of the Tiger of Kashmir?', to which the response was: 'Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs be united.'"

Later in the day Sheikh Abdullah addressed a mass meeting the like of which Srinagar has never before seen. His presence in the city and of course his undoubted

The *Daily Worker* has also published an inspiring account of the Kashmir resistance movement under the leadership of

Sheikh Abdullah. Says its correspondent: "I have just returned from a tour of the defences of Srinagar. I found everywhere strong confidence that the invaders will be flung out of the

capital. Confidence was particularly expressed by members of the Kashmir Home Guard. Then follows a vivid description of Sheikh Abdullah's Home Guard in action.

INDIA'S NEW 'JAI HIND' STAMPS IN COMMEMORATION OF INDEPENDENCE DAY

(FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT)

New Delhi, November 19, 1947.

INDIA'S new stamps in commemoration of attainment of independence will be issued well in time for the New Year.

They will be of three denominations viz. 1½ annas for inland use, 1½ annas for international postage and 10 annas for foreign postage.

The 1½ anna stamp for Foreign postage will be issued on the 21st of November 1947. A 10 anna stamp will be issued up to April 30, 1948.

The 1½ anna stamp is in olive green and depicts the capital of the Asoka Pillar with a lion capital. The words "Jai Hind" in Hindi appear on top and the date "15th August 1947" immediately below. A panel bearing the words "India Postage" with the denomination 1½ annas is printed on the bottom left corner.

The 10 anna stamp is in blue and depicts the Lion Capital of Ashoka. The words "Jai Hind" in Hindi appear on top and the date "15th August 1947" immediately below. A panel bearing the words "India Postage" with the denomination 10 annas is printed on the bottom left corner.

RHODESIA ASKING FOR PEGGING ACT

BULAWAYO COUNCIL DISCUSSIONS

Is the public of Bulawayo prepared to ask the Government to introduce legislation to prevent Europeans selling, leasing or hiring property to any but Europeans, and if so, how is this to be accomplished?

This question was the Bulawayo Correspondent of the *Star* (Johannesburg), dated December 4, was debated for some hours by the Bulawayo City Council. No decision was reached and the discussion was adjourned until Monday.

The Mayor, Mr. H. A. Holmes, said that if the property owners of Bulawayo wanted to state their case he would be their chairman, but "we don't want to stir up racial hatred and trouble." He advised the Council not to attempt anything which was impossible and thereby do more harm than good.

Southern Rhodesia was only a colony with responsible government, he said. Their neighbours to the south were a Dominion, had introduced similar legislation, the Peggings Act, without a great deal of success and with the result that India had appealed to the United Nations. If South Africa had not been very successful with it, did the Council imagine that Southern Rhodesia would be?

Mr. J. H. Bailey said he could produce documents and statements showing that Europeans had received letters from solicitors demanding that Europeans should "get out" so that Indians could move in.

The discussion was held on the inclusion in title deeds of a clause that the property should be owned or occupied by Indians, prepared at the request of the Southern Rhodesia Municipal Association by its executive committee.

GANDHIJI ON JUNAGADH

ON November 10, Gandhiji in his after-dinner prayer referred to the accession of Junagadh to the Indian Union. "I have seen in the papers all about Junagadh. I heard from two airplanes received by him from Rajkot he was satisfied that the newspaper report was fairly accurate. The Prime Minister, Bhutto Sahab was in Karachi, so was the Nawab Sahab. The Deputy Prime Minister, Major Harvey Jones was in Junagadh. They all were party to Junagadh acceding to the Union. The audience had a right to infer that Qaid-e-Azam Junagadh was party to this transaction. If he was, they were justified in inferring that the Kashmir and Hyderabad troubles would also be over. And if he could go further, he would say, things would take a happy turn and that the two Dominions would become friends and do everything in co-operation. He was thinking of the Qaid-e-Azam not as a Governor-General. As a Governor-General he had no right to interfere with the internal affairs of a Dominion. As a Governor-General, he could go to the wedding of one who was more than a son to him and who was to be married to the British Empire to the British throne only with the permission of his Cabinet and was to return on the 14th of this month. He, therefore, thought of Junagadh as the maker of the present Muslim League and whose knowledge and advice were being sought in Junagadh's accession, it was a happy augury."

Junagadh

Addressing the prayer gathering on November 11, Gandhiji said that the previous day he had given them the peace and the epiphany of the Junagadh State of the Provisional Government in answer to the request of the Prime Minister and Deputy Prime Minister of Junagadh. He did so partly in astonishment and partly in joy for he was not prepared for what appeared to be such a happy ending of the struggle of, and on behalf of, the Junagadh people. Gandhiji expressed the fact that the joy was premature if the request made by the Junagadh authorities had not the imprimatur of the British Government. They could not, therefore, but feel painfully surprised to find that the Pakistan authorities resented its occupation of Junagadh by

the Provisional Government on behalf of its ryots and demanded "the withdrawal of Indian troops from the State territory and relinquishment of the administration to the rightful Government and stoppage of violence and invasion of the State by people from the Indian Union." They further contended that neither the Ruler nor the Dewan was legally entitled to negotiate any settlement, temporary or permanent, with the Dominion of India, and that the action of the Government of India was "a clear violation of the Pakistan territory and a breach of international law."

Accession To The Union

According to the statements in the Press the day before, he could see no breach of international law and no occupation by the Union Government. So far as he could see there was no unlawfulness about the whole of the movement of the Provisional Government on behalf of the people of Junagadh. The Union Government had certainly lost the use of its troops at the request of the Kathiawar princes for the safety of Kathiawar as a whole. Therefore, he detected no unlawfulness about the whole transaction, nor did he see any justification for what appeared to him to be a volte face on the part of the Prime Minister of Junagadh. The way he looked at the whole thing was this—the Nawab Sahab of Junagadh had no authority to accede to Pakistan without the consent of his people, of whom 85% he was told, were Hindus. The sacred hill of Girnar with all its temples was part of Junagadh on which the Hindus had spent a lot of money and which was visited by thousands of pilgrims from all over India. In Azad Hind the whole of it belonged to the people. Nothing of it belonged to the princes as individuals. The crown could only be sustained by their being trustees of the people and, therefore, producing the authority of the people for every transaction. That they had not tested their representative capacity and that the ryots in the State, with honourable exceptions, had not yet realized their capacity as true owners, in the aggregate, of the States they inhabited, derogated nothing from the doctrine he had enunciated. If, therefore, anybody had the legal right to accede to one or the other of the two Dominions, it was the ryots belonging to a particular State and if the Provisional Government did not at any stage represent the ryots of Junagadh, they became usurpers

to be driven out by both the Dominions with mutual assistance. In his individual capacity, he thought he held that the accession by the Nawab Sahab of Junagadh was absolutely correct. He could not have set the seal upon the accession, by the Nawab Sahab, if he was not a Hindu. Finally, accords could only be decided, in case of dispute, by a

WHEN BLESSING BECOMES A CURSE

By M. K. GANDHI

IN declining to give a blessing I said the following to a friend:

"I am sure we want to start a new enterprise. It is never wise to take anybody's blessing, or even of the highest. We must have our own blessing. On the other hand, if an unworthy project receives any blessing from outside, it becomes, as it should become, a curse. Indeed, I have come to the conclusion that a blessing which interferes with the even progress of one's enterprise, because it very often induces a false hope and turns one away from the industry and watchfulness required for the success of a cause."

Though I have often said some such thing to many persons, it is best that this candid opinion is reproduced for the benefit of those who continue to ask for a blessing for their enterprises. Thus, I have been asked to bless memorials about Jinnah men and I have felt compelled to give much the same answer as the above.

—HATTON.

A properly conducted referendum without the use of violence or show of it, accompanying the process. The attitude taken by the Pakistan Government and now also by the Prime Minister of Junagadh created a curious situation. Who was to decide upon the right or the wrong of the case for Pakistan and the Union Government? Appeal to the sword was not to be thought of. The only honourable way was to go to the usual manner, this were enough men and women in India who could

shoulder the burden. If, however, the parties could not agree, a decision by Indians, for one had no objection to any impartial person from any part of the world.

Kashmir And Hyderabad

Finally, what Gandhiji said about Junagadh equally applied to Kashmir and Hyderabad. Neither the Maharaja Sahab in Kashmir nor His Exalted Highness the Nizam had any authority to accede to either Dominion, without the known consent of their people. This was, so far as he knew, made clear in the case of Kashmir. If the Maharaja alone had wanted to accede, Gandhiji could not defend such accession. The accession was provisionally agreed to by the Union Government because both the Maharaja and Sheikh Abdul-Isa, came on the scene because he claimed to represent the people of Kashmir and Jammu, not merely the Muslims but the whole of the people.

Division Of Kashmir

It is a long time since Kashmir could be divided into two parts, Jammu going to the British and Kashmir to the Muslims. He could not think of such divided loyalties and splitting up Indian States into two parts. He hoped there would be avoided without delay finally for the sake of the lakhs of Indians who felt compelled to become helpless refugees.

Shipping Flag For India

Government Seeks Companies' Views

From The Correspondent

New Delhi, November 12. UNDER what flag will India's Mercantile Marine, soon to be founded, sail in future? At present, Indian Merchant ships sail under the British Merchant Navy's flag, but India's new status among the nations gives her the right to have her own shipping flag. The use of the countries' own flag is a principle which is followed by most of the Dominions. Other such countries include Greece, Norway and Italy. Ships of most of the Dominions fly a modified version of the Red Ensign. On the other hand the United States, the Netherlands and the Argentine are content with their national colours, to which category will India fall? The Ministry of Commerce, it is understood, has invited suggestions from Indian shipping companies.

ACHIEVEMENTS OF ASIAN LABOUR CONFERENCE

DETERMINATION TO RAISE SOCIAL STANDARDS

INDIA'S PROMINENT PART

New Delhi, November 25.

THE determination of India and other Asian countries to catch up with the industrial and social progress of the more advanced nations so as to obliterate poverty and raise the living standards of the common man was fully demonstrated during the two week session of the Asian Labour Conference which ended on November 8.

In similarity with the Asian Relations Conference which was held in Delhi some months earlier, this Conference of the I.L.O. also marked a milestone in the progress of Asian countries, most of which have attained or about to attain political freedom and are aspiring towards economic freedom. As in the previous Conference, in this also, India declared itself against slavery, forced labour, mandated the right of every country to pursue its material and spiritual development in conditions of freedom and dignity, of economic security and equal opportunity for the common

man in emergent Asia. They voted to the intensification of the Asian work of the I.L.O., tripartite organisations, increased production, welfare, social security and medical care, labour policy and enforcement of measures for the protection and welfare of workers, a programme of action for the enforcement of I.L.O. standards, economic policies to attain the social objectives of the I.L.O., representation of agricultural and cottage industry workers on the I.L.O. and the placing of I.L.O. conventions before national legislatures. The Conference also passed two resolutions on labour standards and industrial development in Japan. These resolutions were based on a number of draft resolutions submitted to the Conference of which 39 were from the Indian delegation (26 from Government and 13 from workers), 19 from China and a few from Ceylon and other countries.

Although the colourful scenes of its predecessor were missed in this Conference, they were made up largely by the dignity and decorum, the quickness and thoroughness and the knowledge and technical skill displayed throughout its proceedings. Unlike the other Conference, the present Asian meeting was, however, denied the opportunity of listening to Mahatma Gandhi, the father of the Indian nation.

Another important point of difference between the two is that whereas the Asian Relations Conference was unofficial, this was an official conference of the I.L.O. which has the authority to give guidance to all member countries. Moreover, the participation in this conference was not limited to representatives of Governments, employers and workers from each country. Also, the agenda of this tripartite Conference was largely

charitable. The crowning achievement of the Conference lies perhaps in the realisation that social objectives can be translated into tangible realities if Governments, workers and employers can agree upon practical methods and implement them. The resolutions passed at the Conference may well prove to be the first step for the creation of social and economic democracy

ungrudgingly admitted the justice of the criticism that the I.L.O., until recently, was concerned mainly with the problems relating to the industrial workers of Europe and America. The present Regional Conference has opened its eyes to the vast problems of agricultural and cottage industry workers in the East which must be solved by international co-operation in the interest of the world as a whole, for poverty anywhere is a danger to prosperity everywhere. Incidentally it has also come as an agreeable surprise to the I.L.O. that a very real interest in its activities is taken in India as evidenced by echoes in the Press.

Educative Value

The Conference has been highly successful in educating the participants on the scope and nature of the enormous problems that face Asian countries. The valuable reports prepared by the I.L.O. on each item of the agenda laid bare the deplorable conditions of the working class population in Asia in comparison with those of the more advanced countries and suggested a number of ways in which improvements could be undertaken. These were supplemented by discussions on the committees and in plenary meetings. The Congress itself was attended by over 200 representatives drawn from 20 countries belonging to the four continents of Asia, Europe, Australasia and America. Representatives not only of Governments but also of employers and workers took part in the deliberations. The Conference in their own rights and shaped the policies and resolutions.

The States that participated from Asia included not only India, Pakistan (which joined the I.L.O. during the Conference), Thailand and Afghanistan, but also the Soviet Union, Mongolia, Nepal, Burma, Ceylon, Malaya, and the Philippines. When such an opportunity to take part in the I.L.O. Conference was afforded to Ceylon, Burma and Malaya which are on the verge of political freedom, The United Kingdom, France and the Netherlands attended as metropolitan powers. Separate representation was given to French possessions in Asia such as Cambodia, Cochin-China, Laos and French establishments in Africa and the Pacific. A deep regret was expressed at the non-inclusion of Indonesia and Viet-Nam in the Conference, the desirability of including Korea and Japan in future conferences of this kind

was also suggested. Due to some

Prominent Indians Take Part

The Conference was notable for the participation of India's conspicuous leaders. Besides Pandit Nehru, who, despite his deep preoccupations, came to welcome the delegation on the opening day, two of India's Ministers, Shri Jagjivan Ram and Dr. S. P. Mukherji, Mr. Gopal Lal Nanda, Bombay Labour Minister, Mr. V. V. Krishna Rao, India's representative in Ceylon, Mr. J. A. Thivy, Indian Representative in Malaya, Mr. Prasad T Munshi, former

Minister, were also there in his capacity as member of the Governing Body of the I.L.O. From Burma came the Minister for Industry and Labour, Mr. Maha Win Maung, and from China Mr. Pao Hsin Kuo of the Ministry of Social Affairs. Mr. J. A. Thivy, who was also there in his capacity as member of the Governing Body of the I.L.O. and leader of the U.K. Delegation, arrived in time to inaugurate the Conference.

The election of the Hon. Shri Jagjivan Ram, India's Labour Minister, as the President of the Conference, was not merely a tribute to India which was the host country but also a recognition of his valuable services to the cause of labour and to the I.L.O.

Shri Jagjivan Ram courageously undertook the office to which he was elected and personally ordered the deliberations.

Smuts's Government's Future Policy

the course of a message of greetings to the Natal Government, Mr. J. A. Thivy, Indian Representative in Malaya, said that the Government of South Africa had a good record in the field of labour and that it was a pleasure to see the Government of South Africa taking an active part in the I.L.O. Conference. He said that the Government of South Africa was a good example to other Governments and that it was a pleasure to see the Government of South Africa taking an active part in the I.L.O. Conference. He said that the Government of South Africa was a good example to other Governments and that it was a pleasure to see the Government of South Africa taking an active part in the I.L.O. Conference.

GANDHIJI—ROMAIN ROLLAND MEETING AN IMPRESSION

The following, which is taken from *The Nation* (New York), is a letter written by the late Romain Rolland to an American friend of his on the visit of Gandhiji to his home.

M. ROLLAND

HOW I should have liked to have you here during the visit of the Indians. They stayed five days—from the 5th to 11th December at the Villa Maures. The Hindu men, bespectacled and toothless, were wrapped in his white harmonies but his legs, thin as a heron's stile, were bare. His shaven head with its few coarse hairs was uncovered and wet with rain. He came to me with a dry laugh, his mouth open like a good dog panting, and throwing an arm round me leaned his against my shoulder. I felt his grained hand against my cheek as was, I imagine myself thinking, the kiss of Saint Dominic and Saint Francis.

There were three Indian men, one a young son of Gandhiji, Devadas, with a round and a happy face. He is gentle, so I felt the awe of the grandeur of his name. The others were young men of rare qualities of heart and mind: Mahadevi Datta

and, in French, and foreign in a word which does not exist in his vocabulary. He could only answer for hours the heckling of a crowd, as he did at Lausanne and Geneva with the motion of his face twitching, his hands always clear and calm, he replied to his adversaries open or masked—and they were not lacking at Geneva—giving them real truths which left them silenced and effused.

"The Roman bourgeois, and nationalist, who had at first received him with crafty looks, quivered with rage when he left I believe that if his stay had lasted any longer, the public meetings would have been forbidden. He pronounced himself as unequivocally as possible on the double questions of national armaments and the conflict between capital and labour. I was largely responsible for steering him on this latter course.

"His mind proceeds through successive experiments in action and he follows a straight line, that he never stops and one would risk error in attempting to judge him by what he said two years ago, because his thought is constant revolution. I will give you a brief example of it that is

"God is Truth"

He was asked at Lausanne to define what he understood by God. He explained how, among the noblest attributes which the Hindu scriptures ascribed to God he had in his soul chosen the word "God is Truth." He had then said, "God is Truth." "But," he added, "two years ago I advanced another step. I now say, 'Truth is God.' For, even the atheists do not doubt the necessity for the power of truth. In their passion for discovering the truth the atheists have not hesitated to deny the existence of God, and from their point of view, they are right." You will understand from this single trait the boldness and independence of this religious spirit from the Orient. I noted in him traits similar to

"And yet not a single political rose catches him unprepared. And his own politics are to any everything that he thinks to everybody, not concealing a thing.

"On the last evening, after the prayers, Gandhiji asked me to play him a hula of Beethoven. He does not know Beethoven, but he knows that Beethoven has been the intermediary between

Mira and me, and consequently between Mira and himself, and that, in the final count, it is to Beethoven that the gratitude of us all must go. I played him Andante of the Fifth Symphony. To that I added, "Les Champs Elysées" of Ginck—the page for the orchestra and the air for the violin.

"He is very sensitive to the religious aspects of his country, which somewhat resemble the most beautiful of our Gregorian melodies, and he has worked to assimilate them. We also exchanged our ideas on art, from which he does not separate his conception of truth, nor from his conception of truth that of joy, which he thinks truth should bring. But it follows of itself that for this heroic patience joy does not come without effort, not even life itself without hardship. 'The seeker after truth hath a heart tender as the lotus, and hard as granite.'

"Here, my dear friend, are a few hints of those days of ours

together on which I have taken much more detailed notes. What I do not dwell on to you is the hurricane of intrusions, visitors, and half wife which this visit focused on our two villas. No telephone never ceased ringing, photographers in ambuscades let by their fast ladies from behind every bush. The unknown's syndicate at Yverdon informed me that during all the time of this sojourn with me of the 'King of India' they intended to assume complete responsibility for his 'victimhood.' We received letters from 'Sons of God.' Some Italians wrote to the Mahatma beseeching him to indicate for them the ten lucky numbers for the next drawing of his weekly national lottery!

'My sister, having survived, has gone to take ten day's rest at a cure in Italy. She returns shortly. For my part I have entirely lost the gift of sleep. If you find it, send it to me by registered mail.'

Things In General

M.P.'s Call To Youth

ADDRESSING the boys at Keweenaw College at the annual prize-giving, Mr. J. R. Sullivan, M.P., referred to the present time as offering magnificent opportunities for youth. The schools are expected so to develop our youth," he said, "that they will gladly dedicate their talents and knowledge to the service of their country. Everything depends on the correct social outlook. To prove that is the true purpose of education. It would be wrong to tell you that an easy world lies ahead of you." Referring to the conditions in South Africa, Mr. Sullivan said that the

the conditions of mass poverty with its slums, ignorance and preventable disease. These things should not be and need not be in a Christian community charged with a great trustworthiness in the crusade against poverty, the youth of South Africa is our main hope. May you choose to use your acquired skills and talents to uplift the thousands of underprivileged in our midst. The second great problem is the race and colour problem. I plead with you to maintain balance and goodwill towards our non-European population. Give them the trusteeship outlook. You can do much to reduce the race and colour problem in South Africa."

Fined £15 For Assaulting Senator Bismar

For assaulting Senator H. M. Bismar at the Hotel Edward in Durban on October 12, which he was fined £15, was fined £15 with the alternative of a month's imprisonment, last week.

The magistrate, Mr. M. E. Goodhead, said it was quite clear that Kara had been annoyed and that he had been said at a meeting from speech was one of the fundamentals of the South African form of government.

Senator Bismar said that he attended a public meeting on the afternoon of October 12 and arrived at his hotel about 6.30 p.m. "Kara came down the steps and asked me if I was Senator Bismar. I said I was. He asked me if I had addressed a meeting that afternoon. I said I had just come back from it.

"Kara then struck me with his open hand just above my right eye, and broke my glasses. He followed me into the hotel lounge shouting: 'I am a returned soldier, and will teach you to make remarks about General Smuts.' I said I had made no remarks about General Smuts at which at which General Smuts or Kara could take offence, and that I was not going to brawl in a public place."

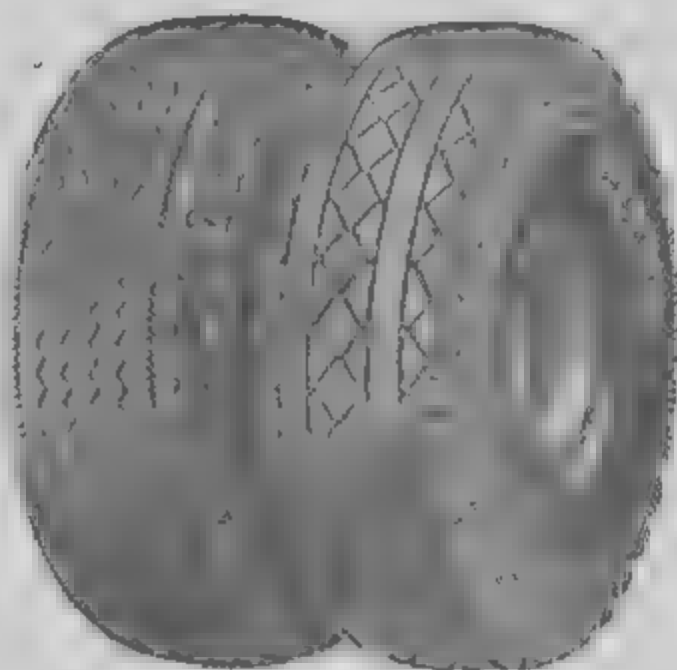
Some people intervened, and he went to the lift to go upstairs for another pair of glasses. He was just closing the lift door when Kara pulled him into the passage. "He landed a blow on

and shortly after a severe attack. It was to my house at 1 to the chamber on the second floor where I sleep at Villa Maures. You will remember that I came each morning for long conversations. My sister interpreted, with the assistance of Mira, and I had also a tireless friend and secretary, Miss Kowalewski, who took notes on our discussions. I am good photographer by Schlemmer, our neighbour from Geneva, captured the highlights of our interviews.

Kennedy, at seven o'clock, prayers were held in the first-floor saloon. With lights lowered, the Indian sang on the harp, and the little assembly of the faithful grouped about, there was a murmur of three beautiful chants he had an extract from the Gita, the second an ancient hymn on the Sanskrit texts which Gandhiji has translated, and the third a eulogy of Rama and Alka inspired by the warm, grave voice of Mira.

"The last held other prayers at seven o'clock in the morning, for which in London, he had a wake his harassed staff, although he had not entered until one. The little man, so fresh in appear-

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INDIAN OPINION

Edited by
MAHATMA GANDHI
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Indian Opinion

FRIDAY 19TH DECEMBER, 1947

Some Thoughts On Xmas

Let our next weeks be a Christmas world with us celebrating it. There can be nothing but good-will to all mankind on the great festive occasion. Christ is known as the Prince of Peace. He is worshipped because He suffered for humanity and brought peace and happiness to the world. Perpetually we repeat day in and day out the great principles—Love thy neighbour as thyself, do unto others as ye would that they should do unto you—laid down by Him, but we do not follow them. To-day the Law of Love has been replaced by the Law of Hate. That seems to be holding sway throughout the world. The last Great War, one should have thought, had taught mankind a lesson not to be forgotten for generations. Instead of softening man's nature and making him more humble it seems to have awakened his savage instinct, which is beginning to show itself in its worst form. The War has been won but peace mankind was yearning for is not yet to be seen. Before it could be established the world is threatened with yet another conflagration worse than it has ever seen. One shudders even to think of it. Swords were supposed to be turned into plough-shares and mankind was given the hope that the world would have

with milk and honey when Nazism was destroyed. So-called Nazis have been destroyed but what could we say we have got rid of Nazism. Peace talks are still proceeding and post-war plans are in the making. Mankind had noticed its faith in that great organisation—the United Nations—with its admirable Charter of Freedom. But all these seem to be nothing. They have taken any shape and war clouds are hovering over us threatening to burst any moment. All those burning swords into plough-shares have failed and defence plans are being prepared at feverish haste. That is the gloomy picture we see as we are nearing the end of the year.

The message General Smuts, our Prime Minister has brought from overseas is not a happy one. He has spoken of the coming danger and of the need for South Africa not to forsake her friends, particularly, the British Commonwealth and the United States. He has warned the country of another great Power threatening to hold sway over Europe and of the danger of it creating havoc on this continent if ever it had a footing. He was referring to Communism, which he said, was not different from Hitlerism. "It does not believe in freedom. It is the police state without freedom of speech or op-

mon or freedom in any respect. It is minority rule dominating the majority."

This Power flourishes, the Prime Minister says, on human suffering. "People become communist when they become mad from suffering." He asks of Western countries forming themselves in a united front and asks South Africa to stick to it. "Our fate will be settled by the great events happening in the world. Our only salvation

this country may be to keep up this united front. To keep the friends we have—Princes who are on the same path as ourselves, who believe in liberty and freedom—keep in with Britain and with America and with those other Western countries from whom we have received aid. If we do not do this, Smuts says, we may find our position wiped out by those great forces shaping the destiny of the world."

During the War liberty and freedom were threatened by Nazism. Now they are threatened by Communism.

We owe no allegiance to Communism. We believe implicitly in safeguarding freedom and liberty. But is that commodity the monopoly of the white people? Are not the coloured races entitled to it? Why is South Africa not as zealous in respecting freedom and liberty in their case? "Communism flourishes on human suffering. People become communists when they become mad from suffering."

This is regrettably true. It is a sad state of affairs

is the remedy? "To seek to destroy Communism or to create the evil on which it grows and thrives? Is it not quite evident that Nazism has not been destroyed by killing the Nazis? Communism is another form in which it has appeared. If Communists are got rid of Communism will appear in another form. If this simple truth is not realised by the leaders of the world then there is bankruptcy of leadership and bankruptcy of leadership is a sure sign of the downfall of the world. Those whom the gods wish to destroy they first make mad." The leaders seem to be losing their equilibrium. They cannot think rightly. "Rather be poor, rather suffer to the utmost than be a nation of slaves." These words are addressed by General Smuts to White South Africa. They may well be adopted and practised by the non-Whites who in South African Whites seek to keep as slaves.

The world is full of pessimism to-day. The future seems to be dark and gloomy. There is only one hope in such a state of affairs and that is to surrender to our Creator and seek His guidance. May God in His great mercy give wise guidance to humanity and save the world from further calamity and make it a better world.

is our fervent prayer on this

helping us to do our work and to fulfil the big tasks which lie before us. We need them, and they need us.

"But the black man is being brought under the impression that he is the enemy—the black menace. What must the result be?"

The Prime Minister said the outlook of his party, and indeed of all sensible people of whatever party, was that good relations should be maintained and that the races should not be driven against each other.

Do not bring the natives under the impression that we are hostile to them, that we regard them as a danger. No thing can do more damage to the future of South Africa than the spreading of that impression. And for party purposes? To win an election? I think it is the greatest crime in it can be committed, and Dr. Malan and his Government are doing it.

"We are for the leadership of the European race in South Africa, and on one will dispute it and no one will endanger it."

Europeans had been in South Africa for 300 years and had remained Europeans. They had hundreds of years ahead of them. They needed only to keep in mind what was right to keep their leaders.

"Some of us say educated natives should go to Parliament at some time in the future. That is a private opinion which people can have. Any man can think what he likes. But that is not the policy of our Party. Our policy is clear—the leadership of the European race in South Africa. It is laid down in the legislation which we put through Parliament 11 years ago. And that still stands."

The Prime Minister said he wondered sometimes what was behind the Nationalist policy on the colour question. Why were they prepared to pay such a price to win an election? Then something singular would strike him.

"Why do we not hear to-day of the Republic and the new constitution of which we heard so much during the war? The slogan then, throughout, was the Republic, the breaking away from Britain, and a new constitution. I spent long to the end of the war, we are living to-day in the question not to let a few ideas win to the head of affairs, and then to bring those ideas into force."

I do not believe that those plans—the plans on which they

were so set during the war—are dead." The Nationalists were keeping them in the background to-day in the hope of catching the "tame Englishman" and winning the election.

Another aspect of the same difficulty was that what was said by Nationalist leaders in the Union was read abroad. "Last year, when I was in New York at UNO, I was confronted with speeches and declarations which said the same thing has happened."

In the weeks of large they think that what is said by the Nationalist Party here is the policy of South Africa. They do not know what our internal arrangements are, and the Nationalists therefore create an impression that is very bad for South Africa.

The Prime Minister said that the impression was created by the Nationalist Opposition. Speeches they had made had been taken to be the opinion of the Government. In South Africa, and perhaps elsewhere, the Union Government

mention this to show how careful we have to be in dealing with these matters. We are no longer living in an isolated country. What we say here, even what our Opposition say here, is read abroad and is taken up in a sense which is quite wrong, which leads to great misunderstanding and tends to the disadvantage and very largely also to the disgrace of South Africa.

"Earlier the position had changed. South Africa as I have told you complained have been before UNO more and more and a better spirit prevails there."

"The atmosphere at UNO has cooled down very largely. And the resolution that was taken about South Africa this year is very much milder than last year. It expresses the hope that we should adopt a more friendly attitude."

The Prime Minister said that we cannot do it, that we are acting against the wishes of the people of South West Africa. Europeans and natives, that we cannot do it and we shall not do it. We are not going beyond the attitude we have taken hitherto. South West Africa will remain a part of the Union of South Africa and with patience and goodwill that policy will prevail.

But there is no doubt that the line taken by the Opposition makes our work very much more difficult. It makes it difficult for us to bring home to ignorant people what the situa-

tion is, and that it is in the interests of white and black in South-West Africa to be part of the Union—as they are now."

The Prime Minister said the same difficulty had arisen with regard to India. But there, too, the resolution passed by UNO last year had been wiped out.

"It will be possible now for the Government to take a different line. It is possible a solution may be found."

The Government was determined to maintain its position and to see that nothing was done to prejudice the attitude it had taken up. "But I think that in the talks and consultation for which the way is clear, a way out may be found and a settlement may be reached."

The Prime Minister said that the eyes of the world were on

South Africa, and it was necessary to see that the best use was made of the opportunities for development and to ensure that this was a country where right and justice was accorded to all. That was the policy of the United Party—to build up a greater nation and see that South Africa became a country which could take its rightful position in the world and be honoured among the nations.

"That is our deal. It is being achieved to-day. To-day this country is a bright spot in the world. From a wasteland to come to South Africa, to establish industries, to help in the development of the country."

"Let the impression go out to the whole world, and throughout South Africa, that this is a Government that is fair, that is doing its best to keep things clean, that it is just to all, and it will do its best for the future of South Africa."

MR LAWRENCE ON UNO RESULT

MR. H. G. LAWRENCE returned by air on Thursday night December 11, from the United Nations Session at New York. Addressing the Transvaal Congress of the United Party in Pretoria on Friday, referring to the Indian issue, Mr Lawrence said:

"Now the slate has been cleaned. We have no resolution outstanding, directly or indirectly, in South Africa, or as a suggestion that South Africa has failed to fulfil her international obligations or obligations under the United Nations Charter."

"We have not violated the principles or the provisions of the Charter. We have violated no obligations."

There were, however, still many problems lying ahead of South Africa.

"There is still the question of the status of the Indian population now an independent nation and a member of the British Commonwealth. In this world no nation with any sense of responsibility would wish to be in a position of unfriendliness towards another nation."

Whatever the Indian views may be held on the Indian question in South Africa, I would suggest that they should be expressed with moderation, because it is in the interests of South Africa and of world co-operation that we should once more resume those friendly relations with the Government of India which previously existed. It is one that can be done, now that the way has been cleared and there is no quarrel against us. It can be done without any dishonour to South Africa or the giving away of any principle in which we believe.

"The message I would like to give to-day is that you should remember that there is still a residual problem which requires the statesmanship of the Prime Minister and the Cabinet."

"We have a way of dealing with our multi-racial problems in South Africa which our people do not understand."

"We have problems of a magnitude and complexity unknown in any other country. We have been dealing with these matters with a very great measure of success."

"The test is this—that while we have been accused by some nations of creating humiliating conditions for Indian and other racial groups, and while we are accused of scandalous behaviour to non-Europeans—and many strong words were used by the members of some delegations at UN—we still know that the many racial groups in South Africa, including the Moslems and the Hindus, are living side by side in peace and amity."

"We do know that the right to exist is respected in South Africa and we have nothing to be ashamed of. South Africa is following a policy of parallel development, which has in it all the elements of fairness to each racial group."

THE Secretary of the Natal Indian Congress has received the following letter dated November 25 from the Natal Provincial Secretary:

With reference to your letter of the 9th August last I have to inform you that the matter was considered by the Executive Committee at a recent meeting when I was directed to advise you that the Executive Committee having taken into consideration the resolutions and explanatory memoranda of the Natal Indian Congress and having reviewed the whole question of Indian Education in Natal, resolved that no good purpose would be served by meeting deputations at this time to elaborate the representations which are very clear and readily comprehensible. The Executive Committee also records that

(a) in the past five years Indian Education in Natal has proceeded actually and comparatively at a rate far in excess of its progress over any like period in the past

(b) Indian children are enjoying facilities which are being provided at a rate considerably in excess of the rate at which they were provided for Europeans not very recently.

(c) The progress of Indian Education in Natal has been such that the number of Indian children in the population and their return to India not only anticipated but exceeded.

(d) The monies expended on Indian Education are provided to a very large extent and in relation to the relative numbers of the two racial groups, almost entirely, from European sources.

(e) The relations, financial, social and economic, between Indians and other races in Natal are such that the Government might well in other spheres be exhibited by the Indians themselves in their co-operation with the Europeans to make a harmonious whole.

Congress Reply

The following letter dated December 20 has been addressed by the Secretary of the Natal Indian Congress to the Natal Provincial Secretary. I have for acknowledgement

your letter dated the 25th November in reply to ours of the 8th August, 1947. My Congress notes that your Executive Committee has considered this matter.

I am to state that my Executive notes the unwillingness of your Executive Committee to meet a deputation of my Congress.

We would like to know in view of your statement that "no good purpose will be served by meeting deputations at this time" whether your Executive Committee adopted the proposals in the memorandum dated the 28th July, 1947 or whether your refusal to meet us is indicative of a refusal to be moved in the matter of providing increased facilities for Indian education.

My Congress considers this matter of very considerable importance in view of the points that your Executive Committee, in wisdom, has thought it advisable to record.

If our memorandum had been read carefully it would have been noticed that my Congress had gone out of its way to acknowledge the gradual stepping up of educational facilities. We are fully aware that Indian children are enjoying at the present time more facilities than at any time in the past. You will pardon us for suggesting that had this not been so the situation would have been deplorable in the extreme. It would have implied that the Provincial authority had completely failed in its duty. On the other hand to suggest that facilities are being provided at a rate considerably in excess of the rate at which they were provided for Europeans until very recently is not stating the whole truth. At no time have Europeans been provided with so high a proportion of the funds requisite for the present rate of progress. You will not deny that Indian progress is governed by political considerations, by the power exercised through the ballot box. And you admit that even so Europeans are receiving preferential consideration.

Thus you will note that the rate of progress, though accelerated

(1) is much lower than in the case of Europeans in the present time.

(2) falls very far short of present requirements. Last year nearly two hundred children were turned away from Sastri College. This year except for bursary students, Sastri College will

turn away all applicants including those turned away last year. There is no need to reiterate the absence of accommodation for growing numbers of primary school children now approaching the 30,000 mark.

(3) appears to suggest that your administration is insufficiently concerned by the fact that every year that passes magnifies this problem. Is your Administration really serious in its desire to make adequate provision of facilities?

I suggested that "in the past Indians have been considered a foreign element in the population." May we ask your authority for this suggestion? We too have read the Capetown Agreement and in terms thereof it is clearly recorded that except for those Indians who choose to repatriate, the remainder should be afforded every opportunity to attain a western standard of life. Perhaps your Executive believe it has some other authority for having cherished an obviously false view.

My Executive notes your contention that "in the past Indian education

sources. This is a view so often repeated that we feel called upon to state it most emphatically.

It is loaded with the implication that the structure of the Indian education system is such that enough control of money may rest very largely with Europeans. It is false to say that the wealth of this country is secured solely or almost exclusively by Europeans. It is actually created to a larger extent than you realize by black men in the mines and the farms, in the factories and the cane fields.

Your Executive would not be so confused on this matter of the protection afforded the European worker by the colour bar, the disinclination imposed upon the non-European worker by industrial legislation and Welfare Board policy, were removed and the Indian worker were to be placed on a par with the European worker.

My Congress notes and is alive to the fact that relations between Indians and others are governed by factors not only educational. We are fully aware that had Indians not been deprived of the franchise a more serious effort over a much longer period would have been made by the

central and local authorities to meet the requirements of the Indian community and to discharge properly the responsibility of government. May we record that hitherto Indians have been overburdened with the desire for goodwill. It is quite true that better relations are desirable between Indians and Europeans. We would suggest that no difficulty would be found in this direction were Europeans willing to exhibit some measure of that goodwill based on human equality (a thing they presume to demand from the Indian) by extending to him full rights of citizenship.

It may be reiterated that a critical situation is developing in Indian education largely due to the Provincial Administration not taking adequate measures in time, in order to meet the needs of Indians in this respect. An Indian secondary school is urgently needed. Land may be found for the purpose. Teachers, too, are obtainable even for Science subjects. The non-committal nature of your letter makes us ask the very pertinent question: "What steps do you intend taking to discharge your responsibility in this matter?"

Reverend Satchell on Indian Question

That the U. N. cannot do much in respect of South African questions was the opinion expressed by the Rev. W. Harold Satchell speaking on "The Indian struggle in South Africa" at a meeting at the Y. M. C. A., Regent Road, Rondebosch. The Rev. Satchell stated that South Africa did not want to make any attempt was made by the Government to improve the position of the Indian.

After all it was the economic factor more than any other that was at the root of the present trouble in South Africa. It was this factor that united even the Opposition Party in the Union Parliament with Field Marshal Smuts, the anti-Dr. Malan, the anti-apartheid leader. The Rev. Satchell was more than Field Marshal Smuts in his opinion. He was winning over the anti-apartheid operation of all liberal-minded Europeans in South Africa. Earlier, Mr. J. Anthony, Secretary of the Y. M. C. A. said that for 17 years the Rev. Satchell was the pro-charge of the Natal Indian Mission in South Africa and he had come to India to study the nature of the Christa Prema Seva Ashram, General Secretary, Y. M. C. A. provided.

The standard agreement between the Indian Dominion and Hyderabad State, after a tortuous course, was signed on November 29. The preamble says that a final agreement as to the form and nature of the relationship between them has not yet been reached. The main points of the agreement are: (1) All agreements and administrative arrangements existing between the Crown and the Nizam immediately before August 15 shall continue. (2) Agents to be appointed by the Government of India and the Nizam in Hyderabad and Delhi respectively. (3) Paramountcy is eliminated. (4) Any dispute arising out of this agreement to be referred to arbitration. (5) The agreement to remain in force for one year.

In the correspondence that has taken place between the Governor General and the Nizam, some further points have been elucidated. The Nizam in his letter uses the word 'association' instead of 'agreement'. He states that he wishes to maintain Hyderabad to be worked as a Hyderabad system in harmony with the Dominion.

Referring to the several points raised by the Nizam, Lord Mountbatten says in his letter of November 29, "While my Government and I note that Your Excellency's Highness has no intention of acceding to Pakistan, we very much regret that you should have been unable to execute an instrument of accession with India. It is the earnest desire of the Government of India to maintain the sovereignty of the State and to work with them as full partners in the administration of the three subjects proposed for accession. The Dominion Government will be able to supply arms and equipment for the State."

Agents-General may be appointed by Hyderabad in Britain and other countries to work in association with representatives of India and only in respect of trade and commerce. The Government of India are prepared to co-operate with Hyderabad fully in regard to the import and export trade. The troops stationed inside Hyderabad territory will be progressively withdrawn by the end of February 1948 at the latest. The present arrangements in regard to currency, postage and postal matters

Patel's Statement

In a statement made on the same day by Sardar Patel, the Deputy Prime Minister, in the Dominion Parliament, he expressed the hope that the period of one year "would enable both of us to give the way for a per-

OUR INDIA LETTER

[FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT]

Haridra, December 1.

AGREEMENT WITH HYDERABAD

moment accession. Now that accord has been reached, I am sure it will have a wholesome effect on the existing situation and will exercise a beneficial influence on the relations between the two communities, both in the States and outside. I am certain that as this settlement is intended to serve as the basis of friendly and cordial relations, it will be worked in that spirit. We on our part will do our best to secure this and. On the question of constitutional reforms as well as on the question of final accession, I hope the Nizam will readily agree that, in the ultimate analysis, it is the will of the people that should guide his judgment. There are no doubts as to the triumph of this principle, and I feel certain that His Exalted Highness will as become a Ruler of his pre-eminent position, set an example which others can follow.

"Both Will Unite"

In a speech delivered in Delhi on Guru Nanak's birthday, Pandit Nehru said "Whether it is an individual from Pakistan having one of us or vice versa, it is an Indian joining another Indian India cannot and will not remain divided. Perhaps the present struggle might forge a stronger bond of unity between us." The political division of India could not change certain fundamental things which still were the same in both Domains. India and Pakistan shared a common heritage and history. They had common economic relations which, though for the time being, would be established again. "The many both Domains will unite into one country. The unity, I am confident, will be brought about not by force but by the march of events all over the world and consideration for common interests."

The two Domains were neighbours and were so pleased that they could never live in isolation of each other. There were only two courses open to the Domains. They could either unite or go to war against each other, said Pandit Nehru. "Even if there is war between the two, it cannot last long. After the war they will have to follow the other course of merging themselves into one united

country." The set up of things in the world at present was such that big problems could not be solved by the use of force. If India was attacked all possible force would certainly be employed to defend her, and no quarter would be granted to the invader, but for solving India-Pakistan problems peaceful methods alone should be adopted, or they were liable to become more serious and complicated.

Speaking on the refugee problem in the Dominion Parliament the Prime Minister said "I want to say clearly that so far as the Government is concerned, it is not going to adopt the method of retaliation. Referring to the riots he expressed horror and said it was a terrible time for those who had to shoulder the responsibility. But for that magic presence of Mahatma Gandhi, he did not think he could have shouldered the burden of those days of turmoil. He had not a shadow of doubt that Mahatma Gandhi had performed a miracle in Bengal, and his presence in Delhi had helped the situation tremendously—although the miracle might not be so obvious."

"Sad Beyond Words"

Shri C. Rajagopalachari, who acted as Governor General during Lord Mountbatten's absence and on his return to Calcutta, said "He is sad beyond words. It is not an exaggeration to say that in his own way he is suffering what Christ suffered on the eve of the great tragedy recorded in the Gospels. What he passionately lingers for is that those who have not numbers or physical strength and who now live in fear, should be made to feel safe and breathe the air of friendship and trust."

Speaking at a meeting of the Sikhs in Delhi on November 29, Gandhiji expressed the hope that the Sikhs would hence turn a new leaf with regard to the attitude towards their Muslim brethren and shed all vice. To Gandhiji, the wrong done by a Hindu, a Sikh or a Muslim, was a wrong done by himself. He appealed to the Sikhs to sheathe their swords and give up the spirit of retaliation.

Harjiana in Pakistan

Shri J. N. Mauda, Minister for Law and Labour in the

Pakistan Cabinet, said in Karachi on the 28th that no steps had so far been taken by Pakistan provinces to give Harjiana either a share in the administration for to improve their economic and social position. "It is regrettable," he added, "that things have shaped in a way that not a single Scheduled Caste man has been employed in the Central Secretariat of the Pakistan Government." He contrasted the position in India. He recalled that Harjiana in Pakistan numbered 45 lakhs, of whom 74 lakhs are in East Bengal.

Forcible Conversion Of Harjiana

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, Minister for Law in the Government of India, in a statement says the Harjiana in Pakistan are not allowed to come over to India, and they are being forcibly converted to Islam in order to increase the strength of the Muslim population there. Further there is a regular campaign carried on by the Muslim fundamentalists by burning houses of the Harjiana in order to strike terror into their hearts and to prevent them from joining the Government for securing responsible government in the State and compelling Hyderabad to join the Indian Union. He invited them to come to India. "To all those who are

back I shall see that they received back into the fold. I treated as a heretic." He wished them not to side with the Nazim in his efforts to thwart the

work of the Government. He said that the Government of India was not in a position to take any steps to force the Harjiana to come to India. He said that the Government of India was not in a position to take any steps to force the Harjiana to come to India.

PANDEIT NEHRU ON INDIA'S FUTURE ACTION

PANDEIT NEHRU, President of the Constituent Assembly, Friday, December 22, 1947, was not in a position to take any definite announcement on the Government of India's future actions regarding the dispute with South Africa, so soon after the conclusion of the United Nations General Assembly session. He assured the House "We shall not fail in our resolve to secure justice for Indians in South Africa nor in our determination to achieve this object by methods which are consistent with the letter and spirit of the Charter of the United Nations."

Things In General

Indians Described As Parasites

A special meeting on Tuesday night the Bulawayo City Council unanimously passed a resolution calling on the Southern Rhodesian Government to introduce legislation to provide that Europeans shall not sell, lease or hire property in a European area except Europeans, and that local authorities may set aside or reserve areas for the use of non-Europeans.

During the debate, Indians in Southern Rhodesia were described as parasites of the worst kind. Councillors suggested that Indians deliberately depreciated the value of European property.

Indians migrating to the

rights with Europeans to establish their proprietorship. The result was that Indians who were probably not laid up for houses moved in and European women and their children were forced to move out of houses owned by Indians.

The Europeans of Southern Rhodesia had a duty primarily to the indigenous Native population and also to the Calcutta people in the Colony. But he could not see, said Mr. Bailey, that there was any duty to Indians.

Mr. J. H. Macdonald said Indians were forming syndicates to buy property in order to depreciate values of neighbouring property owned by Indians so that they could buy that property cheaply.

Mr. W. Edzell said Indian property was being used to bring White civilization to Southern Rhodesia and Africa as a whole. Legislation was needed to show Indians specific areas in which they would be segregated for living and trading.

Protest By Natal Indian Congress

The Natal Indian Congress has sent the following protest to the Mayor of Bulawayo City Council:

Natal Indian Congress on behalf of the Indian community strongly protests the remarks made by Mr. Bailey and Mr. Macdonald during the debate on Tuesday night. The remarks of Mr. Bailey and Mr. Macdonald are a gross insult to the Indian community whose national honour and dignity has been assailed. Your Council's intention to recommend the racially discriminatory Land Tenure Legislation to Government will ignite masses of world-wide protest and condemnation from democracy and peace-

loving peoples. Recent United Nations debate and overwhelming majority vote against S.A.'s treatment of Indians should be a forewarning and lesson to Europeans of Southern Rhodesia to refrain from bringing ignominy to their country and from sowing seeds of misunderstanding and conflict between their country and emergent independent India and from embarrassing Britain in her relations with members of Commonwealth and friendly nations. Indians whether in Rhodesia, India or elsewhere will not allow dishonour and insult to be heaped upon them without a fight.

The King's Assent To Burma's Independence And Self-Rule For Ceylon

His Majesty King George VI has given his assent to the Burma Independence Act, 1947, and to the Ceylon Independence Act, 1947.

Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II, in 1947, and later separated under a British governor, and on January 4 became a sovereign republic within the Commonwealth.

A Royal Commission of three peers proclaimed the King's assent to Independence Bills for the two countries in an ancient ceremony before members of both Houses of Parliament, bringing to a climax years of inquiry and negotiations which began in 1918 and took concrete form early in World War II.

Both Burma and Ceylon have already signed treaties with the United Kingdom.

The Prime Minister of Burma, Thakin Nu, who was recently in London to deal with the financial details of the transfer and to sign the Anglo-Burmese treaty, has made it clear that his Government intends to keep the new republic on friendly terms with Britain.

Burma's Constituent Assembly has drawn up a constitution for the new Union of Burma which embodies an agreement with the main hill peoples and their rulers.

The constitution provides for two Chambers in a central Government, a President elected by them, and a Prime Minister. Each State is represented in the Union Parliament by the members of its State Council.

Ceylon, hitherto governed as a British colony, has reached self-governing status largely on the basis of the findings of the commission, headed by Lord Sutherland, which visited the colony in 1944. The Salisbury Commission's constitution gives the island full responsibility for internal affairs.

The new Government, formed after the general election in September, will have to Britain the problems of defence, Ceylon, the United Kingdom has a large number of troops and a large number of troops in the United Kingdom's overseas territories. The two countries are now High Commissioners.

OBITUARY

The funeral took place in Johannesburg on Tuesday December 9 of Mr. Samuel Joseph, who was born in 1874 and died on December 7. He was a short, stout man. The late Mr. Joseph was the organist of St. Anthony's Indian chapel for a number of years until the time of his death. He was an active member holding official posts in the Natal Football Club and in Johannesburg and Germiston. In his early years Mr. Joseph took very keen interest in cricket and soccer, and as a soccer player took part in many matches in the Natal Province. In Johannesburg he was one of the founders of the Vrededorp Football Club and also Vrededorp Cricket Club, and he himself played for the latter for several seasons. The late Mr. Joseph went to prison during 1912 and 1913 passive resistance struggle. The burial took place at the New Brixton Cemetery after a short service in St. Mary's Cathedral by the Rev. B. L. K. Nigamony, who performed the solemn ceremony and the burial rites at the grave side. There were many mourners including German School children, and

representatives of various sections at the grave side and numerous telegrams and floral tributes were received from friends to the Union. Mr. Joseph leaves his wife, and several children, his aged mother, brothers and sisters to mourn their loss.



Mr. Samuel Joseph, who died on December 7, was a member of the Vrededorp Football Club and the Vrededorp Cricket Club.



Klyveret Gertsen, aged 27 years, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. C. Gertsen, died on Tuesday night, December 9, 1947.

Thanks

Mr. C. Gertsen and his family wish to thank all relatives and friends who expressed sympathy and sent flowers and cards during the illness of Klyveret Gertsen.

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The annual general meeting of the above institution will be held at the Quaid Hall, 30 Fox Street Johannesburg, on Thursday December 25, at 2.30 p.m. All members are requested to attend.

Agenda: (1) Annual Report, (2) Election, (3) General Business, (4) Finance and Accounts, (5) Secretary's Report.

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ફ્રુટ અને વેજિટેબલ એક્સપોર્ટર અને ઇમ્પોર્ટર.
સાઉથ આફ્રિકન કેનેડીયન એપલ્સના સ્પેશીયલિસ્ટ

મોસમમાં કેપ ફ્રુટ પણ રાખીએ છીએ.

તેમજ ઇન્ડિયન ગ્રોસરી હોલસેલ બાયવી મળશે.

લાલમાં લીલાં આકુનો રંગાક છે.

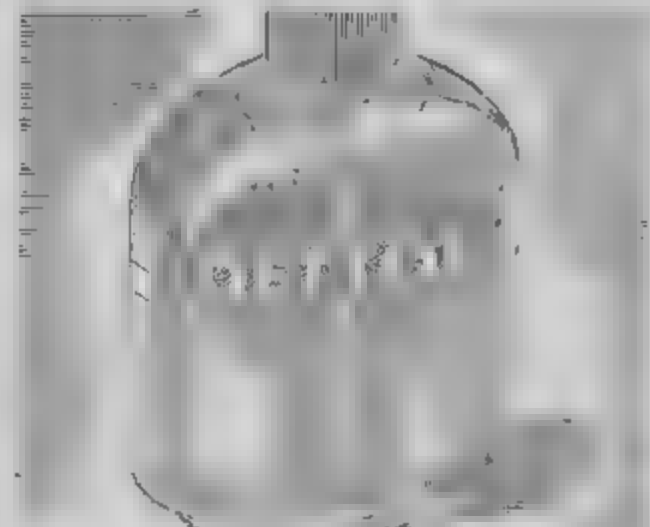
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સરેલા આરે આર્યંક અને કળામય સાહીઓ પા. રી. ૧

| | |
|---|---------|
| સીલની ભરત ભરેલી સાહીઓ નવીન ડીઝાઇન | ૫ ૧૦ ૦ |
| ક.પેલી ભરતભરેલી સાહીઓ | ૭ ૧૦ ૦ |
| સીલ મહલીનની ભરતભરેલી સાહીઓ | ૮ ૮ ૦ |
| જરી ભરત સીલ મહલીન સાહીઓ | ૧૩ ૧૦ ૦ |
| જરી ભરત ભરેલી સાહીઓ | ૧૫ ૦ ૦ |
| ફીલ્મ રસાય. એ રંગી સાહીઓ. રંગીન નવીન ડીઝાઇન | ૧૨ ૦ ૦ |

જાણે વેચણ, કા હી માટે પછી પતો. આર્યંક રંગીઓ, રી. ૬ વાદ. ભરત ભરેલી રંગીઓ, સાહી અને કળામય માટે કપડાં પતો રી. ૧૨-૬. મરક તથા કાકણાઓ માટે સીલ રંગ, પાવણઓ, સેકિસ, રંગીઓ વીઝેન્ટ જાણમાં ખાસ જાણ કર્યો છે.

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AND STORES AND TO YOU

NO BAGS NO FOOD

THIS IS WRONG

THIS IS RIGHT



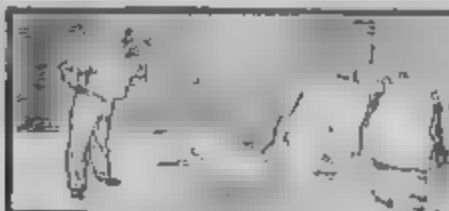
This man uses a knife to cut the bag when he gets his food.

This man cuts the string and opens his bag carefully so that he gets his food.



One man is tearing the bag along the ground so that he gets his food by tearing the bag.

Another man lifts his bag carefully off cart and carries them.



This man has a red bag and he is pouring water out of it. He has lost his food and his bag is ruined.

This man looks after his bag and he gets his food. He has a bag and he gets his food.



This man has a bag and he is looking at it. He has lost his food and his bag is ruined.

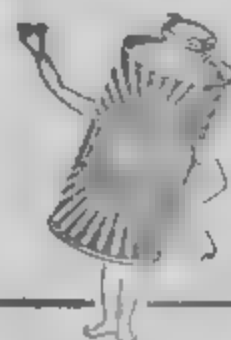
This man has a bag and he is looking at it. He has lost his food and his bag is ruined.

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MABA KAKANDHI
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૩૬ " " " પા. ૧૪-૨-૦.

દુસરામા ટીકેટ, પા. ૮-૫-૦. ૨૫૨૫૫ પા. ૧૦-૧૫-૦.

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INDIAN OPINION

EDITED BY
MAHATMA GANDHI

No. 49 - Vol XLV

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

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Indian Opinion

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New Year Resolution

THE old year is fast drawing to a close and we shall soon be entering into the New Year. People at this time are busy stock-taking to find out what losses or profits they have made during the year. Of course we think only of our material gains, for we are living in a material world which has grown more materialistic even with the hard knocks it has suffered and is still suffering. Nobody seems to think of counting the moral or the spiritual gains or losses, and those who do are few and far apart and are usually dubbed as mad men. Man is so immersed in materialism that he hardly remembers that he has come naked into the world and is now naked leaving all his belongings behind. Only his good deeds will stand him in good stead when he stands before the Bar of his Creator.

Well, we need not count our material gains especially in South Africa whose prosperity still abounds. Even with their miseries people are comparatively much happier than in any other part of the world, excepting of course U.S.A.

Spiritual and moral, however, we are afraid our losses are heavy, so

much so that we are nearing bankruptcy. We do not measure the good or bad in its merits. We do not try to count the good, but in its merits. We see only the bad in others and are self-satisfied that we are not worse than them. For instance, South Africa is completely blind and wishes to remain blind to the good that is in India or elsewhere. She looks only at the dark side and feels happy when she compares favourably with it. This does not help anyone and in the long run it will not help South Africa. Any country which is conscious of its shortcomings and is not very scarce of its energy in getting over them has certainly the right to point out the wrong in others and to ask them to rectify it even as it is doing so itself. India is in that happy position today not as South Africa. This is a simple general principle which requires but little intelligence to understand.

But we Indians in South Africa have much to thank about ourselves and can afford to stand the business of others. We have not before us the high ideal of fighting for the just rights of the oppressed people. We have gained over the past we

have so far nothing to be ashamed of or achievement. Our struggle has been directed particularly and only against the obnoxious Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act, commonly described as the "Afric Act". If we would have followed the path that some of our brethren wish us to follow, we would have been but waging our own race. The wrong way did not have known or cared to know how we were faring. We have by our sufferings awakened the world and have gained its sympathy. Some of our brethren think we have antagonised the European public, which seems to them a wrong thing to do since we have to live with them in this country. If by our self-imposed sufferings we have made

fortable and exposed them to ridicule, it is no fault of ours. It is better to suffer and to die than to live as a nation of slaves. As Mahatma has said this. We are not fighting for bread-crumbs. We are fighting for the removal of all injustice. Bread-crumbs will not satisfy us. Nothing but the removal of the injustice will satisfy us. We are paying the price for it and are still prepared to pay it until our goal is reached. The price we are paying is for greater than the inconvenience suffered by our oppressors.

For much depends on

in which we try on our struggle. We shall not hesitate to repeat it a thousandth time that our struggle must be based on truth and non-violence in word and deed and that all our actions must be above board, if we wish to succeed. Unless we adhere to this implicitly we shall be untrue to ourselves to those who follow us but we will have betrayed our leaders and those whose names we exploit and whose guidance we

the path that we are treading is up a tree. It is a lot of thorns. Every effort is made to divert us from that path by temptation in the shape of promises and rewards.

Nothing but a trap to lead us to submit to the Ghetto Act. If we succumb to those temptations we are doomed. All kinds of pressure will be brought upon us by the authorities by resorting to favouritism, siding our own people against us and so on, that we must go forward with an unswerving determination and in the righteousness of our cause and in God. That should be our resolution for the New Year. Though the prospects are adverse it should be our fervent prayer to the Almighty that the New Year may be a year

of progress to all mankind.

"LETTING UNKINDNESS DIE"

By L. W. RITCH

THIS is the season when Goodwill among Men is supposed to prevail. Goodwill is born of the spirit of kindness which itself is begotten of understanding, and where understanding of man's essential nature and the true relationship of each to the other is lacking the love that expresses itself as kindness must continue to breed ill-will and make peace on earth unobtainable.

Kindness is commonly thought to be no more than just an emotion of benevolence. Etymologically it has a much profounder meaning. It signifies "of one and same kind," e.g., and implies a relationship rooted in something common to all and shared by each. The ideal of a Brotherhood of Mankind is founded on the conception of the Fatherhood of God of every human being, each of whom, by virtue of the divine source and origin all share, may become "Like unto the Father."

Unkindness, as an emotion, is then an expression of untruth, a denial of a fact, whether that fact be recognized or not. It constitutes the greatest of all heresies, the heresy of separatism, for it is the negation of the unity of existence, the essential spiritual unity underlying all diversity and the divine kinship that binds each to the other.

In a civilization absorbed mainly in the study of the material and changing, and the material, the peace which it is vainly believed peace and happiness are to be found, unkindness is virtually inevitable. Peace is possible only when and where harmony prevails; harmonious co-operation practicable only when a common purpose and object are recognized. Man is the enemy of his brother man because, engrossed in the selfish pursuit of what he can never permanently enjoy—place, power, domination, worldly riches, etc., each sees in the other a dangerous rival and all have become blind to their real nature, origin, purpose and goal. What is lacking is understanding, realization. For, unless the world's religions (and religion means, and is the tie that binds back man to God, to his source and origin) are no better than deceptions, the real essential self of man is a spark or seed of divinity, designed in the course of experience in time and place to evolve to the likeness of its parent.

Were the head-learning, upon which the modern man sets such

supreme store, corrected with more of the leaven of heart (or soul) wisdom, the accented differences of race, colour and stages of advancement would all assume only the relative unimportance they should properly occupy in human relationship. The essential likenesses shared by all and the things that matter, such as the meaning and purpose of life and living, would be perceived to far exceed in value and significance the differences now so readily seized upon by the seekers of selfish overlordship to justify their dislikes.

If it be true that "Righteousness exalteth a Nation"—and history is one long record of the truth of the converse—then the selfish abuse of power is an offence against the Law that moves to Righteousness and the offending nation is but digging its own grave.

"Even as ye did unto the least of these, so did ye unto ME," admonished him whom man professes to worship as God. If this means anything, it is a reinforcement and justification of the admonition "That ye love one another." It renounces and explains perhaps the profoundest truth in the Science of the Soul: "I am, the Self, the Spirit deep-seated in every creature's soul."

To the purblind, who still fear to face the light, and prefer the shadows of Pious Lies to the realities that cast them, the foregoing will appear as but idle speculation and outside the realm of practical politics. Well! The astuteness of the worldly wise, who shun anything savouring of the "doctrine" as Nature is supposed to abhor a vacuum, and to whom idealism is a convenient alibi for purposes of decoration but not for use, does not seem to have brought the world much true happiness or, for that matter, much real progress.

Not that the better way is any less clearly indicated today than ever it was, or that its guide-books are lacking. Just this—One cannot ally oneself to Truth and to Fairness at the same time. Who chooses the former is progressing downward and upward. "Who takes other roads shall wander still."

NOTES

Mr. J. B. S. ...
... ..

In the course of a leading article in its issue of December 22 the *Adelphi* makes the following observations:

South Africa on her part must lose no further time in remedying some of the undoubted disabilities under which she has suffered. Foremost among these is the question of proper training, educational and social amenities. So far as amenities are concerned, conditions in certain areas of Durban, for instance, are anything but a good advertisement for South Africa.

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the Government must share in that responsibility. When the

General appears himself gave a categorical assurance that the Government would help in providing amenities for the Indians. It is high time that the Government gave a lead and Mr. Lawrence, fresh from his new ex-

urgency of the problem to force the Government to take action

India's Right To Criticism

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steadily to arise before the world against racial discrimination—no wonder that, when the Dominion tells other countries how to run their affairs, they are apt to turn and say something to the effect of "Physician heal thyself!"

Editor Preaches "Apartheid (Separation) in Bloemfontein"

At Johannesburg's Day celebration in Simonsville Dr. H. F. Verwoerd, Editor of *Die Transvaler*, warned the Afrikaner people not to endanger their nation.

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country. If South Africa ever faced a test in its history that

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TRANSVAAL INDIAN CONGRESS

WORKING COMMITTEE MEETING'S RESOLUTIONS

THE Working Committee of the Transvaal Indian Congress at its meeting held at the Gandhi Hall, Johannesburg, on Tuesday, December 16, passed a resolution calling upon Indians in the Transvaal (a) not to accept any recommendations of the local municipalities, Immigration Department, and the Advisory Board in their sinister moves to make the Ghetto Act work, and to inform these bodies that it is not possible for them to co-operate and that consequently they are unable to put forward any suggestions.

(b.) To pledge full support to and carry out effectively all instructions in regard to the implementation of this resolution the Executive Committee of Congress may from time to time call for.

The following resolution was also passed. This calls and notes

1. That prior to the Asiatic Land and Indian Representation 1946 the Indian people of South Africa as well as the Government of India requested the United Nations to settle the Indian problem by means of a round

b. India severed trade relations with South Africa

c. Brought the Indian question before the United Nations Organisation

d. The Indian people of South Africa embarked on a Passive Resistance struggle.

4. In 1946 by a two-thirds majority, the General Assembly of the UN condemned the Union Government on its policy of racial discrimination and called for the treatment of the Indian people in South Africa in accordance with the principles of the Charter and asked the Government of the Union and India to report as to the measures taken thereon.

5. It is called for a Round Table Conference between the Governments of India, Pakistan and South Africa.

6. The existence and enforcement of the Ghetto Act makes not only the total and denial of democracy and attainment of civil liberties, but it also spells the social and political future of the Indian people of the Transvaal, and Natal.

NEW PHASE OF STRUGGLE

A MASS meeting under the joint auspices of the Transvaal Indian Congress and the Passive Resistance Council of the Transvaal, at which the future of the Passive Resistance struggle was outlined by Dr. B. J. van der Merwe, at the Gandhi Hall, Johannesburg, on Sunday, December 21. The following resolution was passed: "This mass meeting of the Transvaal Indian community held under the joint auspices of the Transvaal Indian Congress and the Passive Resistance Council to endorse the decision of the Joint Passive Resistance Council to

continue the gallant and patriotic resistance struggle against the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act. It expresses its fullest confidence in the Joint Council to carry out its future plans to extend Passive Resistance to the Transvaal and pledges to give its wholehearted support in the new phase of the struggle about to be launched. This meeting further expresses its confidence in the leadership of Mr. V. Jayalakehmi Pandit, the Indian delegation, and the delegation of Pakistan and all other countries who stood for the India delegation in the Assembly of the United Nations.

LIGHT ON LIVING CONDITIONS OF NON-EUROPEANS

A PPAILLING conditions of overcrowding among the Indian and Coloured population of urban areas is reported by a survey conducted by the National War Memorial Health Foundation, found indescribable congestion and filth among 30,000 Natives in the Ridge View Road

A team of university students, working on behalf of the National War Memorial Health Foundation, found indescribable congestion and filth among 30,000 Natives in the Ridge View Road

It is considered a black belt for all kinds of diseases. More than 2,500 shacks were found, and in each lived several families without sanitation, light and water and with little ventilation.

A health Department report to the City Council states that an alarming number of Indian families are living in one single room, and should one member of a family develop tuberculosis it is only a matter of time before other members also develop the disease. The situation is made all the more serious by lack of hospital accommodation for the isolation of these patients.

For the same reason there is a higher degree of childhood tuberculosis among Indians than in the case with other races.

A report to the Durban City Council on a survey of Indian housing by the Economics Department of the Natal University College is summarised as follows.

The average number of persons per household is far greater in the case of Asiatics than for the other three races. The average number of rooms per household is lower than for Coloureds and Europeans, and in the case of whole houses is as low as for Africans, although the average size of an African household is only about half that of the Asiatic. The average number of persons per room is about double that for Europeans and Coloureds.

There are thousands of Indian shacks in the Durban area without water and sanitary services and at a considerable distance from transport. Their average value is £10 to £20 and they are made from paraffin tins, or of wood and corrugated iron.

Overcrowding that overflows from the Indian areas is a major factor in the Asiatic, and it is a capital who are crowded out of the population for health reasons. Another interesting fact is that the wealthier an Indian becomes the fewer people he keeps in his household, whereas the poorer he is the more he overcrowds.

Dealing with the history of Asiatic housing, the report states that after their indentureship on estates the Indians set themselves up as market gardeners or free labourers. They built temporary shelters in the form of huts or shanties, did not have to pay rates and were not subject to building control.

The uncertain type of land tenure, however, did not encourage the erection of more costly structures, even when the tenants had the means. As Durban's prosperity increased and land values rose, the landlords, on finding more remunerative uses for their land, evicted the tenants, who then had to shift to new sites with their huts and belongings.

The anti-Indian agitation in Natal in 1880 made them more uncertain of their economic future, and led to a further reluctance to establish permanent homes. They therefore concentrated more on the accumulation of wealth than on living well. This is still the outlook of thousands of Indians today.

FIGHT WITH SOUL FORCE

FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT

If the Indians in South Africa had courage and self-respect they would fight for their fundamental rights with the force of the soul, said Gandhi on December 3. He referred to Mrs. V. Jayalakehmi Pandit's advice to the Indians in South Africa that though India had not carried her point at DYO it was not a defeat, for India had a majority of votes, and said that there was no question of a defeat for those who believed in the golden law of Satyagraha. That weapon he had discovered in South Africa. Supposing India had won at DYO and Field Marshal Smuts had agreed to concede the demands of the Indians in South Africa, but the White population of South Africa refused, what could India do? He should say clearly and openly that they would not leave their

house. They would live where they were born and brought up, but with honour. South Africa was the country of the African. Gandhi went on to say, "On others like the Indians had no greater rights than the Indians who had gone there. Not the Europeans oppress the Africans and deprived Indian settlers of their elementary rights. It was not proper to place India's case before DYO. But if DYO would not or could not secure justice for Indians of South Africa, should not the latter fight for their rights? In his opinion they should, but not with the force of arms. The true and only weapon was Satyagraha or soul force. The soul was immortal, the body was perishable.

"THEY call me Prime Minister of India," said Pandit Nehru in a broadcast speech to men of the armed forces of India, "but it would be more appropriate if I were called the first servant of India." "Why did our forces go to Kashmir?" he said. "We did not want to invade other countries and enslave people. Our forces went there not to oppress or conquer. They went there because the people of Kashmir were in peril and their country was being overrun by forces of aggression. When Kashmir was being ravaged by the raiders the people asked us for help. It was thus our duty to go and help. We sent our forces who performed their task speedily and courageously. Much has been accomplished but more difficult work lies ahead, and I am confident that they will succeed. We must constantly remind ourselves that whatever our religion or caste we are all one people. Serve your country men without distinction of class or religion; you will bring honour to yourselves and to your country."

India And Burma

U Nu, Premier of Burma, who had come to India on a friendly visit, said that Burma would exercise no discrimination in respect of Indians about citizenship rights. Indians would be given equal opportunities with the nationals of Western countries. The Burmese language, he said, had been declared in the constitution as the official language of Burma, and the Government wanted to follow it without reservation. One and reasonable time would be given to Indians in the Burma Government service to learn that language.

Of the 400,000 Indians who evacuated Burma in 1947-48, there are still nearly half who are waiting to return to the land of their adoption. Pandit Nehru, said a report from Delhi, might agree the Burmese leaders to give all those Indians who want to go back to Burma full facilities to do so.

India And Pakistan

"Pakistan and India have reached agreement on all outstanding disputed matters which had defied settlement so long and were about to be referred to the Arbitration Tribunal," said the Karachi correspondent of the Times of India. "It is understood," he added, "that all these questions were settled in a spirit of goodwill."

Gandhi referred to the talks that were going on in New Delhi between Ministers of the two Dominions and felt he was optimistic about the results. Lending maintenance to three reports

OUR INDIA LETTER

Baroda, December 8.

"FIRST SERVANT OF INDIA"

Shri S. Chetty, the Finance Minister of India, said in the Indian Parliament in a somewhat jocular vein, on the 5th: "In fact I fast for the last week a conspiracy, in which the Home Minister (Bardar Patel) is deeply involved, to take away the work of Sir Patrick Spens, chairman of the Arbitral Tribunal. The House should wish him success in his efforts, and if, as we all hope, some of those most intricate problems were settled out of court, it would redound to the credit of the two Governments."

Writing on the same subject for us says in the Times of India: "Polity as well as details were included in the agenda of the Delhi Conference which, one is glad to note, reached agreement on quite a few points. For instance, it was decided to continue the Joint Defence Council Agreement was resolved on some of the financial implications of partition, such as the allocation of funds which attached to undivided India. One infers that questions such as tariff policy were also considered, although there is no official statement on the subject. Whereas Pakistan appears to have signed off Jinnah, there still remains some doubt as to the future of the Nawab and the holding of a plebiscite. This and the more difficult question of Kashmir also appears to have been discussed in an atmosphere not of hostility but of a desire to settle. This approach is being maintained." He ends by speaking of "the new spirit that happily pervades the relationship between the two Dominions."

In Pakistan

One cannot, however, say that this spirit has reached people who have the public ear in Pakistan. So, for instance, the following extract from Dawn, the organ voice of Pakistan attacking the Hindu contemporary in Karachi, Dawn writes: "In this country today 'Muslim' opinion is 'National' opinion, and it is the 'Muslim' Press which is the 'National' Press." What can be said on account of being allowed to go unchallenged in the presumptuous pretence that minority opinion—or, to be more

precise, as represented by the official Press, is no better than compensation. Today they the

Minority Press must follow where the Muslim Press leads, acknowledge that Muslim opinion is the national opinion, or else admit that they are foreigners and aliens in Pakistan who are not entitled to be treated as natives of the soil but must be treated as aliens.

New Constitution

The new constitution of India was expected to be ready by May, 1948, and the general elections, which would involve the preparation of fresh electoral rolls and the fixing of new constituencies, would be held some time between May of 1949, and Dr. Rajendra Prasad, President of the Indian Constituent Assembly and of the Congress, during a visit to Bombay. He said that the Committee, which was scrutinising the draft constitution prepared by the Constitutional Adviser, was expected to complete scrutiny of the draft by about the end of December. So long as the Constituent Assembly did not take a decision that India should no longer be a member of the British Commonwealth, he said, she would continue to be a Dominion. But he was not prepared to anticipate what decision the Constituent Assembly would take.

When the new constitution would be put to the test, he said, in facing the two crucial problems of restoring and maintaining peace and making the country self-sufficient in its food supplies. The manner in which a nation was found for these two problems would determine the future of the nation.

Harjans in Pakistan

Referring to the deplorable plight of Harjans in Pakistan, to which reference was made in my last letter, Shri Jagjivan Ram, Labour Minister, Government of India, said: "Heart-rending accounts of atrocities heaped on the hapless Harjans is a tragedy too deep for words. I wonder if Pakistan realise the full import of what has happened." "It is an old game of the Muslim League," he added, "to draw the Harjans into their parlor by offering them temptations. The Harjans community in India as a whole could easily see through the game and took heed of it. In spite of the fact that some of our stalwarts, happily now discredited, had very easily fallen into the trap. Let there be no illusion in any quarter—the

Harjans are Hindus as much as anyone else, and are proud of it. We have fought, and shall fight, for the recognition of our social rights. But that is our domestic affair in which we will not tolerate any outside interference."

Evacuation

Giving an account in the Indian Parliament of the evacuation of a Muslim from Pakistan, Shri K. C. Neogy, Minister for Relief and Rehabilitation, said that to date, over four million non-Muslims from West Pakistan had been recovered. The Military Evacuation Organisation set up by the Government on September 4 had alone evacuated so far by rail, road transport and by foot convoy 25,83,000 persons. Five lakhs had come out before August 15. It was estimated another eight lakhs had come between August 15 and September 4.

It might be said that about five lakhs of non-Muslims had been evacuated.

GANDHI'S WARNING TO EAST AFRICA

MHATMA GANDHI said at his prayer meeting in New Delhi last week that India is now independent and cannot tolerate legislation against her nationals. He had received a telegram from the representatives of Indian settlers in East Africa protesting at a Bill against Indian immigration. He hoped the authorities in East Africa would realise the possibility of losing India's friendship—Saps Kenter.

Some 100,000 non-Muslims were yet to be evacuated. The matter was still under investigation. Amongst those that remained to be evacuated were about 50,000 in the N-WFP from Sindh, out of a total non-Muslim population of 13 to 14 lakhs, two and a half lakhs had already come to India. In addition to scheduled trains, special trains had been arranged to run from Hyderabad (Sind) in addition to scheduled trains.

India's Foreign Policy

Pandit Nehru made an important statement on India's foreign policy in the Indian Parliament on the 4th. "We have proclaimed during the past year," he said, "that we will not attach ourselves to any particular group." India was not going to join a war if she could help it, but if the choice came, she was going to join the side which was to her interest. Ultimately

UNITED STATES COMMISSION CONDEMNS RACE DISCRIMINATION IN COLLEGES

The United States Presidential Commission on Education has urged the enactment of new laws to prevent racial discrimination by American colleges and has urged a campaign to erase racial prejudice from the State's textbooks.

Noting what were described as the "very best" methods used by some colleges to bar Jews and negroes, the Commission proposed that Federal appropriations should be passed only for institutions where discriminatory factors do not exist.

The Commission's report, which was prepared at the President's request, said that there were 17 States as well as the District of Columbia (no administrative section, in which separate and equal education was mandatory).

"But," it added, "the separate and equal principle has nowhere been fully honoured. The educational facilities for negroes are inferior to those provided for whites."

The report also criticised the quota systems by which, it said, many colleges limited the admission of Jewish students.

Four members of the Commission dissented strongly from the majority decision on the barring of educational segregation of negroes in the Southern States.

Such pronouncements impeded the progress of, and threatened (regarding to, the people of the South, both white and negro, said these four members.

While applauding the efforts to remove inequalities in the South, they said efforts must be made "within the established patterns of social relationship which require separate educational institutions for whites and negroes."—Sapa Reuter.

MR. JINNAH ON PALESTINE'S PARTITION

MR. MUHAMMAD ALI JINNAH, Governor of Pakistan, said in Karachi last week that the Moslems of the Indian sub-continent had been compelled to condemn in the strongest possible manner the unjust and cruel decision of the United Nations on the partition of Palestine.

"Moslems of the Indian sub-continent are obviously reluctant to antagonise the United States or any other country, but our sense of justice obliges us to support the Arab cause in Palestine in every way open to us."

Mr. Jinnah said he thought it regrettable that Great Britain had not been more resolute in her efforts to find a just and honourable solution to the Palestine problem. "With greater persistence" Britain might have been more successful."

Discussing the future relations between Britain and Pakistan, Jinnah said: "The Pakistan Constituent Assembly will decide whether Pakistan is to remain in the British Commonwealth or not, but personally I have no doubt that Pakistan would be ready to remain a member for our mutual benefit."

Britain should exercise this great moral responsibility as an senior member of the United Nations.

"At the moment I feel that

Great Britain is treating Pakistan with indifference. I fully realise that Britain has no power to interfere in the affairs of any Dominion, but at the same time Britain and other Dominions are in a position to use their persuasion to help settle differences between members of the Commonwealth. It appears to me that Britain is so far shirking her duty in this respect."

Referring to the decision of the Council of the All India Muslim League to split organisation into separate Muslim Leagues for Pakistan and the Dominion of India, Mr. Jinnah said that "since August 15, Moslems in Pakistan and Moslems in the Dominion of India have been faced, and are still faced, with entirely different problems."

"It is only right, therefore, that Moslems of India should be free to form their own independent policy." He added that it would be impracticable and improper for a single Moslem organisation to operate in the two Dominions.

He said the Kashmir question was grave and he would make no statement at this stage as talks were going on between the Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan.

Indians In Bulawayo Protest

A mass meeting of the Bulawayo Branch of the African Association held on December 20 passed a five-point resolution protesting against the City Council's attitude towards the Indian community. Special reference was made to the Council's proposed resolution calling on the Government to introduce legislation to prevent Indians from acquiring property in the city's European residential areas. The meeting formed a special committee to implement its resolution. The chairman, Mr. V. B.

Indian residents, and to approach the Indian Government and present the facts as they are in Rhodesia. —SAPA

Miss Attles To Work Among Union Moslems

Miss Mary Attles, 72 year old sister of Britain's Prime Minister, has returned to Capetown to the Siding Castle after an absence of two years. "When I left here I did not intend coming back," she said in an interview. "However, the Archbishop of Capetown asked me if I would return to work among the Moslems. The need of this

INDIAN MEDICAL DEGREES RECOGNISED IN S.A.

SOUTH AFRICA has now recognised the medical degrees of Indian practitioners in South Africa. The Union Department of Health has gazetted this decision based on the recommendation of the South African Medical and Dental Council in the Union Government Gazette No. 2206.

Until this was gazetted S. A. Indian students qualifying in India were from 1942 not permitted to practice in South Africa. They were compelled to proceed for further qualification to England or other universities recognised in South Africa.

This result has been achieved by the efforts of Advocate D. U. Mistry, Joint Secretary of the Transvaal Indian Congress, who had carried on correspondence in this matter for a considerable time with both the medical Council and the Union Government. During September 1947 Mr. Mistry was informed by the Medical Council that it had recommended to the Government General through the Minister of Health to give recognition to Indian degrees. The successful efforts of Advocate Mistry have resulted in many students from South Africa attending Indian Universities. On the question of recognition of Indian degrees with the medical council they will now be able to practice in South Africa without any special qualification.

The following are the Universities and the degrees which have received recognition.

1. University of Bombay. L.M.B., M.B., B.S., M.D., M.S.
2. University of Lucknow. M.B., B.S.
3. University of Madras. L.M.S., M.B., B.S., M.D., M.S.
4. University of Patna. M.B., B.S.
5. University of Calcutta. L.M.B., M.B., M.D., M.S., M.O.
6. University of Punjab. L.M.B., M.B., B.S., M.D., M.S.

N. G. G. said that if public complaints against the Indian community continued in the colonies, "Kutler's municipalities would not only get a bad name among other members of the British Commonwealth, but the trade situation would be made very difficult."

He said the resolution empowered the committee to approach Bulawayo City Council and the Rhodesian Government about the allegation with regard to the acquisition of land as well as other matters affecting

evangelistic work is great and workers few."

What Defence Means

Pandit Nehru, Prime Minister of India, urged employers of labour to end an industrial strike and increase the country's production. He told an industrial conference, which was attended by Labour Ministers from the India Provinces, that the major problem facing industry was the psychological atmosphere which made labour feel it was not getting a square deal. Appealing for increased production, he said, "A strike is

lay stress essentially—and in more than one way, on the navy and the forces—in order to produce a "Japanisation".

Sir Maharaj Singh To Be New Governor Of Bombay

It is officially announced in New Delhi, that Sir John Colville, Governor of Bombay since March, 1943, will leave his post on January 6. He will be succeeded by Maharaj Sir Mahadeo Singh.

WILL LORD MOUNTBATTEN COME TO LONDON?

Lord Mountbatten, Governor-General of India, coming to South Africa?

Reports of his intending visit are not confirmed nor denied by the Department of External Affairs, but a spokesman at Military Headquarters told the *Sunday Times*: "We know nothing of

self and his appearance

India after the wedding

coming to the Union immediately the official tour

He will come, he said, the hope of "bringing about an effective reconciliation between the two peoples"

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Muslim League To Form Two Bodies

The Council of the All India Muslim League which met in Karachi, decided to divide the 41-year-old organisation into separate bodies for Pakistan and the Indian Dominion. The separate organisations will convene as soon as possible at Karachi and Madras to frame their constitutions. The Council also passed a resolution condemning communal disturbances in both Dominions and urged the Indian and Pakistan Governments that the pledges given to Muslims should be fulfilled in all sincerity.

Wedding

The marriage of Miss Saraj Wahi, youngest daughter of Mr. and Mrs. T. K. Tandon of 24

with Mr. Balakrishna, youngest son of the late Mr. and Mrs. Moonsamy Naidoo of Mall Road, Durban, took place at the Lowther's Hall, 76 Alice Street, on Sunday, December 14, in the presence of a large and distinguished gathering of friends and relatives. The ceremony was followed by special congratulations to Mr. and Mrs. Tandon and the bride and the bridegroom, who were recipients of numerous congratulatory messages from all over the Union and East Africa, where Mr. and Mrs. Tandon were resident for a number of years. The wedded couple were recipients also of many valuable gifts which included £10,000 gift in property and cash by the bride's parents. Over a thousand people were entertained to a sumptuous meal after the ceremony. There were present also a number of Europeans.

Professor Nicholas Roerich Dead

Professor Nicholas Roerich, a Russian-born scientist and artist, 2,000 of whose pictures hang in the galleries of 25 countries, has died at Kulu, in the Punjab, at the age of 73. Professor Roerich, born at Petersburg (now Leningrad), was a

painter of the Russian Revolution, and a

500 paintings. At his home in Kulu he founded the Himalayan Research Institute, where scientific research is now carried on

he was the author of books on

Eastern and Russian art and

science and in particular on

Avatar

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DON'T BE LATE

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